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Blair, Adam

History of the Waldenses

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HISTORY
OF THE
WALDENSES;

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE AND NORTH OF ITALY, TILL THESE
CHURCHES SUBMITTED TO THE POPE, WHEN THE WAL-
DENSES CONTINUED AS FORMERLY INDEPENDENT
OF THE PAPAL SEE.

BY THE REV. ADAM BLAIR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

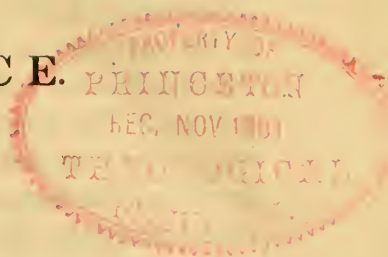
VOL. II.

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PREFACE.



IN the present volume I have entered more extensively into the history of the Hussites, or United Brethren, than I originally intended. Consequently it is more valuable, and is larger than designed. Taking the Work altogether, I flatter myself that it forms the fullest account of the Waldenses, to be found in our language.

I have seen facts and documents “relating to the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses, by the Rev. S. R. Maitland.” He has collected a great many testimonies of the Romanists, and has translated a number of the same pieces which I have inserted in my former volume, but as that volume was printed before I saw his book, I could neither avail myself of his researches, nor give reasons, when I differ from him. Indeed, one of the chief differences is, that he thinks some of the documents to have been written a century or two later than the great majority of writers judge. But, as I have stated my inducements for believing the correctness of the dates usually assigned to them by Waldensian historians, as these reasons are calculated to answer his objections, and as I still view the grounds of my opinion to be satisfactory, no necessity urges me to enter into any formal controversy with Mr M. in this place. He allows the papers to be genuine, and I do not perceive that his reasonings affect the documents in the present volume.

No person can be more convinced than myself, that in the translations I have given of Confessions of Faith, and other authorities, a stiffness of phraseology appears. This has arisen from an anticipation that readers holding sentiments very opposite to one another, may be disposed to scrutinize my statements. Had I made the versions more free, the expressions might have been considerably improved in regard to elegance, but I wished to give the exact words, provided the translation be correct. The reader who has been accustomed to peruse the barbarous Latin and old French, written by authors having frequently little taste, during the periods which the present Work embraces, knows the difficulty of transferring such writings into tolerable English. I trust, however, that the reader will be able to perceive the meaning.

The present volume does not abound with so many extracts from the Romanists as the former one. In the correspondence of the Protestant States regarding the Waldenses, between 1655 and 1664, instead of giving the letters entire, or in part, I have usually given the purport in my own words, and sometimes the account of their contents might have been shortened, had I not wished to exhibit the general feeling of sympathy with the persecuted Waldenses. I intended to intersperse a number of remarks which occurred to myself in the course of the Work, which would have enlivened the narrative to some readers, but the length and variety of the details has in a great measure prevented this enlargement.

Besides the friends formerly mentioned as aiding me in the attainment of materials for my present undertaking, I retain a grateful recollection of the kindness of the Rev. JAMES AIRD, Rattray; of the Rev. WILLIAM RAMSAY, Crieff; of Mr GEORGE

SIMPSON, teacher, Edinburgh; and of Mr GEORGE GARTLY, Cabrach, for their extended indulgence in allowing me the use of several important historical works. Through the politeness of J. G. DALYELL, and J. S. MORE, Esquires, advocates, I have been favoured with access to various important articles in the Advocates Library, during the progress of the present volume through the press.

I wish to cherish unfeigned gratitude to nearly three hundred individuals who have subscribed their names as purchasers of these volumes, and particularly to such as have been active in procuring Subscribers, by whose aid I have been helped to defray the expense incurred. I must also acknowledge the advantage derived from the advice of my numerous friends in the construction of the Work. Should a second edition ever be required, hints for improvement will be received with candour and gratitude.

ADAM BLAIR.

FERRY-PORT-ON-CRAIG, }
29th August, 1833. }

ERRATA.

Vol. I. Preface, p. viii. line 12, *for* M'Nab, *read* M'Bain.

Page 33, in the First Note, the numbers 50 and 30
ought to be interchanged.

Vol. II p. 2, line 13, *for* embued, *read* imbued.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 10, | 28, <i>for</i> I, <i>read</i> who. |
| 11, | 32, delete the quotation marks. |
| 33, | 32, <i>for</i> emperor, <i>read</i> king. |
| 71, | 11, <i>for</i> lie, <i>read</i> they. |
| 78, | 13, <i>for</i> they, <i>read</i> men. |
| 108, | 17, <i>for</i> tune, <i>read</i> time. |
| 157, | 22, <i>for</i> exercised, <i>read</i> had exercised; and,
25, <i>for</i> has, <i>read</i> had. |
| 159, | 27, <i>for</i> he, <i>read</i> Girondin. |
| 160, | 19, <i>for</i> and Christopher, <i>read</i> and before
Christopher. |
| 165, | 22, <i>for</i> 1574, <i>read</i> 1475. |
| 200, | 35, <i>for</i> him, <i>read</i> them. |
| 214, | 18, <i>for</i> are rived, <i>read</i> arrived. |
| 218, | 25, <i>for</i> sacrament, <i>read</i> sacraments. |
| 227, | 18, <i>for</i> regulating, <i>read</i> requesting. |
| 233, | 12, <i>for</i> they, <i>read</i> the men. |
| 244, | 10, <i>for</i> able, <i>read</i> not able. |
| 273, | 30, <i>for</i> refuse, <i>read</i> admit. |
| 285, | 39, <i>for</i> blowings, <i>read</i> guns. |
| 303, | 14, <i>for</i> PASCHOLI, <i>read</i> PASCHALI. |
| 331, | 2, <i>for</i> member, <i>read</i> number. |
| 379, | 2, <i>for</i> pled, <i>read</i> pleaded. |
| 401, | 24, <i>for</i> impale, <i>read</i> empale. |
| 405, | 32, <i>for</i> information, <i>read</i> facts. |
| 407, | 17, <i>for</i> sowing, <i>read</i> sawing. |
| 551, | 11, <i>for</i> English Vaudois committee, <i>read</i>
Mr Gilly and friends. |
| 583, | 15, <i>for</i> perceived, <i>read</i> received. |
| 593, | 12, <i>for</i> if any thing, <i>read</i> to any thing
which. |
| 596, | 26, delete since they, and line 29, <i>for</i>
mortal sin, <i>read</i> mortals in. |

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK V.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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THE celebrated JOHN HUSS, who did so much to extend the Waldensian doctrines in Bohemia, was descended of poor parents at a village called Hussinez. He was born in 1373, and called de Huss, from a manor-house of that name, which signifies *goose*. Having received some education at the public school of Prachatez, a neighbouring town, he became servant to a professor at Prague, who lent him books, and was otherwise useful to him in his studies. He particularly delighted in church history, and in the biography of the ancient martyrs. In 1393, he became master of arts, and was soon after appointed professor of divinity at Prague. The

Bohemians, who had hitherto felt indignant that the Germans had held usually the chief situations and influence in the University, were pleased with this appointment. A certain Bohemian nobleman, I believe Jerom of Prague, from the house called *putridi piscis*, the putrid fish, went to prosecute his studies at the city of Oxford in England, found Wycliffe's book entitled, "On Universal Realities." Being much delighted with these works, he brought with him copies into Bohemia. Among these volumes, which he viewed as a precious treasure, were many writings against the clergy, on civil and divine right, on the church, and on diverse questions. "He was himself," says Æneas Sylvius, "already embued with the poison of the Wycliffites, and prepared to do injury. The reasons he gives are curious, both because the surname of the family was the putrid fish, that is, he vomited the fetid poison on the citizens; and he lent the writings which he had brought, chiefly to those who were possessed with hatred of the Germans, among whom John was eminent."* This importer of heresy was none other than Jerom, for "in the year 1400, Jerom of Prague returning out of England, brought with him the writings of Wycliffe, which were approved of by many in Bohemia."† Queen Anne of England, as above noticed, was instrumental in sending Wycliffe's books to Bohemia.‡

"A certain opulent citizen of Prague, having founded a respectable temple under the name of St Mathias and St Matthew, which he called Bethlehem, and having added revenues from which some might be maintained, to preach in the Bohemian tongue the word of God to the people on work days, and other days, John was received as one of these preachers." This appointment of Huss was in 1400, and he was also chosen by the queen as her father-confessor.§

* Æneæ Sylvii Historia Bohemica, cap. 35. At the close of the work, cap. lxxii. we learn that this man was born at Sienne in Etruria, now belonging to Tuscany, one hundred Italian miles north-west from Rome. There he was educated, and obtained the Delphic laurel. He became bishop of Sienne, and then cardinal. He wrote about 1451—1457, and in 1458, was installed Pope under the title of Pius II. See also Lenfant's Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites, tom. i. p. 27.

† Persecution of the church of Bohemia.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 463, 464.

§ Æn. Syl. ib.

It was not long till he got possession of the writings of Wycliffe. At first he and the other academicians were prejudiced against these books, because the Pope had condemned them as heretical; but the more his active mind compared them with the Scriptures, the more he saw the excellence of Wycliffe's works, and the superstitious and errors of the established church. As long as he preached against the corruptions of the court and the people, the clergy recommended him as guided by the Spirit of God, but when he began to exclaim against the Pope's power, indulgences, and excommunications—when he insisted on the reformation of a corrupted church, declared the Scriptures to be the only rule of Christian faith and practice, and proved that the Lord's Supper ought to be dispensed in both kinds, he was denounced as a mad heretic. At the beginning of his ministry, while Huss censured the vices of the courtiers, one of them complained to Wolbrant the archbishop of Prague, in presence of king Wenceslaus. Wolbrant answered, "that Huss had taken an oath at his ordination, that he would speak the truth without respect of persons:" but when he attacked the vices of the clergy, the archbishop petitioned the king to silence him, and Wenceslaus answered, "Huss, you know, has promised at his ordination to speak the truth without respect of persons."*

In 1404, JAMES and CONRAD CADDELAURGH two Englishmen, bachelors of divinity, entered the University of Prague. When they disputed against the Pope's supremacy, they were prohibited. But by the consent of their landlord, they got painted on the walls of their lodging-room, a representation of our Saviour suffering on the one side, and of the pope and cardinal's court on the other. These were intended as a contrast between Christ and antichrist. When Huss alluded to this in his sermons, multitudes came to inspect the painting.† Huss zealously recommended to the students to read the bible and Wycliffe's works. Archbishop Shinco, successor of Wolbrant, was so very ignorant, that he took his first lessons in reading, only on his promotion to the See of Prague. To

* La Trobe's Narratives, pp. 34—36.

† Persecutions of the Church of Bohemia.

please the pope, he set himself against the writings of Wycliffe.* On the 24th of May 1408, Wycliffe's writings were again condemned by forty masters and many bachelors. None were to teach these books under the pain of banishment.† Huss, however, continued his zeal in chair and pulpit. He obtained from Wenceslaus in 1409, that the University should be governed like that of Paris. Hitherto the Germans being devoted to the pope, had oppressed the Bohemian students, for whom Huss procured from king Wenceslaus their original privileges. With the aid of Jerom, Huss prevailed on the king, 13th October, to grant the Bohemians three votes at elections, and the Germans only one.‡ “That thing,” says Æneas, “took away the power of the school from the Germans. For which cause the masters and scholars of German extraction having come under an oath, above two thousand in one day left Prague. Not long after, three thousand having followed, they erected a University at Leipsic, a city of Misnia, three days journey from Prague. The government of the school at Prague was freely opened to the Bohemians, of whom John Huss was reckoned the chief. He was an admirable orator, and eminent in his recommendation of a more pure life. On the 17th October, Huss was chosen rector of the University.§ When he saw that he was willingly listened to, he brought into view many things from the books of Wycliffe, asserting that all the truth is contained in them, frequently adding while he was preaching, that he hoped after his departure from this world, to proceed to those places to which the soul of Wycliffe had gone, who, he had no doubt, was a good, a holy man, and worthy of heaven.” || Æneas next tells us, that “almost all the clergy followed John, who were oppressed with debt, noted for wickedness, and remarkable for seditions, who by the novelty of the things, thought to evade punishment.” On the margin of the original, the word “caute” is marked to intimate a doubt of the truth of the statement. See 1 Sam. xxii. 2. No doubt if Æneas heard of any thing like immorality in any admirer of Huss, he would take good care to record it.

* La Trobe, p. 36.

† Hist. Pers. Boh.

‡ Account of the Moravian Brethren, p. 12.

§ Ibid.

|| Æn. Syl. p. 157.

Judging the Hussites by himself, Æneas describes the motives of others who followed John, to be their disappointment in not obtaining the richer benefices of the Romish church. "To these also, some celebrated for doctrine were joined, who when they had not been able to obtain dignity in the church, bore with an unequal mind, that the priesthoods of the greater revenues were committed to men, who though they excelled in nobility, yet seemed inferior in knowledge. Envy blinded them, that they who had seen, might not see, and they who had understood, might not understand. They broke out into blasphemy, and when they were able to speak against any slothful and perhaps vicious" persons, "they began to bark against all the priests; and receding from the Catholic church, they embraced the impious and mad sect of the Waldenses." With our author, the man who should speak against the church of Rome, secede from her, and join the Waldenses, would be viewed as a blasphemer. This was the amount of their blasphemy, for he gives here an account of the sentiments of the Waldenses, which is agreeable to their own avowed sentiments in the south of France, in 1120, before that people were known in Bohemia. The document is valuable, as being the testimony of an enemy, no doubt intended to reproach the Waldenses, but which contains the truth. "The doctrines of the pestilential and lately damned faction are: That the chief priest of Rome is equal with other bishops: That there is no difference among priests: that priesthood is not a dignity, but that grace and virtue only give the preference: That souls separating out of the body are either immediately plunged into hell, or advanced to eternal joys: That there is no purgatory fire: That it is a vain thing to pray for the dead, and a mere invention of priestly covetousness: That the images of God and the saints ought to be destroyed: That the blessing of water and palm-branches is ridiculous: That the religion of the Mendicants was invented by evil spirits: That priests ought to be poor, and only to content themselves with alms: That every one has liberty to preach the word of God:* That no capital sin

* Leger, part i. p. 122, 123, gives the Waldensian articles from Æneas, but marks these two as calumnies, regarding all being allowed to preach, and dis-

ought to be tolerated, although on pretence of avoiding a greater evil: That he who is guilty of mortal sin, ought not to enjoy any secular or ecclesiastical dignity, nor is to be obeyed: That the confirmation which is celebrated by popes, with anointing and extreme unction, is none of the sacraments of the church: That auricular confession is vain foppery: That it is enough if every one in his closet confess his sins to God: That baptism with river water, ought to be celebrated, without the addition of holy oil, &c.: That the use of cemeteries is vain, and nothing but a covetous invention: That it is all one in what ground dead bodies are buried: That the temple of the great God is the whole world, and that it is limiting the divine Majesty, to build churches, monasteries and oratories, as if the divine Goodness could be more favourably found in them than in other places: That the priestly vestments, altar, ornaments, palls, corporals, chalices, patins, and other vessels of that sort, are of no efficacy: That a priest may in any place consecrate the body of Christ, and give it to those who desire it by reciting only the sacramental words: That it is vain to implore the suffrages of the saints, reigning with Christ in heaven, who cannot help us: That it is to no purpose to spend one's time in singing and saying the canonical hours: That we are to cease from working on no day except on the day which is now called the Lord's day: That the holidays of saints are to be rejected: and, That there is no merit in the fasts instituted by the church."

"Sbinco, surnamed Lepus, sprung from illustrious Bohemian parents, illustrious both in understanding and courage, at this period held the situation of archbishop of Prague."† When the German scholars retired from the University of Prague, they had appealed to pope Gregory XII. this year, 1409, but he was too busy to attend to them. Sbinco informed Alexander V. who became pope in the course of the year. Under the influence of Sbinco, Alexander published a

obedience to rulers guilty of mortal sin; which exceptions seem to imply the correctness of the other articles. He marks them with numbers to 21, but they are not numbered in the original. Allix, *Pied.* pp. 219, 220, also gives a version. I have compared them all.

† *Æn. Syl. ib.* p. 157, 158.

bull from Pistoye, dated 20th December 1409, against the Hussites. In this document, however, Huss is not named, but it prohibits, *first*, Preaching in any privileged chapels of whatever description. [Huss preached in the chapel of Bethlehem.] *Secondly*, To teach the doctrine of Wycliffe in any place public or private. *Thirdly*, The archbishop is authorized, with four masters in theology, and two masters of right canon, to prosecute as heretics the contraveners, of whatever character and condition they may be, even to implore the succours of the secular arm if necessary in the face of all appeals, in order to suppress in every way the books of Wycliffe. As John Huss was then rector of the University, and highly respected at court and in the city, he did not give himself much trouble regarding the bull.*

According to the account of John Nider, a celebrated Dominican,† one named BURGIN, or BEGARD, or FRATRICELLI, a man who lived in austerity, contemplation and prayer, and had many disciples, was burnt, A.D. 1410, by order of the archbishop of Constance, having been delivered to the secular power by the inquisitor.

“Shinco,” says Æneas, “desiring to oppose the rising calamity, and before it should commit farther devastations, commanded the books of John Wycliffe to be brought to him, and by using the advice of learned men, to be publicly burnt. It is related that there were above two hundred volumes, most beautifully written out, ornamented with golden studs, and costly coverings.”‡ The learned men who advised Shinco, are understood by historians to be the monks, who having lost the support of the king and university, found the archbishop proper materials to work upon, and the “two hundred volumes” mentioned, are stated as having been openly committed to the flames, on the 14th July 1410. It was before observed that Shinco began to learn to read only on his promotion to the archbishoprick. On this account, he was called the alphabet doctor, and derided by the people.§

* Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, at Amsterdam 1724, tom. i. p. 323.

† *De Visionibus* l. iii. c. 2. in Lenfant, *ib.* p. 327.

‡ *Æn. Syl.* p. 158.

§ *Hist. Boh. Pers.* Holmes, p. 26. When Shinco burnt the writings of Wycliffe, a Bohemian epigram to this purpose was handed about Prague:—

Sbinco summoned John Huss before the chapter assembled in council, and upbraided him with having preached, that it is not necessary to inter the dead in cemeteries, and that they were as well in the middle of a field or in the woods. Sbinco urged, that St Adalbert brought back Bohemia from her profane sepulture in 1038 when he conquered it, and Brzetislas the duke of Boheímia engaged by oath, including his posterity, to defend the Christian faith, and to cause interment in the usually appointed places. Huss replied, if he spoke against the Christian faith, he would correct it. The archbishop dismissed him with his blessing, prudently, no doubt, avoiding any lengthened discussion with Huss. Next Sabbath, however, Huss asserted that he was prohibited from teaching the truth that shone in England and other places; that stated burial places, and large bells, served only to enrich the avaricious priests; that their *order* was confusion; that if the people "have courage," adds he, "they may break the chains, and obtain liberty," and that "the burning of so many good books written for their good, containing truth, is a matter most offensive to God." Sbenco complained to king Wenceslaus, who, with his queen Sophie, favoured Huss. The Hussites made satirical poems on the archbishop. They asked John de Jessenitz, a friend of Huss, to consult the University of Boulogne, which answered, that owing to the confederation between the Universities of Oxford and Prague, England must be much offended with burning the books of Wycliffe. Huss appealed to pope John XXIII.* who cited him to his court at Boulogne. By the intervention of King Wenceslaus, Huss was excused from personally appearing, got liberty to preach in privileged chapels, and the pope was to send legates to Prague to examine the matters in dispute. Sbinco influenced by the king, wrote the pope in his favour. Huss, however, was condemned and excommunicated for not appearing.

JEROM of Prague, after attending the Universies of Hei-

Though mitred Sbinco scarce can spell,
 He scents the heretics full well;
 Condemns their writings to the flames,
 Before he e'en can read their names.—LA TROBE, p. 36.

* Others call him John XXI.

delberg, Cologne, Paris, and, as is also said, of Oxford, joined himself to JAMES or JACOBELL OF MEISSEN, and John Huss. In 1410, he was called by the king of Poland to regulate the University of Cracow. He next proceeded to Hungary, where he publicly preached the praises of Wycliffe, and king Sigismond protected him from the monks who accused him of heresy. To Vienne and Austria he next repaired, where the same monks influenced the academy to imprison him. We do not know how long he lay incarcerated, but the university of Prague procured his liberty. He is said to have joined himself at this time to two Englishmen, who proposed the problem: "If the pope had more power than another priest; and if the bread of the eucharist or the body of Jesus Christ had more virtue in the mass when the pope officiated, than if another did so." They were threatened with the fire, and promised silence, but did not keep their word. They obtained a testimony from Oxford in favour of Wycliffe. Jerom drew on the walls of his chamber, Christ riding on an ass, and his disciples walking bare-footed into Jerusalem; and on the other side, the pope preceded by music and soldiers, mounted on a superb horse, richly ornamented, with gold and precious stones, and followed by cardinals equally grand. This painting caused great stir in the city. He likewise sent two lewd women through the town in a chariot, with two of the pope's bulls at their breasts, and two men by their sides habited like monks. He then openly burnt the bulls. In addition to these proceedings, he bedaubed his feet with the reliques of the saints at St Mary's altar, and exclaimed against the worship of such things. When two monks opposed him, he sent the one to prison, and cast the other into the Moldau, where he would have been drowned, unless some one had come to his assistance.*

In 1411, John XXIII. excommunicated Ladislas, king of Naples, as a favourer of heretics, perjured, schismatical, blasphemous, an enemy to the pope and the church, and the like. In 1412, John proclaimed remission of sins to all who would assist him in a crusade against Ladislas, and the two anti-popes: for at this period, three infallible rival heads of the

* Lenfant's Hist. du Conc. de Pisc. tom. ii. pp. 39—42.

church appeared, namely, John XXIII. at Rome, Gregory XII. at Rimini, and Benedict XIII. at Avignon. When John's indulgences were publicly declared in the churches at Prague, a number of the citizens called the pope antichrist. MARTIN KRZIDELKA, JOHN HUDEK, and STAINIS LOPOLCK, a tailor, were imprisoned; and in opposition to the voice of the inhabitants, to the judgment of the university, and to the intercessions of Huss, they were, by order of the town-council, beheaded in the market. The university removed the bodies of the three martyrs, and sung in procession: "These are the saints who gave up their bodies for the testimony of God." They were buried in the church of Bethlehem.*

Sylvius mentions the pope's bull against Ladislas, and then relates the sufferings of the three Bohemians: "Which decree, when some men of filthy art had heard, they exclaimed with a loud voice, that pope John is antichrist, for appointing a crusade against Christians. The senate commanded them to be instantly dragged to prison: and the people having taken arms, demanded that they be all acquitted. But the populace being pacified by an oration of the senate, which seemed to bear that the lives of the prisoners were safe, every man returned to his own home. Punishment was privately inflicted on the men, but when the blood, flowing without the gate of the judgment-hall, formed an indication of the death, the population having again reunited in a concourse, seized the bodies of the dead, and wrapping them in a rich cloth, bore them through all the churches of the city, while the priests of the same sect exclaimed, These are the saints, I have delivered up their bodies for the testimony of God. The carcases were then placed in the chapel at Bethlehem, as relics of martyrs, laid in aromatics."†

John Huss in the church, and Jerom in the school, most vigorously opposed the pope's crusade, and published theses against it. Huss, in 1412, at large refuted both the bulls as contrary to the spirit of the gospel, which enjoins Christians to fight with the sword of the Spirit; and gives no permis-

* Pers. of Church of Boh. Lenfant, *ib.* p. 66. Account of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, p. 14.

† *Æn. Syl.* *ib.* pp. 159, 160.

sion for indulgences, nor for priests, absolutely to pardon sin, nor for asserting a purgatory. He still persisted in maintaining the pope to be only a priest. Though Sbinco had ordered bundles of Wycliffe's works to be burnt, yet at this time, (1413) many of them still remained in Prague. In his public discourses, Huss condemned images, statues, auricular confession, interment in cemeteries, canonical hours, and traditions as not founded in the word of God. The priests being alarmed, declaimed against him, and even the king thought himself insecure. Huss was now summoned to appear before the pope's tribunal at Rome, and when he declined to appear, John excommunicated him, and prohibited all religious worship in the city of Prague. This heavy stroke he met with firmness, committed to the Saviour his own cause, and wrote and published a solemn appeal to Christ himself. For the sake of peace, he left Prague, preached with a blessing in the fields and villages, and the measures intended to suppress the gospel became the means of its extension. The account of Huss at this time, given by Sylvius, is worthy of notice. "Preaching," says he "was forbidden to John, and threatenings added, if at any time he should dare to publish the former errors to the people. He himself going out of Prague, continued, with the permission of the master of the place, who favoured his madness, to collect the people at the manor-house, whence he had his origin and surname. He amassed many slanders against the pope of Rome, and numbers against the other priests of the church. And that he might more and more reconcile to himself the minds of the populace, he taught that tithes are not due to priests otherwise than as alms; that such as possess estates, are at liberty if they choose to grant those tithes; and that if they are unwilling, they can be forced by no law." The error concerning the sacrament of the altar, had not then crept in, but PETER DRESDEN, from the town of Dresden in Meissen, situate on the Elbe, who, with other Germans, had shortly before left Bohemia, having been known among his countrymen as infected with the Waldensian leprosy, he was banished from his native country, and betook himself to Prague, as an asylum

for heretics, and undertook the care of teaching boys. At the church of St Michael during that period, JACOBELL MEISSEN, alike famous for teaching useful learning, and for the excellence of his morals, instructed the people by preaching. Peter having gone to him, said that he admired the learned and holy man, who explained the divine word to the people, and who stated that he did not observe that error of the communion of the eucharist which a short time ago laid waste the church, by which the Lord's body should be ministered to the people only under one kind; while in John, the evangelist and beloved apostle of Christ, it is commanded to be taken under the two kinds of bread and wine, when the Saviour says with him, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of God, and drink his blood, ye have not life in you." Jacobell being influenced by these things, when the ancient books of the holy doctors were examined, especially those of Dionysius and Cyprian, he had found the communion of the cup praised. Being prohibited from preaching at the church of the archangel Michael, but having obtained the pulpit in the greater temple of St Martin, he began publicly to move the people, lest they should by any agreement, neglect henceforth the communion of the cup, without which no man should be able to be saved. With him all the heretics agreed, conducting themselves with no little joy, that they had found an article in the evangelical law, by which either the ignorance or the wickedness of the Roman chair, should be able to be proved. Although the king felt indignant on being informed of these proceedings, yet being corrupted by sloth, and slumbering in inactivity, he allowed the heretics to rage with impunity. When Shinceo, the archbishop, found no defence in Wenceslaus against such an emergent evil, he betook himself to Sigismond, king of Hungary, beseeching and obtesting him, that he correct the negligence of his brother, and do not permit the sacrament of the orthodox faith to be stained. Sigismond engages, that in a short time he will come to Bohemia to consult the Catholic church, but when the matter is put off from day to day, Shinceo dies at Presburg in Hungary, and Albicus, a native of Bohemia, a physician, is substituted in his stead. To Sigismond this man was dear, because he was only a sink of extreme avarice. He would in-

trust the keys of his wine cellar to none but himself, and the living animals received in a present, he immediately sold. And because he had been informed that cooks are prodigals, he placed an abject old woman over his cookery. Being sometimes asked, which of all sounds he heard with the greatest uneasiness? he replied, That of cheeks breaking bones. Truly a fit priest to assuage the rising heresy.”* Comenius in his history of the persecutions of Bohemia, states, “that the churches have never denied that they received their vocation from the Vaudois.”†

The successor of Sbinco, archbishop Conrad de Vechta, whom Sylvius calls Albicus, and the council of doctors, ordained all doctors and masters of the university to swear that they believe the seven sacraments, rites, ceremonies, relics, indulgences, and orders; that the pope and cardinals are the successors of Peter and the apostles; that they will submit to the decision of the pope and prelates; and that they believe Wycliffe’s doctrine regarding the sacraments and other articles to be false. Conrad and council also resolve, that such as disobey, be banished the kingdom; that all bishops publish the same in their dioceses; that bishops and officials punish contraveners; that by order of the king and sheriffs, the injurious and defamatory songs are prohibited in taverns and the like places; and that John Huss is prohibited from preaching and performing the divine office at Prague, till he be absolved by the pope.

John Huss collected his clergy, and answered, that the agreement formerly made between the king, the princes, and Sbinco, on the one hand, and the university and Huss on the other, ought to remain in force; that in regard to the acts of the church, the kingdom has the rights, liberties and customs of other kingdoms; that John Huss shall be present in the assembly of clergy, and shall be openly accused of heresy; that in case of being accused, he shall render a reason of his faith; that such as libel Bohemia for heresy, shall be punished, provided they cannot prove it; that the doctors in theology and in right canon, and the chapters of chanoines be required to name the heretics; that if heresy is not established, the

* Æn. Syl. ib. pp. 158, 159.

† In Leger, part i. chap. ii.

king and barons shall send, at the expense of the clergy, an ambassador to Rome to clear the country of that imputation; and that Huss shall have free liberty to preach. The people applauded these views, but Conrad and his clergy were alarmed.

John, bishop of Lythomils, in Moravia, advised to elect a chancellor for the university, who should exercise the inquisition on masters and scholars, and punish errors; should prohibit Huss from preaching; should exclude him and his followers from the society and conversation of the faithful; and should excommunicate such as sell Huss' books in the vulgar tongue. He pleaded also that the peace between Huss and Sbinco was not sanctioned by the pope, that Huss, like Paul, ought to appeal to Rome, and that it is unjust for the king to tax the clergy. The king and barons published these things against the Hussites in the form of an edict which was answered by them, and indeed repeated declarations were made on both sides on points at issue.*

By orders of the pope and archbishop, public worship was continued under an interdict at Prague, so long as Huss should be in the place or neighbourhood. But he persevered to preach with increasing zeal to enlarging auditories in the adjacent towns and villages, and even in the fields. Men on all sides were anxious for something to be done to arrest the present disturbances, and to reform the church. This was more especially the wish of the pope, and of the emperor Sigismund, the latter of whom had hopes of mounting the throne of Bohemia, after the demise of his brother Wenceslaus. Sigismund therefore called the council of Constance, summoned Huss to appear, and promised him a safe escort both to Constance, and on his journey home to Prague. Huss was most ready to repair to the council, and previous to his leaving Bohemia, affixed to all public places advertisements in Latin, Bohemian and German, bearing, that any person who thought himself able to convict him of error, should repair either to the archbishop or to the council. Conrad, and even the inquisitor of Bohemia, Nicolas, bishop of Nazareth, granted Huss testimonials of orthodoxy. The

* Lenfant, tom. ii. pp. 228—233.

king commanded three nobles to escort him, namely, Wenceslaus de Duba, John de Chlum, and Henry de Laczenbock, and recommended him by letter to the fathers of the synod. When he left Prague, he addressed a most interesting letter to his friends there. "John Huss, a priest, and servant of Jesus Christ in hope, to all the believers and beloved brethren and sisters, who have heard the word of God by my ministry, and found mercy and peace with God the Father, and the Holy Ghost, praying that they may walk blamelessly in divine truth. Believing and beloved brethren! you know that I have long instructed you in all faithfulness, teaching you no false doctrine, but the pure word of God: for I have at all times sought your salvation, I still seek it, and shall seek it as long as I live. Now, as you have heard the gospel from me, do not suppose that I have merited harsh treatment by teaching you false doctrine. Remain steadfast in the truth, and confide in the mercy of God, who has given you the truth by me your faithful minister, that you may experience and maintain it. But beware of those who preach false doctrines. I am now going to encounter numerous and violent adversaries, as will clearly appear when they surround me in malice and enmity, and bring false witness against me. In this council I shall have more enemies than even our Saviour had. I shall have them, first, among the bishops and ecclesiastics, next, among the temporal princes, and, lastly, among the Pharisees. But I rely on God my Almighty Saviour, that he will give me, according to his promise, and through your prayers, a mouth and wisdom, so that I may be able to resist them; and by the power of his Holy Spirit, may so firmly adhere to the truth, that even the gates of hell shall not make me deny it. Yes, he will give me grace to encounter with undaunted courage and intrepidity every temptation, imprisonment, and even the bitterest death. Do we not know that Christ himself suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, and should gladly suffer all things for his sake, and for the sake of our salvation? He is God, we are his creatures. He is the Lord, we are his servants. He is the sovereign of the universe, we are feeble men. He needs nothing, we are altogether indigent. If then he suffered, why ought not we to suffer? Es-

pecially when sufferings tend to purify us from sin. It is really impossible that any one should perish who believes in him, and remains in his truth. Therefore, my beloved brethren, pray without ceasing, that he would give me his Holy Spirit to inspire me with constancy, and to preserve me from offending him. Pray, also, that if my death can glorify his name, it may not be delayed, and that he would afford me grace patiently to endure all the sufferings which await me.

“ But should my return to you be more profitable, then let us pray God that I may come back from this council with an unimpeachable character, that is to say, that I may in nothing discredit the gospel of Christ; and that in future, we may increase in the knowledge of the truth, may entirely eradicate the doctrines of antichrist, and may thus leave our brethren an example for their imitation. I very much doubt, however, whether you shall ever see me again at Prague. But if it shall please Almighty God to restore me to you, we will the more cheerfully advance in the knowledge and practice of his holy word. Yet the full harvest of our joy will not be reaped until the Lord shall gather us together in his everlasting glory. He is merciful and just, and gives his people rest and peace both here and hereafter. May he who has washed us his sheep in his holy and precious blood, which is the eternal pledge of our salvation, preserve you, and enable you to work out his perfect will; and may you, after having fulfilled it, enjoy unsullied bliss and everlasting glory, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with all that abide steadfast in his truth. To him be glory at all times, world without end. Amen.”

On the 11th October 1414, Huss proceeded on his journey to Constance; and in all places through which he passed, he was attended by crowds, eagerly listened to, hospitably entertained, and highly admired. At Nuremberg he received the imperial letters of safety, dated at Spire, 18th October, intimating that the emperor had taken the bearer, the Rev. John Huss, on his journey to the general council under his special protection, and that he commanded all the states, magistrates and subjects of the empire to allow him, his attendants, horses and carriages freely to pass and repass over all and every defile, gate or bridge, every domain, city, or

town, every village or castle in going to Constance or returning. In all cities, as he travelled, he declared the object of his journey to be, when "at Constance, to defend his belief against all that accused him of error." On the 3rd of November, he arrived at Constance, and lodged with a widow, a baker, not far from the lodging of pope John XXIII. Next day, 4th November, he sought the protection of the pontiff, who declared that if his own brother had been murdered by Huss, no harm should befall the latter at Constance, and that the excommunication against Huss is suspended; only he required him not to attend mass, lest he should give offence. But Huss' bitter enemies from Prague, Peter Palecz, professor of divinity, and a friend of his youth, and Michael de Causis, a minister, denounced him to the pope, cardinals and people at Constance as a heretic, as having cast off all respect to the Roman pontiff, as having stirred up the laity against the clergy to deprive them of their benefices, and as distributing the communion in both kinds to the laity, a practice which had been begun by Jacobell Miessen. On the 28th November, Huss was summoned before the pope, and some cardinals, who informed him that he was impeached with spreading false doctrines. Though he replied, that he would rather die than knowingly propagate a single untruth, and that he was ready to retract any error clearly pointed out; and though the cardinals appeared satisfied, they put him under guard for a week in the house of a prebendary of the cathedral. His faithful friend, de Chlum, complained to the pope, who said he himself was in the power of the cardinals. Chlum wrote Sigismund, complaining of Huss having been arrested in despite of the imperial protection. The emperor directed his legates to set Huss at liberty, but the pope prevented the execution of the order. The remonstrances of the men of rank in Bohemia and Moravia, were disregarded by Sigismund, who arrived at Constance at Christmas, and whom the clergy persuaded not to protect a man guilty, or at least suspected, of heresy. Huss was now removed to a damp, dark, and loathsome dungeon, in a Dominican monastery, on the banks of the Rhine. He became dangerously ill, was refused liberty to plead by counsel, and witnesses against him were sought in every direction.

On the 3rd March 1415, he was removed to another prison in a Franciscan monastery, where he continued till the 10th March, on which day pope John XXIII. fled from Constance in disguise, to prevent his being deposed by the council. The pope's servants also fled, and left the keys of Huss' prison to the emperor and the cardinals. The council committed Huss to the keeping of the bishop of Constance, who sent him to the fortified castle of Gottleben, on the other side of the Rhine. The pope, who had been taken in his flight, was confined in the same fortress. Though heavily ironed, Huss was allowed to walk in the vault of the tower through the day; but in the night his hands were fastened to the wall by the bed. During this painful imprisonment, he wrote several theological treatises and letters to his friends in Bohemia, to express his ardent love to them, and to animate them in the profession of the truth. His friend, Jerome of Prague, had come to Constance, provided with letters of safety to defend Huss, but not having thought himself safe in the city, (April) he returned homewards, was arrested at Heirschau in the Upper Palatinate, and conducted back to Constance in chains. The complaints of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility, in behalf of Huss, induced the emperor and council to fix the 5th of June for his examination, and to remove him from the castle to a Franciscan monastery. A deputation from the council inspected in the monastery the articles laid to his charge. Duba and Chlum had influence to cause him be examined before the council. He owned himself the author of the books shewn, and was willing to retract any error they might be proved to contain. When he began to defend himself by the Scriptures and the fathers, such confusion arose that he was obliged to be silent. Consequently the emperor in person attended the sittings of the 7th and 8th of June to preserve order. Besides being charged with disturbing Bohemia by the doctrines of Wycliffe, thirty articles were selected from his works. These articles were chiefly against the pope and clergy, some of which he acknowledged to express his real sentiments, and others he shewed to have been misconstructions of his meaning. On refusing an unconditional recantation, he was declared an obstinate heretic by the emperor and council, committed his cause to God, and was

led back to prison, where he firmly refused to save his life, by even appearing to own that he had taught heresy.

In one of his last letters to Bohemia, he thus addresses his friends, "I beseech you to adhere firmly to that divine truth, which I have laid before you in sermons and in writings, agreeably to the word of God, and the ancient fathers. But if any one of you should have heard me utter a single word, either in a public discourse, or in private conversation, or if he should have read any thing in my writings which is contrary to divine truth, I earnestly beg him not to follow such false teaching, though I do not recollect ever having spoken or written any thing of that description. I also request all who may have observed any thing unbecoming in my words or actions, not to imitate me in that thing, but rather to implore God to forgive me my sin." After addressing his clerical and secular friends individually in a truly apostolic spirit, and acknowledging the kind support of Duba and Chlum, he concludes in these words,—“I write this letter in a dungeon and in bonds, expecting no other than that the council will to-morrow pass sentence of death on me; but I have firm confidence in my God, that he will not forsake me. He cannot suffer me to deny his truth, and to recant heresies, which false witnesses have laid to my charge. How mercifully the Lord my God deals with me, and how he supports me in my great sufferings, you will know when we meet in the joys of eternal life. Love one another. This is my request. Hinder no one in the search after divine truth, and endeavour to prevent the pious from being oppressed by violence.”

On the 5th of July, the emperor sent Chlum and Duba with four bishops to hear his final determination. In the monastery he was brought out of his prison into their presence, and John de Chlum addressed him,—“Beloved teacher! we unlearned laymen cannot advise you well in this matter. Ask yourself, therefore, whether you are conscious of being guilty in the point, which the council has laid to your charge. If you are guilty, be not ashamed to retract your opinion, and to give room to better sentiments. But if your conscience bears you witness that you are innocent, then beware of doing any thing in opposition to your conscience, and of lying before God. Lay down your life rather than deny the truth.”

Huss burst into tears, and with a trembling voice replied, "Worthy man, God is my witness, that I am most willing to yield and to recant, if I have taught or written any thing wrong, inconsistent with the holy Scriptures, and the true catholic faith. I desire nothing better than to be more fully instructed, and to be convinced of all my errors by the bible. If any one will do this, I am heartily willing to recant." One of the bishops called him an insolent heretic, and asked if he thought himself wiser than the whole council? Huss rejoined, "Let the meanest of the council instruct me better in the truth, and I will gladly listen to him." "See there," said the bishops, "how hardened and obstinate this man is in his error!" They remanded him to prison, and proceeded to report progress to the emperor.

Next day being Saturday, 6th July, and the forty-third birth day of Huss, the 15th general session of the council was held. The emperor sat on a royal throne with the crown on his head. In room of the deposed pope, the presidency of the council devolved on the cardinal d'Ostia. The bishop of Riga brought Huss under an armed guard to the Cathedral, but he was obliged to stand at the door during mass, lest his presence should defile the worship. The bishop of Gnesen read mass, and with tears besought the holy virgin to intercede with God to succeed all their endeavours to destroy all heretics. Then the litany was sung, beginning, "Hear us O Lord." Next the gospel was read, "Beware of false prophets." In conclusion a hymn was sung, "Come, Holy Ghost, come Lord our God." After mass, Huss was brought into the council and seated on a raised platform. The bishop of Lodi preached in Latin from Rom. vi. 6. "That the body of sin might be destroyed," which text the preacher applied to the eradication of heresies, and especially to Huss, concluding thus, "Most invincible emperor! let then your majesty in obedience to my text, destroy all false teachers, and especially this hardened heretic, standing here before us, whose malice has infected so many different parts of the world with this infernal pestilence. The holy work is reserved for you, most glorious emperor. By this grand achievement, your majesty will acquire immortal fame, even to the latest posterity." During the sermon, Huss had been

kneeling and praying with folded hands. While the articles against him were reading, he attempted to reply, but was not allowed to speak in contradiction even of the grossest calumnies. Finding his entreaties vain, he, on his knees, lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and aloud commended his cause to his Lord and Saviour. The bishop of Concordia then ascended the pulpit, and pronounced sentence, that the articles extracted from the writings of Huss, contain damnable heresies; that his books shall be burnt wherever they can be found; that by false teaching, and by contempt of spiritual discipline, he has offended all believers, and injured the catholic faith; and that therefore he be condemned as a false prophet, and ignominiously dismissed from the priestly office. Having heard the sentence with composure, he prayed, "Lord God, I beseech thee for thy mercy's sake, to pardon all my enemies. Thou knowest well that I have been falsely accused by them, entangled by false evidence, overpowered by lying accusations, and in a word, unjustly condemned. Therefore do thou forgive them this sin for thy great mercy." In a rage, the bishops interrupted his prayer as affectation and hypocrisy.

The sentence was immediately executed. He was first deprived of his priestly dignity. The archbishop of Milan and six other bishops dressed him in pontifical robes, as if he were about to read mass, while he remarked, "My Lord was clad in gorgeous apparel by Herod, and then sent to Pilate." The bishops advised him to abjure his errors, and save his life, but from the stage, he in tears addressed the people: "These bishops admonish me to recant my errors. If this were a matter in which I had nothing to fear excepting the reproach of men, I might perhaps be persuaded to comply. But at this moment I stand before my God, and cannot consent to fulfil their desire, without the violation of my conscience, and the denial of my Lord in heaven. For I have ever held and taught, preached and written, the very reverse of the errors which they falsely lay to my charge. With what confidence, then, could I look up to heaven? How could I meet the multitudes I have instructed, were I to abjure the doctrines I have taught them, and which they received as eternal truths? Shall I, by a base example, offend and stagger so

many souls and consciences, which have been instructed by the wisest and best books, built up in the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed against all the attacks of Satan? No; I abhor such a transaction. My body, which must sooner or later perish, I will not esteem more highly than the salvation of those whom I have taught." The bishops exclaimed that "he is a malicious and hardened heretic. Down, down from the platform." When the archbishop of Milan and the bishop Besançon took the cup from his hand, and declared him a Judas unworthy to hold the chalice containing the blood of Christ, Huss replied with a loud voice, "All my hope and confidence I place in God my Saviour. He will by no means deprive me of the cup of salvation, but I shall, through his grace, drink it with him this day in his kingdom." Each of the other bishops disrobing him of part of his priestly dress, denounced a curse on him, but the martyr calmly replied, "I most cheerfully submit to all this infamy for the sake of the truth of Jesus Christ my Lord."

In depriving him of the tonsure, a long altercation ensued whether a razor or scissors should be used. The latter instrument having been preferred, his hair was cut off in the form of a cross. "Is it not strange," said Huss to the emperor, "that while they are all cruel, they cannot agree as to the mode of exercising their cruelty." Next his fingers were scraped with a knife to take off the sacred anointing oil, and to erase the marks of the priestly dignity. The council then declared him deprived of the priest's office, and of the protection of the church. On his head they placed a paper mitre, nearly two feet high, on which were three painted devils, and the word arch-heretic in large letters, and declared him deprived of the priest's office, and ejected from the protection of the church. "My Lord Jesus Christ," said the martyr, "wore for my sake a crown of thorns, even until his ignominious death on the cross. Therefore I, poor sinner, will gladly wear this far more sufferable crown with which I am mocked." The bishops announced, "We deliver up thy soul to the devil in hell." "But I," added Huss, "commit my spirit into thy hands, Lord Jesus! unto thee, I commend my soul, which thou hast redeemed." The bishops then addressed the emperor, "John Huss, who has no longer any

office to bear in the church, this holy ecclesiastical council of Constance now delivers to the secular power and judgment."

The emperor, who had pledged his honour to send back Huss safely to Prague, rose from his seat, received the martyr, and delivered him to the elector and count Palatine Lewis, to see him punished as an heretic. The count gave over his victim to the chief magistrate of Constance, with the command of the emperor, "take this John Huss, and burn him as an heretic." He was next committed to the executioner with orders to burn with him his clothes, money, knife, silver-ornamented girdle, and every article he possessed. The place of execution was a meadow near the castle of Gottleben, without the town. He was escorted by 800 soldiers, besides princes, nobles, and an immense concourse of people. Two of the count's body guards took him between them, while two executioners walked before and two behind. On seeing his books burning in the great square near the episcopal palace, he smiled and stated that he had been falsely accused of heresy. On approaching the fatal spot, he exclaimed with great fervour, "O Jesus, thou Son of the living God, have mercy on me," and similar ejaculations. The people remarked, "Whatever this man may have formerly taught and preached, we hear nothing from his lips, but holy words and pious prayers. What he spoke in the house we know not, but he prays like a Christian." Arrived at the spot, he knelt, looked up to heaven and prayed, repeating some parts of the 31st and 51st Psalms, especially the verse, "Into thy hand I commit my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth." The paper crown falling off, some of the guards replaced it, that he might be consumed with the devils whom they said he had served. Huss again prayed, "Lord Jesus, I gladly submit to this cruel and dreadful death, for the sake of thy holy gospel, and for having preached thy divine word; and do thou forgive my enemies for this their iniquity." The executioners, by command of the count Palatine, led him three times round the faggots, while he protested his innocence. To the jailors he spoke thus,—"I thank you heartily, my friends, for all the kindness you have shewn me; for you have treated me more like a brother than a captive. Know also, that I firmly believe in the Saviour, for whose sake I

gladly suffer this death, feeling assured, that to-day I shall be with him in paradise." The executioners now bound him with six wet ropes passing round his ancles and his belly, under his arms and his knees, and fixing him to an upright stake fastened in the ground. From the east, they turned his face to the west, as more fit for heretics. When they had adjusted a black and weighty chain around his neck, he said with a smile, "My dear Lord and Saviour was for my sake bound with a far heavier chain; why then should I, a poor creature, be ashamed to be thus fettered." Under his feet the executioners placed several bundles of twigs, and then heaped around him, up to the neck, alternate layers of wood and straw. Observing a peasant boy bring some wood, he uttered, smiling, the words of Jerome, "*sancta simplicitas*, sacred simplicity." The count Palatine, and the grand marshal of the empire, de Pappenheim, once more admonished him to recant his doctrine, and save his life. From the midst of the pile, Huss exclaimed aloud, "I call God to witness, that I never wrote or taught the heretical doctrines imputed to me by false witnesses; but in all my sermons, teachings, and writings, my sole aim has been to deliver men from the tyranny of sin. I will therefore this day, by suffering martyrdom, most gladly attest the truth of what I have taught, written, and promulgated." When the two noblemen heard this last testimony, they smote their hands against each other, and rode off.

Soon after, the executioners set fire to the pile. Huss repeatedly sung and prayed aloud, "Christ, thou Son of God, have mercy on me!" till by the action of the wind, the smoke and flames deprived him of speech. For nearly two minutes longer his head and lips continued to move as if he were engaged in prayer, when God put a period to the sufferings of his faithful servant about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The wood having been consumed, the corpse continued suspended on the stake, and the executioners having brought an additional quantity of wood, thrust both stake and corpse anew into the fire, which consumed the whole. The count Palatine having heard that an executioner had retained Huss' cloak and girdle, and fearing that the Bohemians would venerate them as relics, ordered them to be burnt, and promised

to indemnify the man for his loss. The papists dug out the earth several feet for a considerable space around the pile, conveyed away earth and ashes in carts, and cast the whole into the Rhine; that no speck of ashes might be preserved, and that every trace of the holy martyr might be erased from the earth.*

Not satisfied with consuming Huss to ashes, the council brought his dear friend JEROME, the lay reformer, before them, under pretence of examining his sentiments, but his fate was already fixed, and the clamour assailed his ears, "Away with him, burn him, burn him!" Standing astonished for some time, he exclaimed, "If nothing but my blood can satisfy you, God's will be done." Having been conveyed back to his dungeon, one of his friends accosted him, "Fear not, Jerome, to die in the cause of truth, which through life you have defended." Jerome replied, "I have *lived* defending truth: the harder task *to die* for it yet remains. But God, I trust, will support me against flesh and blood." This conversation having been overheard, he was removed to the tower. His head was fastened to a post for two days, and he was scantily supplied with bread and water. A severe disease was the effect, and not being free from all popish notions, he sent for a confessor to prepare him for death. His adversaries improved this opportunity both by persuasions and threatenings, and he was induced with reluctance to read a recantation in the very words prescribed by his adversaries. His fetters were knocked off, but he was still retained in prison, and though some wished to set him at liberty, a new trial was instituted. He felt indignant at this perfidious treatment, and saw he had no favour to expect. His recantation stung his conscience, he earnestly implored pardon from God, and determined through grace cheerfully to sacrifice his life in defence of the gospel. With the boldest heroism he appeared before the council, replied to all the charges, and renounced his recantation of the doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss, as the most aggravated sin he ever committed. When he heard his sentence condemning him to the fire, he

* Account of the Bohemian Brethren, translated from the German, pp. 14—38. Holmes, pp. 27—34.

said, " You have condemned me unjustly to death, but I shall leave a sting in your consciences, and a worm that shall never die. I appeal to the sovereign of the whole earth, before whose tribunal I cite you to appear." Having arrived at the stake, he kneeled down, prayed and commended his soul to God. The executioner, as if ashamed to face the martyr, began to kindle the fire behind him. Jerome called out, " Come round and kindle it before my face." His last audible expressions were, " O Lord, have mercy upon me, and pardon my transgressions. Thou knowest I have loved thy truth." He suffered on the 30th of May 1416, on the very spot where Huss had been consumed to ashes.*

The Roman Catholic historian, Æneas Sylvius, gives as candid an account of Huss and Jerome as can be expected. After stating a falsehood, that they were both heard in the assembly of the fathers, for they were refused a fair hearing; and remarking that John was reckoned the greater in age and authority, Jerome superior in learning and eloquence, he proceeds,— " The fathers having been chosen from every nation, doctors of divine and human law frequently held conversation with these men, and shewed that their doctrines were foreign from the law of God, and not conducive to good morality. They asked the men not to be wiser than the church wished, but to be wise with soberness; to relinquish strange opinions; to beware of defiling their own most noble understandings with the madness of the Wycliffites; to exercise the eloquence with which they were endued; to strengthen, not to overturn, the institutions of the church; to instruct, not to darken the people; and to expect a place of dignity, both in the sight of God, and of the militant church, provided they would follow the footsteps of the fathers, and submit their inventions to a universal council. The minds of the Bohemians remained determined in their purpose, and, unconvinced by reasons, they were unwilling to be overcome." Sylvius next informs us of Huss and Jerome " declaring that they are true; that they are imitators of the holy gospel; that they are the disciples of Christ; that the Roman church, and the others dispersed through the world, have deviated far from the instruc-

* Homes, pp. 35, 36. Select Narratives, p. 44.

tions of the apostles, because they, the Romanists, follow riches and pleasures, seek domination over the people, and the first places at feasts, nourish dogs and horses, consume by lasciviousness and luxury the goods of the churches which belong to Christ's poor; and that they are either entirely ignorant of the divine commandments, or knowingly despise them. When the chief men of the great synod observed the pertinacity and immutability of the minds of the irrecoverable men, they judged that the putrid members of the church which were incurable, be cut off, lest they should infect the rest of the body. In the assembly of the fathers, sentence is pronounced against the contumacious, 'that they are to be burnt who rejected the doctrine of the church.' Therefore, John was first burnt, Jerome was sometime afterwards held in chains, and when he was unwilling to repent, had the same punishment inflicted on him. They both suffered death with a constant mind, and hastened to the burning, as if invited to a banquet. They emitted no word that could shew the least sign of a miserable mind. When they began to burn, they sung a hymn, which the flame and the violence of the fire was hardly able to intercept. None of the philosophers is related to have suffered death with so brave a mind as these endured the burning. The ashes of those who were burned were cast into the lake, lest they should be carried off by the Bohemians. From that ground on which the fire burned, the disciples of the two men took away earth, and bore it with them as sacred, into their native country." Among the Bohemians, John and Jerome were honoured as martyrs, whose memory deserved to be annually celebrated. The Hussites asked some churches from the king, in which they should have liberty to preach and to administer sacraments to the common people.*

* Æneas Sylvius, *Hist. Bohem.* cap. xxxvi. pp. 160, 161.

CHAPTER II.

Dissatisfaction of the Bohemians, on account of the murder of Huss and Jerome—Persecution of the Hussites by the Pope—Hussites formidable—Death of the king of Bohemia—Hussites under ZISKA—Dispensation of the Lord's Supper to 30,000 Communicants—Building of TABOR—Persecution of the Hussites—Astonishing success of Ziska against the Emperor—Death of Husinetz—Further progress of Ziska—His Death.

THOUGH the council of Constance threatened the Bohemians with excommunication and the eternal curse, if they followed the doctrines of Huss, yet the nobility of Bohemia and Moravia, in a spirited answer, complained of the injustice of the council in condemning their faithful teacher, whom they attested as a man of a most godly life, and declared their readiness to sacrifice their lives in the same cause. This letter was signed by upwards of one hundred knights, and by one thousand other nobles and officers. The university of Prague, by a public document, bore the highest testimony to the doctrines and character of Huss. On the 15th March 1417, Conrad, the archbishop of Prague, deposed all the Hussite priests who had been ordained by his *suffragan Herman*. The council did not condescend to answer the letter of the nobles, but in a circular epistle of 22nd March 1417, addressed to John of Mecklesburg, Alsiscopek of Dubba, and Albert of Coldiz, called them and all the adherents of the pope in the kingdom to assist the council's legate, John Lotmisenia, a bishop, in suppressing heresy. Unparalleled sufferings were now inflicted on the Hussites, who were all excommunicated by the pope. They were spoiled of their goods, cast into prison, and hundreds were thrown into the deep shafts of the mines of Kuttenburg. Some were drowned, and others cruelly burned. Krantz relates,* that a Hussite gentleman at Kuttenburg lifted the cup from before the priest, saying mass,

* Select Narratives, pp. 44—46. Hist. of Bohem. Pers. chap. x. Lenfant, Hist. des Hussites, tom. i. pp. 85, 86, where he inserts a curious poem against the Papists.

who caused a man run the Hussite through the body, and caused the workmen of the silver mines knock down twenty of the people who sought to avenge his death. In 1417, pope Martin V. was elected, and in 1418, he wrote letters to the Bohemians, inviting them to renounce the errors of Wycliffe and Huss. A Dominican, named John, was missioned to Bohemia with this view, by the council of Constance, which was finished in May 1418. He was aided by archbishop Conrad of Prague, who was not then a Hussite. The cardinal of Slane gave the communion under one kind, according to the council, and on the 12th of June, caused an ecclesiastic and a secular man be burnt.*

Though we on the whole approve of the Hussites, we are not pledged to approve of every particular step of that people, yet when we consider their sufferings and their power, it was right they should defend themselves, and when we consider the irritability of human nature, we might expect to hear of their retaliations on their persecutors. They are accordingly charged with pulling down a monastery at Selavonia, or Glacovia, as on the margin, without the walls of the town, as well as with destroying several other monasteries and churches. So large a multitude of people greatly alarmed king Wenceslaus, who was afraid lest they should betake themselves to arms, and deprive him of the kingdom. Nor was his government without danger, but WENCESLAUS CORANDA, a Hussite presbyter, of singular eloquence, and of great influence among the people, was anxious for the safety of the king and government. When addressing admonitions to his auditors regarding public affairs, he thus spoke; "Men and brethren, although we have got a dissipated and inactive king, yet if we proceed to inquire after other princes, there is not one whom we may prefer to our own monarch, whom I have rightly called the pattern of all kings, because he is quiet, benign, exercising love to us: for while he reigns, who dare injure us? We are allowed to live according to our wish. Though he does not hold the same sentiment with us concerning religion, he neither himself disturbs our ritual in religion, nor suffers others to trouble us. From which con-

* Hist. Bohem. Pers. Lenfant, p. 97.

siderations, I reckon that justice requires us to pour out prayers to God on his behalf, and as individuals to ask life for him, whose inactivity is our safety, our rest.”* When the king had this address reported to him by his spies, his fears were allayed, from lukewarmness he became cold, and enrolled Coranda among his friends.

Another Hussite preacher, was JOHN of PREMONTRE, who had been a monk, and arose at Prague. He preached sometime at St Stephen's, in Piscina, and then by advice of the Hussites, assailed the monastery of the Carmelites. They frequently carried the sacred eucharist through their churches, which being few, Nicolas, a nobleman from the same place whence John Huss originated, proceeded to the royal palace, and petitioned Wenceslaus to grant larger churches to them who were already followed by the greater part of the people. The king listened politely to the speech of Nicolas, who was accompanied with several individuals. Wenceslaus commanded them to return on a future day, and dismissed them. Nicolas remaining behind, the king added, “Thou hast begun a web by which thou mightest eject me from the kingdom: but from thence I will make a rope by which I may afterwards strangle thee.” Nicolas retired from the king's presence, reported these proceedings, and the populace became more incensed. The sovereign betook himself to the fort of Visegrad, disjoined from the city by a small river, and shortly after with a few attendants retired to the new castle which he himself had built, five miles distant. Meantime he sent ambassadors to his brother the emperor Sigismund to implore his assistance, and enjoined the chief officers of New Prague, not any longer to suffer the eucharist to be carried about in pomp.† Yet on the 30th of June 1419, the Hussites met armed at the church of the Carmelites, and carried the eucharist through many wide streets and churches to the church of St Stephen, where they pulled down the house of the priest who did not follow their opinions. They

* Lenfant, p. 98, mentions an author, who makes the preacher urge the Bohemian king's title of king of the Romans, as a reason for adhering to him against the Romish faction, but the historian remarks in a note, that the Bohemians never gave their kings this appellation.

† Æneas Syl. pp. 161, 162.

assailed the judgment-hall. Eleven counsellors being struck with fear, saved themselves by flight, but seven others, some accounts say twelve, who had remained, with the chief magistrate of Old Prague, and some citizens, were hastily intercepted and precipitated from the highest windows of the senate house into the court below, on the lances and spears of the irritated people, and the senators receiving many wounds exhibited a sad spectacle.* At the same time, John the Monk, shewed the sacramental elements to the people. Camerarius and three hundred knights of the kingdom hastened to quell the tumult of the incensed people, but consulted their own safety by flight.† When the king heard of these proceedings, he and his court were filled with terror. On the 12th of August, he was seized with a palsy, and marked the names of all the Hussites he destined to death. From day to day he called for help from the emperor, and anxiously waited the arrival of his friends. On the 30th of August, before the aid reached him, he departed this life after a reign of fifty-years.‡

After the decease of Wenceslaus, the crown of Bohemia devolved on Sigismund, emperor of Germany, who set himself with great exertions to extinguish the Hussites, who were very powerful. Benessius, an author who heard John Huss, and took a lively interest in the affair of the three votes against the Germans, and saw with his own eyes what he relates, informs us, that at Michaelmas, 29th September 1419, a great multitude of people assembled in a vast country called Crizky, or the crosses, in the way between Benechau and Prague. These were collected from various towns and villages, but especially from the towns of Prague, at that time very populous. Some were on foot, others in chariots. The attendants were invited by the three priests, JACOBELL, JOHN CARDINAL, and MATHEW of TOCZENICZ. During the life of king Wenceslaus, the people had rendezvoused on some moun-

* The History of the Bohemian persecution, dates this attack on the senate-house, on the 13th July. Lenfant, pp. 106, 107.

† So far was John the Dominican from restoring Bohemia to the Pope, that he was insulted, and retired to Hungary, where he died in 1419. His successor, Branda, had as little success. Lenfant, p. 98.

‡ *Æn. Syl. cap. xxxvii. Hist. Boh. Pers. Lenfant, pp. 109, 110.*

tains, which they called Oreb, Beraneck, and Tabor, to communicate under both kinds. In this country, therefore, Mathew caused erect a table on three empty casks, and administered the Lord's Supper to the people without any preparation. The table was not even covered, and the ministers had not sacerdotal habits. At night all this multitude departed for Prague, and arrived during the night by the light of the flambeaux of Wisrhade. They did not on this occasion attack this fortress, the conquest of which afterwards cost them so much blood. But the war had not yet commenced. The priest Coranda of Pilsen, appeared with a great number of both sexes carrying the eucharist. Before leaving the spot, a gentleman exhorted the multitude to recompense a poor man whose corn they had spoiled, and so liberal a collection was made, that he lost nothing. At this time there was no hostility, for the company marched as pilgrims with only a staff; but matters were soon entirely changed. On separating, the priests advertized the people to repair thither before Martinmas: but all the garrisons which Sigismond then had in the towns and in the castles, united to oppose this assemblage, which gave rise to many bloody combats; for those of Pilsen, Klattau, Tausz, and of Sussicz, who were on the way to the rendezvous, having been by CORANDA advertised of an ambushment, took arms, and gave on every side the same advice, so that a considerable army was speedily formed. When they arrived at the town of Cnin, they received letters from Aust, in the district of Bechin, near Tabor, asking aid to enable the writers to proceed to Prague, because the emperor's forces traversed that route. Five chariots, with an armed force, were sent them. Hardly had these bands passed the Moldau, when they saw before them a body of cavalry commanded by Peter Sternberg, a catholic lord, president of the mint at Kuttensburg. Along with these, was a body of four hundred men and women on foot, who were on a pilgrimage from Aust to Prague. The Hussites sent back notice to Cnin, and marched towards those from Aust, who were posted on a small eminence. They were defeated by Sternberg, before those from Cnin could join them. Some saved themselves by flight, and united with those from Cnin, who likewise being placed on a small mountain, defended

themselves so bravely, that general Sternberg was compelled to retire to Kuttensburg. After the victory, those of Chin, where those of Aust had been beaten, interred the dead during the day, and caused celebrate divine service by the priest. Thence they went to Prague to give thanks for the victory.

Notice has been taken of the Hussites repairing to the mountains to worship God. TABOR was especially selected for this purpose, and some remarks may be here made on this name, and that of TABORITES. Mosheim is certainly wrong when he says, "the Taborites derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history;" for the Mount of Transfiguration did not lie in Bohemia, and he does not mean that the Hussites gave that designation to the mountain from a love to Scripture names, for he tells us below, that "this mountain they called Tabor, from the tents erected for their habitation." *

In the Bohemian tongue, the word Tabor signifies a *tent*; the followers of Huss, when excluded from the churches, proceeded to a mountain in Bechin which was level on the top, and there erected a tent for ministers and people to enjoy divine ordinances; and the name Tabor was for this reason also given to the place, which it retained even after the city was built. Though Lenfant in his history of the Hussite war speaks of this name arising from Ziska ordering the people to erect tents for their own accommodation in those situations where they wished afterwards to build their houses, yet in the history of the council of Constance, he mentions that Nicolas of Hussinetz, not Ziska, being banished from Prague, repaired to the mountain afterwards called Tabor, and made it a place of resort and of worship. Here the account of the origin of the Taborites, by Laurence de Byzyn, a Calixtine, and chancellor of New Prague, under the emperor Wenceslaus, who reigned in the same century, may be introduced. Byzyn was alive at the time when the events which he details occurred, and states, that in the Romish churches in the district of Bechin, great opposition was manifested to communion under both kinds. The presbyters and vicars excluded from their churches, by armed force, all people who favoured

* Mosheim, cent. xv. part ii. chap. iii. § 6.

this plan. In order that the populace might perform divine service in the way they thought most agreeable to Scripture, the pastors conducted their flocks to a mountain which was level on the top in the vicinity, erected a tent of linen cloth, in the form of a chapel, in which, without interruption, they engaged in the service of God, and administered the eucharist in both elements. When the worship was finished, they removed the tent, called the place Tabor, and returned to their homes. This was in 1419. Their friends in the cities, towns, and villages, having heard of these proceedings, resolved to strengthen their hands, repaired to the place of meeting, and joined with them in the cheerful reception of the Lord's Supper. Such as thus met, spent the whole day, not in licentiousness, but in attending to the salvation of the soul. The presbyters performed a three-fold office; for the more learned and the more eloquent began early in the morning by preaching to the people who were divided according to certain rules; the men, women, and boys being in distinct companies. They without fear preached in their turns the word of God to them, treating especially on the pride, avarice, and haughtiness of the clergy. A second class continued to hear auricular confession. A third company of ministers performed the divine employment from morning till mid-day of dispensing the Lord's Supper in both kinds, namely, of the body and blood of the Redeemer. On the 22nd July, upwards of forty-two thousand men, women, and children are computed to have communicated in this manner. Which exercises having been finished, they proceeded for bodily refreshment to places abundantly furnished on the mountain, where they met in brotherly love, not for licentiousness or drunkenness, not for levity or dissipation, but in order to be prepared for the better and more energetic service of God. They all called themselves brothers and sisters, and the rich and poor partook together of the victuals which had been prepared. Nothing approaching to inebriety was there allowed. No dances, no games of bows or bowls, were permitted either to old or young. No contentions, no thefts, no pipes or flutes, no harps like those used in the dedication of churches were to be found; but, like the apostles, all were of one heart and one will, aiming at nothing except the salvation of souls, and the

recovery of the clergy to the primitive standard. Having finished their moderate bodily refreshment, the presbyters and people arose to give thanks to God. With the venerable eucharist, they made a procession round the mountain, the young women preceding the sacrament, while the men and women followed in different companies, uttering aloud and singing songs as they judged proper. This procession being ended, they took an affectionate leave of one another, and of their presbyters, and without turning to the right or to the left, lest they should injure the grass, they returned home by the same way they came. Their number daily increased, as they came from all countries, Pyska, Wodniana, Nezolicz, Heyman, Usti, Janouicz, Ledliz, Pilsen, Prague, Domazlicz, Gretz belonging to the queen, and even from many places of Moravia. While multitudes for devotional purposes, others attended from curiosity to gaze on so great a multitude, and a third class, that they may speak against the truth. King Wenceslaus, as above remarked, was much alarmed with so numerous assemblages, and some of the nobles were so averse to the Taborites, that they commanded their subjects, under pain of the loss of life and goods, to avoid attendance on these meetings, yet persons of both sexes persevered in what they reckoned their duty in the face of such formidable threatening.*

NICOLAS HUSSINEZ was the chief man among the Hussites, and JOHN ZISKA held the office of commander under him. The latter at this period wrote an epistle to the inhabitants of Tausz or Tista to return to their first love, and to continue in the fear of the Lord; to beware of overwhelming themselves under chastisement; to have respect to those who labour for the faith, and suffer persecution, especially from the Germans; to imitate their ancestors, who were always ready to defend God's cause and their own; to have the law of God and the public good before their eyes; to be vigilant; to cause every one to march who is capable of handling a sword, casting a stone, or bearing a club; to assemble from all sides troops to combat the enemies of the truth, and the destroyers

* Byzyn's *Diarium Belli Hussitici* in *Ludewigi Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, vol. vi pp. 187—199

of the nation; to advise the preachers in their sermons to exhort young and old to arrange themselves against antichrist; to be assured that when he shall be with them, he desires they may not want bread, beer, aliments, pasturage, nor arms; to arm not only against external, but domestic enemies; to remember their first combat, in which, though unarmed, they overcame a superior number of armed men; and to be ready, and of good courage, and the hand of the Lord will help them. This letter is subscribed, *ZISKA OF THE CUP, by divine hope, Chief of the Taborites*, and is dated from Worlicz near Tabor.

Ziska was not as yet formally and solemnly declared chief, yet acted as such. He led four thousand men to Prague, who took possession of the monastery of St Ambrose, from which the monks had been driven. They communicated in both kinds, carrying the eucharist in a wooden box. At first the Pragueans proposed to destroy the fortress of Wisrhade, and the small fort of St Wenceslas, and also never to receive Sigismund as their king; but the wiser part opposed, and the enterprise was deferred.*

The number of adherents to Ziska now amounted to upwards of forty thousand persons, who communicated under both kinds at the royal town of Aust, near mount Tabor, as well as on the mountain itself. They prepared three hundred tables. Hagec numbers the children in this multitude, but does not say they communicated. If we deduct these, probably the estimate of communicants at thirty thousand mentioned by Sylvius and Cochle may be correct. They had wooden cups. Hagec states, that the priests used no sacerdotal habits; that all the communicants approached the table without confession or preparation; and that they had spears, cross-bows, clubs, and other arms then in use.†

The Hussites resolved to defend themselves by the sword, under JOHN ZISKA, their commander. This man was of noble extraction, from a place named Trosnow. He was of slender patrimony, and from a boy, educated in the king's court. From youth he was inured to war, and lost the sight of one eye, when fighting bravely for his prince. Having received the doctrine of the Hussites, he refused to own Sigis-

* Lenfant, pp. 101—104.

† Ibid, p. 101.

mund as king. His standard being joined by a multitude of men, he attacked the Romish churches, broke the pictures of the saints, and destroyed the images of God. He invaded the monastery of the Carthusians near Prague, removed its most valuable furniture, ordered the useless monks, fattened like hogs, to remove, and committed the building to the flames.*

Sylvius relates that these convulsions of the Hussites also destroyed the monastery of the Royal Hall, situate at Prague, on the bank of the Moldau, where it is joined by the river Maes. In that monastery the kings were buried, and the workmanship was of singular excellence; for besides the edifice itself, there was an ample dormitory of stupendous erection, and the public schools of the monks, magnificently constructed. In addition to these buildings was a square portico which included a large garden called the circuit, without the walls. On the sides of this portico, the whole Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation was written in large characters on broad tables. The letters were formed so as gradually to increase from the bottom to the top, and thus the writing was easily read downwards. The monks now suffered much as having been the instigators of the death of Jerome and Huss. Many other monasteries were now destroyed at Prague, and afterwards about 550 through the country.†

About the same period, four hundred men, besides a number of women, who believed the Hussite doctrine, descended from the mountains of Prague, entered the court, and begged food from the magistrates. The civic rulers knowing that the great body of the Plebeians pitied the strangers, publicly administered victuals to them. Some think,‡ with great probability, that these were a seed of the Waldenses, who had arisen 240 years ago in Bohemia, under the ministry of Peter Waldo. Having received this accession of strength, Ziska marched to the crosses with a view to besiege the fort of Vissegrad. At the crosses upwards of forty thousand Hussites met, who took courage from their number, and resolved on war against the emperor. While a party remained

* Syl. c. xxxviii.

† Sylvius, cap. xxxvi. Lenfant, pp. 114—116.

‡ This is the opinion of Mr W. Jones, Hist. Christ. Church, vol. ii. p. 213.

to attack Vissegrad, Coranda, a leading man, induced Ziska to march instantly to Pilsen, in which were many friends, and which he fortified with a strong guard. Sophia urged the emperor to march to her assistance. Sigismund, who had been previously defeated by the Turks, and had broken his faith to Huss, was enraged against the Bohemians. The queen, with Cencho of Wartenberg, raised what forces she could, placed a garrison in the fort of Prague, and the lesser city, and added wooden turrets and gates to the bridge over the Moldau, to prevent the passage of her enemies. The Hussites were busy throughout the kingdom, holding conventions, endeavouring to fill the city of New Prague with their men, and using every means to extend their influence. Peter Steremberg on the emperor's side fought against the dissenters from Rome at the isle of Benedict, and the battle ended with nearly equal advantages.*

The Calixtines who confined themselves to the privilege of communion under both kinds, the free preaching of the word of God, the removal of temporal goods from priests, and the reproof of public sins, induced a number of the inhabitants of Old and New Prague, to offer themselves to the Taborites, who replied, that those applicants had not the liberty of the cup, because they were commanded by the fortresses of Wisrhade, and St Wenceslas; that if they would accept of succours from the Taborites, the latter would demolish the forts; and that they proposed to abolish the monarchical, and substitute a republican government in its stead. They all united under Nicholas Hussinetz, and easily carried Wisrhade by assault. Under the command of Ziska, they, by bombardment, a thing lately introduced into Bohemia, besieged the house of Saxe, the church of St Thomas, and the episcopal palace, and a dreadful carnage on both sides continued for five days, which was not even interrupted by the darkness of midnight. The Hussites had the advantage, and took possession of the bridge, and the older parts of little Prague. The judgment-hall in the lower part of the town was laid in ashes, and the Hussites went to attack St Wenceslas, from which the queen had

* *Æneas Sylvius*, cap. xxxviii. *Lenfant*, p. 112.

with difficulty escaped, but they failed, and a truce of four months was agreed to.*

In the meantime, legates arrived with letters from Sigismund accepting the government of the kingdom. Ziska on certain conditions restored Pilsen, Piesta, and other places which he had occupied. The emperor's consulship entered on their official functions according to ancient custom. Sigismund's letters bore that he would soon arrive and govern the kingdom, as his father Charles had ruled the province; which declaration was understood to mean that he would exclude the Hussites. Sigismund, 15th December, arrived at Brunn, in Moravia, and in presence of queen Sophia and other Romanists from Bohemia, caused the leading men to swear to him an oath of allegiance, with hands lifted up to heaven. Instead of proceeding, however, to Bohemia, he journeyed to Breslaw the capital of Silesia, and decapitated twelve of those citizens who had beheaded the consuls appointed by his brother Wenceslaus.

The people of Prague adhered to Cencho, and influenced the kingdom to oppose Sigismund, who was an enemy to the Dalmatian tongue, sought the abolition of the kingdom, had pledged the new marquisite of the ancient Pruteni to his order, had alienated the crown of Brandenburg from that of Bohemia, had permitted, and even procured the burning of Jerom at the council of Constance, and was opposing with all his might the doctrines of the successors of Huss and Jerom.† John of Premontre, a converted monk, urged the Pragueans to oppose the emperor.‡

While these things were transacting, Ziska, having left Pilsen, according to agreement, having been twice invaded by the imperialists and queen's men, and on two occasions treated deceitfully, became, from being almost conquered, himself the conqueror. The places in which he was compelled to fight were rough, his forces were only infantry, and his enemies opposed him with cavalry. As, therefore, the emperor's men dismounted from their horses, Ziska ordered the women, who, according to custom, followed his army, to cast on the

* Lenfant, pp. 128, 129. Sylvius, ib. The former places this in 1420.

† Æneas Sylvius, cap. xxxix.

‡ Lenfant, pp. 133, 134.

earth their loose garments, which by means of the spurs, in-folded the feet of the horsemen, who were killed by the Hussites before they were able to disentangle themselves.*

Ziska next marched to Aust in 1420, a town situate on the bank of the Luschnit. From Aust, the two lords Procopius and Ulric, in the Romish interest, had ejected many persons who held the sentiments of Huss. In the beginning of March, being the first night of lent, he attacked, subdued, plundered, and burnt the town. At a thousand paces distant, he took the castle of Sedelitz, to which Ulric had retired, who, with his family, suffered death from the sword of Ziska, only one being left alive to behead the rest.

Nearly eight stadia, or an Italian mile from Aust, and on the same river, Ziska chose a place fortified by nature to build a city. This was Tabor, where the Hussites had often met for divine worship. This spot was very strong by nature, the greater part of it being washed by the river which there makes a turn, and runs in a direction nearly the opposite to its former course. On the other side, the ground is nearly surrounded by a torrent, which in its course towards the Luschnit, is interrupted by a rocky hill, obliged to bend its current to the right, and runs into the Luschnit. The two rivers form a peninsula, which can be approached by a space hardly exceeding thirty feet, and this spot Ziska selected as a habitation for his followers. Though defended by high rocks, he surrounded it by a wall, and a fort wall. He formed also a third wall. The walls were so thick, that no machine could break them. He dug also a deep ditch, and erected many turrets on the walls and ramparts, he also commanded every man to erect a house where his tent stood. To this city, standing in this elevated situation, he continued the name TABOR. This city was for a considerable time the stronghold of Ziska and his followers, who from time to time added new fortifications. In the river Luschnit, grains of gold are found of the size of a small pea, and which require no purification. The Taborites never had any cavalry till the emperor sent a number of these against them. In the night they rushed out of Tabor, and seized a thousand horses and arms at the village

* Lenfant, pp. 112, 113. *Æn.* Syl. cap. xl.

of Vogize. Nicolaus was saved in the fort, but the village was burnt. At this time Ziska taught men to mount the horses, to leap, to run, and to bend into a circle; nor did he afterwards lead on his forces without wings of cavalry.*

Sylvius very properly distinguishes the Hussites from the Adamites, who imitated our first parents in going entirely without clothes, and pretended they had attained innocence. Ziska, he states, was horrified, and in 1421, killed some of them in war. The same writer calls their founder a Pitchard, from Picardy, in 1418, but Dr Mosheim is confident that the Bohemians change the pronunciation of Beghards into Piccards. John Lasit, in his history of the Bohemian brethren, tries to vindicate these people, viewing them to be the same with the Waldenses, but Mosheim decidedly shews they were different from the Waldenses and Hussites.† Lenfant quotes the persecution of the churches of Bohemia, and Joachim Camerar, especially the latter, as ascribing the most revolting lusts to the Piccards, and distinguishing them from the Taborites and Waldenses. Lenfant thinks them different, because the Hussites always owned the Waldenses, but opposed the Piccards: or the Piccards might be at this period misrepresented.

The Taborites performed divine service in the way they reckoned most scriptural. In their exterior appearance, they wore beards like other men, and were habited in grey or brown clothes: they repeated no canonical hours; had no shaven crowns; and did not enter the churches, because profaned by images or dedicated to saints. They worshipped in the open air or in private houses, observed no ceremonies of the mass, and before communicating, the whole assembly, kneeling, repeated the Lord's Prayer. The table was covered with white linen, and the bread and wine placed on it: the bread was cut or broken, because they did not use wafers: the wine was not contained in consecrated cups of gold or silver, but in vessels of pewter, wood, or stone: the minister pronounced the words of consecration with a loud voice, in the vulgar tongue. After being set apart, the eucharist was not elevated,

* Æn. Syl. cap. xl. Lenfant, p. 104.

† Ibid, cap. xli. Mosheim, cent. xv. part ii. chap. v. § ii. Beausobre has a dissertation on the Adamites in the close of the Utrecht edition of Lenfant's History of the Hussite war, which is the edition I have used.

and, consequently, was not adored, but all the ministers and people communicated, no part of the elements was reserved till next day.

This simple and new service offended the University, and a great proportion of the priests of Old Prague, who had indeed banished the costly ornaments of the mass, yet still observed the canon of the mass, and several other popish rites. These were in a great measure Calixtines, and exclaimed against the Taborites, who, in their turn, blamed the service of their opponents as unscriptural and Pharisaical. Some of the inhabitants approved of the Calixtine, and others of the Taborite worship. Some women, at the instigation of their husbands, hindered the priests from administering divine ordinances with their ornaments. In this manner the division of the successors of Huss into Calixtines and Taborites, was formed in 1420. They had all united in a solemn league to defend themselves against the court of Rome, and even after their division they occasionally aided one another.*

Byzyn seems the most accurate writer on the articles of belief maintained by the Taborites at this stage of their history. Their teachers rejecting the fathers and scholastics as a ground of faith, agreed that the following things be taught to their people. *First*, The faithful ought not to hold or to believe any writings except those which are explicitly contained in the canon of the Bible. *Second*, Every man who studies the liberal arts, or accepts of *degrees* in the same, is a vain man, a pagan, and sins against the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Beausobre refers this to the scholastic learning of the time which succeeded the synagogue of the Pharisees. *Third*, It is not necessary to hold any decree of the Fathers, or any human rite or tradition. *Fourth*, Chrism, holy oil, unction, the consecration of sacerdotal vestments, and such things, ought to be abolished. *Fifth*, Infants are not to be exorcised before baptism, nor are god-fathers to be sought. They are not to be baptized in holy water, but in any water. *Sixth*, All missals, rituals, religious ornaments, viatics, books of hymns, are to be destroyed and burnt. And religious vestments are more fit for rustics than for ministers. *Seventh*, Auricular confession ought not to be observed, but we are to

* Byzyn, pp. 193—196.

confess to God alone. In the discipline of the Taborites, however, public confession was exacted for public offences. *Eighth*, The fasts of lent, and others introduced by men, ought not to be kept. *Ninth*, The faithful are not bound to keep any festival except the Lord's-day. *Tenth*, Every priest who officiates with the tonsure, the surplice, and the like, or who says mass according to the accustomed rite, ought to be despised as the harlot in the Revelation. The Lord's Supper is to be dispensed in a common dress, without an altar, and in any place. It is to be administered with a loud voice, it is not to be elevated, and is not to be preserved till next day. *Eleventh*, Evangelical priests are not to enjoy temporal possessions. *Twelfth*, Purgatory has no existence; only folly and vanity induce men to pray and perform good-works for the dead. *Thirteenth*, Prayers to departed saints savours of heresy and idolatry. *Fourteenth*, No image or similitude of things in heaven or earth, is to be held under the punishment of idolatry, but every such thing is to be destroyed as an idol. These articles were promulgated in 1420, and were common to all the Taborites.*

But there are some additional articles, which Byzyn attributes only to *some* of the Taborites, *sacerdotes quidem Taborienses*. The sum of the statement of Byzyn is, that at the consummation of that age, Jesus Christ should come secretly as a thief, and restore his kingdom; that this should not be an appearance of grace, but of vengeance and retribution on his adversaries by fire and sword; that at that period, every one of the faithful, every ecclesiastic would be bound to draw the sword, and shed the blood of the enemies of Christ's law; that all cities, towns, and villages, would be destroyed and burned, except five cities in which the faithful would take refuge; that the Taborites were the angels whom God had sent, to cause the faithful to withdraw themselves from the places devoted to destruction; that they were the army which the Lord had sent to purge his kingdom from all scandals, and to execute divine vengeance on the nations inimical to the law of Jesus Christ; that at the conclusion of this work, Christ would descend personally and visibly from heaven, to take possession of his kingdom on earth, and shall hold on the

* Byzyn, pp. 190—193.

mountains a great feast as the marriage-feast with his church ; that after this coming of Christ before the last judgment, no kings, nor princes, nor prelates, nor exactors, nor tribute shall exist ; that no persecution of the saints, no sin, nor scandal, nor abomination shall have a being ; that neither preaching, nor sacraments, nor temple shall be necessary, because the Almighty shall then be the temple of his people ; that when Christ appears, his followers being raised shall judge with him the quick and the dead, and live in all parts of the earth ; and that this should soon take place, and John Huss and other saints should be seen with Christ.*

Beausobre thinks these statements exaggerated, and that these people were like the Millenarians.†

WENCESLAUS, a faithful Hussite clergyman, curate of Arnoslowitz, a village near Milizinis, with his officary, suffered various indignities. On the 7th of July 1420, three farmers, and four boys, were placed on the dreadful pile, in order to frighten them, to renounce their religion. When called to abjure, the pastor answered :—" It is the gospel, it was maintained in the primitive church, and is written in this our missal : you must believe it, or else blot out the Scripture, and devour this gospel." On this, one of the soldiers, with an iron rod, struck him on the cheek, so that the blood flowed from his nostrils. Next day they were once more exhorted to leave their heresy, and the minister replied, " God forbid ! We are all willing, if it were possible, to die not only one, but an hundred deaths, rather than deny divine truths, which are so plainly revealed in the Holy Scriptures." The pile having been lighted, the preacher clasped the children in his arms, who joined with him in singing the praises of God in the midst of the flames. The young martyrs were soon suffocated, and their teacher with joy breathed his last. The Romish priests put mud into the lamps of the wax candles, and when the light was extinguished, they asserted that this occurrence, was a mark of God's displeasure against the heretics.‡

* Byzyn, pp. 203—206.
 † See Christian Magazine, for 1804, pp. 226, 227.

† Beausobre's Supplement to Lenfant,

‡ Hist. Boh. Pers. c. xiii. Select Narratives, p. 46. Byzyn's *Diarium Belli Hussitici* in Ludweg's *Reliquiæ*, vol. vi. p. 169, whose date for this martyrdom is 1421.

Pichell, chief magistrate of the city of Leutmeritz, Litomericia, imprisoned in the tower twenty-four citizens as Hussites, including his own son-in-law. By advice of several captains of Sigismund, he drove these presumed heretics in carts, escorted by a band of soldiers, to the banks of the Elbe, with the view of consigning them to a watery grave. The crying of Pichell's daughter to save her husband, had no effect on her brutal father, and she joined her spouse to die by the liquid element. The wives, children, and other relations of the other devoted individuals, uttered the most direful lamentations, which would have rent a heart of stone. On the brink of the river, the martyrs took a mournful farewell of their weeping relatives, called heaven and earth to witness their innocence, and in immediate view of a cruel death, they, with their last words, exhorted those to whom they felt the most tender attachment, to constancy in the profession of religion. The sufferers were then bound hands and feet, placed in boats, rowed into the midst of the stream, and cast overboard. Officers were stationed on the shore, who with poles and forks pushed back such as were floating towards them, and stabbed some who were half dead. The consul's daughter leaped into the water to save her husband; but unable to wade so deep, she clasped him around the middle, and sunk with him to rise no more. Next day they were found in the same position, and were buried in the same grave.*

Sigismund, about 12th June, 1420, entered Bohemia, and attempted by promises on the 24th June to persuade Cenccho to deliver to him the fort of Prague, but was refused. On this the emperor placed four thousand cavalry before the town, on 30th June, but the inhabitants put themselves under Ziska. Only two barons, Hilco Cruffina of Lituburg, and Hilco Valdesten, and a few nobles followed the people of Prague. The fort gave way to Sigismund, in whose retinue were the Duke of Saxony, the Marquises of Brandenburg, and his son-in-law Albert prince of Austria. While the Taborites held their encampment at Hradist, the people of Rosen and magistrates, were conquered by Nicolas Huss, whom Ziska had sent to that place. The queen's forces besieged Gretz. Ziska placed a guard

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xii.

on mount Videcho, which overhangs the city of Prague, which mount was attacked by the marquis of Meissen, who lost the greater part of his soldiers, and Sigismund was obliged to abandon the siege of Prague, and to retire to Kuttenburg. The emperor's forces are said to have been twenty to one of the Taborites, who, on the victory, obtained a very rich booty in money, arms, and rich clothing.*

While the Hussites carried arms for their own defence, they used every means to obtain an honourable peace, for they sent Gallus Perstenus and Mathias Blacils to Kuttenburg. But the people being disposed to chime in with the emperor, cast these ambassadors of conciliation into the mines. John Codech of Gurin, with multitudes of others shared a similar fate.† In the course of the year 1420, seventeen hundred Hussites were tossed into the first mine at Kuttenburg, ten hundred and thirty-eight into the second, and thirteen hundred and thirty-four into the third. Down till the year 1621, their martyrdom was regularly commemorated, on the 18th of April.‡

The Taborites besieged the fort of Wisrhade, but were unsuccessful at first. They took Rziezan, and again attacked Wisrhade on 15th September, and on 31st October they captured and demolished it.§

After the conquest of Wisrhade, and the defeat of Sigismund, the lords of Prague wished to offer the Bohemian crown to Jagellon the king of Poland, because he allowed religious liberty. But the Taborites, and especially Nicholas Hussinetz, opposed the plan, because they had hardly driven away one foreign king, when they were seeking another. Nicholas left Prague, gave up Rziezan to the Pragueans, and the Taborites were displeased with the Calaxtine priests for wearing habits and ornaments fitter for comedians than for ministers, and were about to tear them off, when both sides agreed not to cross themselves in worship. In order to accommodate matters, a meeting of the Calaxtines of old and new Prague, and of the Taborites was proposed to be held in the church of St Ambrose, but Hussinetz refused to attend, because

* Byzyn, pp. 163, 164. 155, 156. Lenfant, pp. 134—138.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xii. ‡ lb. chap. x. Lenfant, p. 169, who states that he does not question these facts. § Lenfant, ib. p. 149.

priests and women were to be excluded. He retired to the house of Rosenberg, where he died at Christmas, in consequence of a gangrene in one of his limbs, which had been bruised by a fall from his horse. Ziska who had formerly been captain, now succeeded Hussinetz as commander-in-chief.

The meeting adjourned to another place in town. The barons proposed to begin by the celebration of mass, but the rector objected, and proposed first to hear the sentiments of the different parties. Accordingly Peter of Maldonovitz, a Notary, who had supported Huss at Constance, read in Latin and Bohemian the articles of the Taborites. The contents of this paper need not be here inserted, because, according to Lenfant, it contained not only the articles in which all the Taborites were agreed, but also those which were maintained, only by the more violent. As the proper distinctions have been already given from Byzyn,* nothing but confusion could arise from inserting the paper as given by Lenfant, who evidently has not seen Byzyn.

After reading these articles, the sentiments of the company were much divided. The masters of the university called the statements erroneous, scandalous, and offered to refute them from Scripture. Some Taborites defended all the points. Others on the same side, being more moderate, excepted the articles which contained virulence, and said they were falsely imputed to them. One of them remarked, that the council of Constance had counted only forty articles against them, while seventy were now imposed. They asked a copy of the paper to answer it. Meantime Nicholas Biscupec, a leading preacher among the Taborites stated, that they would not now agitate the question regarding sacerdotal garments, though the Taborites wished the communion administered in habits more simple than those of Prague, with their ornaments, which were not used by Christ and his Apostles, but introduced by the popes; and that the Pragueans had not renounced the donation of Constantine, though John Huss had insisted against the ecclesiastics possessing temporal goods conferred by the emperors.

* See pp. 42—44.

Jacobel next arose and read the articles of the Calixtines from a long paper, to this purpose, that in the church there are things essential to salvation, as the reading of the words of consecration over the bread and wine, and other matters are accidental, as the ornaments: that the former cannot be changed, but the latter may be observed or omitted according to times and necessity: that the institutions of the holy doctors are to be observed so far as they are not contrary to the law of God: that if the Taborites wished to imitate Christ in the Supper, they ought to select an evening after supping, and to wash the communicants feet; and that the Taborites, among whom some reckon the Piccards, might propose any thing at some future time. The 8th July was appointed. The Calixtines of Prague, though contrary to the wish of the Taborites, offered the crown to the king of Poland, under four conditions, to have communion under both kinds, correction of public crimes, the free preaching of the word, and the clergy to have no secular possessions. But the fear of Sigismund, and the divided state of the kingdom prevented the Polish monarch from accepting the offer.*

On the 26th of December at Jaromirz, or according to others, Kerchzim, Hink Czerwenchorsky, an imperial captain, entered the church where the Lord's Supper was dispensing, massacred a number of people, took the cup from the table, drank to his horses, caused the animals to drink, cast the remainder on the ground, and declared that his horses are communicants in both kinds.† Near the town of Nymbourg, Hinko Podiebrad a Hussite barbarously cut off the hands, noses, and ears, of some prisoners. Sufficient evidence has been already produced, however, that the true Taborites are not to be reproached as countenancing such cruelty.

A few days after, the new castle of Conrăditz was besieged, and the imperialists agreed to quit it to the Pragueans, who swore on the gospels, to allow the former to depart with their goods. On the imperialists coming out, their enemies began to pillage them, and they returned to the fort, defending them selves with such valour, that the Pragueans lost five hun-

* Lenfant, pp. 151—160.

† Lenfant, p. 160. Hist. Boch. Pers. chap. xiii. Ibid, p. 160.

dred and fifty-seven men, before they obtained possession of the fort, which they burnt.* These were the men who pleaded for moderation.

Ziska obtained a victory at Voticz, and Cencho who had been always with the Hussites at heart, delivered to them the fort of St Wenceslas. A great part of its grandeur, and the relics, were destroyed. The cities of Zatec, Launy, and Slan, confederated to defend the Hussites, and the people of Prague put themselves in a posture of defence against the emperor and the queen. This was in January 1421.†

Ziska at Prague, by advice of his clergy, proceeded to destroy all churches dedicated to saints, for they maintained, that temples ought to be consecrated only to God. Consequently, many churches and monasteries were demolished. The town of Little Prague he deprived of its chief man, who was from Vissegrad, and burnt many men, women, boys and infants, with all the priests in the place, shut up in the church. The people of Prague were displeased with these proceedings, and Ziska returned to the Taborites.‡ About this time Conrad Archbishop of Prague, declared himself an advocate for communion under both kinds. He put off the mitre, assumed the helmet, appointed four divines to act in consistory during his absence, and as commander of the militia, fought against the church of Rome.§

No necessity impels us to give account of the Orbits of the territory of Gretz, who observed the Roman ritual and held the character of a cruel sect, which Martin V. was unable to extirpate. The people of Prague besieged the castle of Vissegrad, and the inmates were compelled to subsist on the flesh of horses. At last the parties agreed, that if Sigismund did not approach before a certain day, the fort should be given up, but if he arrived by the time specified, the inhabitants of the fortification should be neutral. Sigismund, ignorant of the agreement, appeared on the very day. He stationed himself in a place close under the castle, where he could be easily defended by the besieged, who owned their allegiance to him.

* Lenfant, pp. 160, 161. † Byzyn, ib. ‡ Æn. Syl. cap. xlii.

§ Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xiii. where the date, 8th July 1420, is given, and where he is mentioned as crowning Sigismund on the 30th July, but see at 28th July 1421.

He was suddenly assailed by the men of Prague, and suffered great slaughter. There fell fourteen chief men of the Moravians, a great many Hungarians, and a number from other nations. Sigismund was compelled to retire without accomplishing his object, and the castle was given to the people of Prague.*

On 15th March 1421, JOHN CRAESA, a respectable merchant and preacher of Prague, happening to be at an inn of Breslaw, betrayed, by some expressions, that he favoured the sentiments of John Huss, and was immediately imprisoned. The day following, Nicolas de Bethlehem, a student from Prague, was apprehended for the same cause, and cast into the same dungeon. Nicholas was extremely depressed, from fear of the rack, and Craesa endeavoured to encourage him by the following considerations: "My brother! how highly are we honoured in being permitted publicly to witness for the truth as it is in Jesus. Our conflict is short—our reward eternal. Let us remember our Lord Jesus Christ, who for us endured all the bitterness of death, when he redeemed us by his holy and innocent blood; and how many witnesses of his truth have suffered martyrdom for his sake?" The student, however, had not sufficient courage to lay down his life for the gospel, but abjured the doctrines of Huss! Craesa continued firm, and was consumed to ashes.†

In the year 1421, Ziska took the monasteries of Cladrow and of Toplitz, as well as the fortress of Schwamberg and Rockizane, where he killed some monks. On the 16th of March, Ziska took Commotau, where some Hussite priests and people had been burnt, and 225 Taborites from Przelauz had been cast into the mines of Kuttensburg. He put multitudes of men and women to the most cruel deaths, though historians differ as to the details. Some days after, he besieged and took Beraun, but lost 150 men. When encamped before Raby, he lost the sight of his remaining eye by an arrow. He was carried to Prague, where the physicians healed the wound, but the sight was gone.‡ On the 3rd of

* Æn. Syl. cap. xliii.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. ch. xi. Select Narratives, pp. 46, 47. Lenfant, pp. 132, 133. Byzyn, pp. 158, 159.

‡ Lenfant, pp. 127, 162—173. Sylv. chap. xlv.

April, the ministers, magistrates, and inhabitants of Prague engaged by solemn oath to stand firm against the Hungarians.* Sigismund had a strong guard at Verona, which the Hussites took, and killed many youths of both sexes. Tausch opened its gates to them. They attacked Broda, which they vanquished, and burnt numbers who had fled to the tower, with two hundred in the church. Kaurschim, Colin and Kuttenburg, submitted to Ziska with small opposition, but little toleration was granted to the monks at Sedlitz and other places. He proceeded to Tabor, and exterminated some Piccards. He took Sezemitz and Jaromier after some resistance, where he burnt eighteen priests, who would not change their religion.†

In the beginning of July, the Pragueans convened the states of Bohemia at Czaslaw. The Moravians were invited to attend, but declined, because they had sworn allegiance to Sigismund. ULRIC of ROSENBERG was elected president, and the meeting resolved that the Word of God be freely preached in Bohemia and Moravia; that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ be administered in both kinds; that priests and monks, many of whom rule in the republic, be deprived of the large quantity of temporal goods they possess, and which take them off from their official duties; that all public mortal sins, and all disorders against God's law, be reprov'd by those who have these things in charge; that they will not receive Sigismund as king, because he has deceived them, seeks to destroy the kingdom, and despises Scripture truths in the view of the Pragueans and Taborites; and that twenty persons be chosen to govern the kingdom.‡

Sigismund having got intelligence of this meeting, sent ambassadors with letters of credence, offering himself as king, and promising to grant the people the four points for which the Pragueans plead. The Bohemians replied, that Sigismund had violated his faith to John Huss at Constance; that the most unprincipled men were allowed to speak against Huss, and the emperor had caused Jerome also to be burnt; that the emperor had agreed to execute the pope's excommunication of the Bohemians, and is the cause of all the bloodshed

* Byzyn, p. 162, 163.

† Lenfant, ib. Syl. ib

‡ Byzyn, pp. 176—180.

in the land; that he had burnt John Craesa at Breslau; that the grandees resolved to keep the crown within the kingdom; and that he had removed some of the most valuable relics of Bohemia. The emperor's answer tried to apologize for him, and to throw the blame of the disorders on his opposers.*

On the 23rd July 1421, Wenceslaus, a tailor, was burnt at Prague in a tub, because at Monstrance he had refused to rise, and turned his back on the sacrament.† On the 28th July 1421, at twelve o'clock, Sigismund was crowned king of Bohemia, in the camp near Prague; and on 30th July, a great part of his army deserted him.‡

On the 5th August 1421, the Taborites presented to the city of Prague twelve articles, on the acceptance of which they would defend the city. These regarded the punishment of notorious crimes, the restraint of luxury, the abolition of pagan laws, the preaching of the word, the regulation of the conduct of the clergy, and the banishment of the enemies of the truth. They respected also the destruction of monasteries, images, decorations in the service of God, and of every thing antichristian. They concluded by stating, that in defence of these truths they had risked their property and lives, and many of them had shed their blood; that through divine assistance they will maintain these articles; that they wished all to agree with them; and that in this case the people of Prague might depend on their aid. The doctors of the university, and the inhabitants of the Old Town, where the Calixtines prevailed, rejected the articles, and the Calixtines deserted them. But the population of New Prague acceded to the proposals, and the Taborites continued their alliance.§

Meantime the Selisians entered Bohemia, and butchered many. On 26th February 1421, Martin Loquis had been apprehended and accused of holding the doctrine of the Waldenses, in regard to the bread and the cup. By the intercession of the Taborites, he was liberated. He and Procop Jedonock were proceeding to Moravia, expecting there to live in peace. On their journey through Chrudim, they were apprehended, and ma-

* Lenf. pp. 179. † Boh. Pers. c. xiv. ‡ Byz. pp. 181, 182. In the Hist. of Boh. Pers. chap. xiii. this coronation is mentioned as performed by Conrad in the Fort at Prague on 30th July 1420, but Byzyn seems more correct in dates, and does not at all speak of Conrad. § Byzyn, pp. 182, 183.

naced by Captain Denis. Being questioned by the captain, Martin replied, "the body of Christ is in heaven, for he has but one body, not many;" on which the captain struck him in the ear. Ambrose, pastor of Hřda, took charge of them, and detained them prisoners fifteen days, but as they would not recant, he sent them to Raudnic, and shut them up two months in a dungeon. Being tormented, they discovered some of their friends. On recovery, they boldly said, "Not we, but you must return from error, because ye are turned aside from the word of God to antichrist, and worship the creature for the Creator." Being brought to the fire, the Shavellings admonished them to desire the people's prayers. They replied, "We do not need their prayers. Pray for yourselves, O Christians, and for those that seduce you, that the everlasting Father of light may bring you out of darkness." Led to the place of suffering, they were together shut up in a tub, and consumed by the fire, 21st August 1421. Soon after, three divines, Casca a citizen, George of Clatow, Abraham and others, were apprehended for forbidding the torches to be lighted at the altar before sacrament.

During the year 1421, a body of Hussites appeared in Moravia under two priests. The grandees of the country applied for help to John of Pragne, now archbishop, after Conrad had become a Hussite. John joined the Moravian captain, and with his own hand killed two hundred Hussites, and afterwards became a cardinal.*

Sigismund ordered his chief electors to enter Bohemia on the west, on Bartholomew's day, 24th August, and he himself would enter it on the east with the Hungarians. Thither repaired the archbishop of Mentz, the count Palatine of the Rhine, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many priests from Germany. Others sent their proportion of forces. They were unable to take the town of Sozium [Saatz?] though the country was laid waste, and though the siege was continued till the feast of St Gall, 2nd September, at which time they abandoned the attempt, as Sigismund had never arrived. About Christmas, however, he entered Bohemia, 25th December, with an army of Hungarians, Austrians,

* Lenfant, p. 195.

and Moravians. He took several towns, and among others, Kuttenburg, but on the approach of Ziska, he burnt it and fled. On account of the silver mine, the Taborites usually called that place the purse of antichrist. Ziska pursued the emperor one whole day, was greatly enriched by the spoil, and burnt Broda, which remained almost fourteen years without inhabitant. At this time the emperor crossed the Inglow by a bridge. Piso, the Florentine, led fifteen hundred Hungarian horsemen over the ice, which gave way, and large companies of them were drowned. Ziska would not allow a statue or picture of a saint to remain in the churches, nor would he permit the priests to wear sacerdotal vestments, which offended the chief men of the kingdom.*

JOHN ZELINE,† a monk of the Exemplars, pastor of New Prague, preached the doctrine of the Taborites. He was betrayed by captain Hoschek de Welisch of Old Prague, whom he had often reproved. The monk, with twelve more, were brought before the senate in common hall, and beheaded 9th of March 1422. The servants not being sufficiently cautious to wash away the blood, the matter became known to the populace. A tumult was raised, and eleven of the chief citizens were killed as authors of the deed. The college of Charles was robbed by the people, and the library scattered. The women, who reckoned John the Monk for divine, obtained possession of his head, carried it to the churches of the city, laid it in aromatics as a sacred relic, and honoured him as a saint and a martyr. The instruments of his death were characterized as sacrilegious, wicked, and hateful to God and man, who laid their hands on the sacred priest. A priest named Gudentius, holding Zeline's head on a charger, preached his funeral sermon from Acts viii. 5. By carelessness, the castle of Purglitz was burnt, in which Sigismund had a small guard, and in which were some Roman Catholics from Prague, with wives and children. A few who escaped proceeded to Pilsen.

According to Balthazar Lydius, the Taborites held a Synod

* Sylv. ib. chap. Lenfant, pp. 192, 193.

† This man had imprudently tried to depose the magistrates of Prague, and elect others.—Lenfant, pp. 189, 190.

in 1422, and drew up a number of articles. Among other things, they condemned the disorders committed during the war, by a licentious soldiery. In particular, they disavowed the impertinent applications which certain priests made of the words of Scripture, which interpretations had been invented to authorize these excesses.*

Some of the Bohemian nobility, in 1422, and the magistracy of Prague, commissioned legates to Witold,† duke of Lithuania, and acknowledged him as their king; but Ziska and his followers opposed this step, because freemen should own no sovereign. Witold sent Sigismund Coribut with two thousand horsemen to Bohemia, who was received with marked respect in Prague. He was indulgent to such as were disposed to live in quietness, but severe against the restless: this was about Whitsunday 1422. The Lithuanians besieged the fortified castle of Carlstein, in which the emperor had left four hundred men. The siege lasted six months; five large engines for throwing stones were plied almost without interruption. About two thousand vessels filled with carcasses and excrements, flung against the enemy, raised such a rank flavour among the besieged, that their teeth were loosened and many of them dropped out. They however privately received from Prague a medicine to refix the teeth. A fountain without the walls, in the middle of a steep rock, supplied water to the inhabitants, who, in going to fetch it, were defended by an old tower above the spot. This tower the besiegers from Prague tried to destroy by the machines. Report states, that a certain chief citizen of the besieged, fell accidentally into the power of those of Prague; that they ordered him to repair to the top of the tower; that they in mockery put a fan in his hand, to drive away the stones from the machine as if they had been flies; that those of Prague conceived that the besieged would spare their own fellow-citizen; that the people however induced by no mercy, cast a great many large stones against the individual; that he continued a whole day untouched, and that he was preserved by the humanity of the enemy, more than by the clemency of his own townsmen.

* Taborite Confession in Balthazar Lydius Waldensia, tom. i. cap. 48 p. 251, referred to in the Christian Magazine, Edin. for 1804 p. 227.

† Lenfant, pp. 212—217.

Meantime Frederic, Prince of Brandenburg, and other Princes, entered Bohemia with a powerful military force, spread devastation far and wide, and compelled the assailants from Prague to abandon the siege of Carlstein. By the request of Vladislaus, king of Poland, who had come with the emperor Sigismund in the confines of Hungary, Witold of Lithuania at Martinmas recalled his unsuccessful cousin Coribut out of Bohemia.*

By that occurrence the emperor imagined that the Hussites being destitute of external aid would immediately submit to his authority. But he was far deceived, for in 1423, they became gradually bolder, went beyond Bohemia, and Ziska even entered Moravia and Austria, whose inhabitants in one quarter, transported their pigs and cattle to an island in the Danube. Some of these animals having been by neglect left in the villages, the Hussites drove them to the bank of the river, and the bestial feeding on the island, hearing a grunting and lowing like their own, they, by instinctive desire to associate with creatures like themselves, swam across the river. In this way a rich booty was seized. Though the people of Moravia had mostly become Hussites, yet the emperor conferred that province on Albert his son-in-law, that it might not want a defender; but Ziska prospered.†

At that time also Erice king of Dacia, and the infant Peter of the same family with the king of Portugal, father of James the cardinal of St Eustach, both of extensive experience in military affairs, joined the emperor and increased his army with auxiliary forces, adding a large quantity of stores. An encampment was formed before Lutemberg, a town of Moravia filled with Hussites, who under Procop defended the city with great bravery. This man was sister's son to Aqua, an opulent knight of Prague, who having no children had adopted him, and had taken him when of proper age along with him to France, Spain, and Jerusalem, and on his return had got him ordained presbyter. He adhered to Ziska. Being robust and active he executed the principal orders. He had the province of Moravia and the defence of Lutemberg com-

* Sylv. ib. Lenf. pp. 212--217. Boh. Pers. chap. xvi.

† Sylv. ib. Len. p. 223.

mitted to him. In spite of the besiegers, he received considerable reinforcements of men, introduced provisions into the town, and rendered the efforts of Sigismund vain, though the siege was continued for three months.

The emperor in 1424, appointed Frederic the Marquis of Meissen, to Leutmeritz, to protect the bridge over the Elbe and Aussig, which were besieged by Ziska and those of Prague. Determined to aid the besieged, Frederic and his brother the Landgrave of Thuringia, collected soldiers from Saxony, Thuringia, Meissen, and both the Lusatias. Before the city a protracted and bloody battle was fought with varied success on both sides, but victory at last declared for the Hussites. The Viscounts of Meissen, and of Chirpogen or Chiburgen, with the Count of Glichen, and many nobles, fell in the conflict; of whom the greater number laid down their arms, and in vain on their knees begged their life. Nine thousand on the emperor's side were left dead, and Aussig was taken and razed to the foundation.*

Elevated with victory, Ziska became daily more determined. He destroyed any remaining popish churches, harrassed the priests, and exacted large contributions from the citizens. The villages and cottages near Prague, which opposed his rule, were burnt. Wherefore the Pragueans, trusting to the barons, raised forces against him, and unless he had passed the Elbe at Poggiebrac he would have been captured. A number of his followers crossed the river by various bridges, but a great many Taborites of the last company were killed. Ziska, on 8th June, repaired to the mountains, entered a narrow valley where his enemies could not destroy his bands, and ordered the standard bearer to halt. Having addressed a short speech to his men, they faced about and gave battle to their pursuers. The combat was most bloody. Ziska was victor, killed three thousand of the Praguean army, and put the rest to flight. He immediately retook Kuttensburg which had been now repaired by the people of Prague, reduced to ashes the town, and killed the persons from Prague who were in it.

Elated with success, he marched to Prague with hostile standards, pitched his camp at the distance of a bow-shot, and

* Sylv. ib.

instantly commenced the siege. Many on both sides were grieved for this unhappy division among the Hussites. Some accused Ziska, and others those of the city. A considerable degree of mutiny obtained in the camp. The soldiers urged, that they were acting an unbecoming part by pressing with arms the capital of the kingdom, that the people of Prague did not differ from them regarding religion, that the power of the Bohemians would in a short time fall if the enemy should hear that they were divided, that all their warlike exertions were necessary to oppose the emperor, and that they acted most foolishly in turning their arms against themselves. Ziska having been apprised of these remarks, collected to one spot a multitude of his adherents, mounted a wine cask which happened accidentally to be near him, and delivered the following address: "Beware of indulging bitterness against me, and of accusing a man who has saved you. Recent are the victories which ye have atchieved under me as your leader. Have I led you into any situation whence ye have not returned conquerors? Ye have become celebrated. Ye have become rich. For your sake I have lost an eye, and now act in darkness. To me nothing remains but an empty name, from so many wars happily conducted. With you I have fought, with you I have conquered. Neither of my labours, nor of my hard blindness do I repent. I only grieve that I cannot consult for your welfare in the way I formerly did. Nor do I pursue the people of Prague for my own sake. They thirst for your blood, not for mine. They will reckon it no object to destroy an old man like me. They fear your exertions and your hearts bold in dangers. While they prepare snares for me they desire your life. Either you or they must perish. Domestic more than foreign arms are to be feared by you. Civil contentions must be removed. We shall besiege Prague, and, before the news of our discord can be carried to Sigismund, we shall have power to exterminate the seditious citizens. With a small company who are of the same mind we shall with greater safety expect the emperor, than if the changeable populace of Prague fight in the camps with us. But that you may not bring any farther accusations against me, I grant you the free power of consulting for yourselves. If you judge proper to give peace

to the people of Prague, I do not refuse it, provided deceit is not employed. If you determine war, I prosecute it alone. To whatever side ye incline, Ziska will be the helper of your purpose." This oration was no sooner concluded than the minds of the soldiers were changed, and they decreed war. The main body began to take arms, to be in great agitation, to approach the walls, and to provoke the enemy. They stimulated war at the gates of the city, and drove back such of the citizens as they saw disposed to come out. In short, Ziska prepared every thing for the siege.*

At this period, John Rockezane was in high authority in Prague. He was a native of the town Rockezane, near Pilsen, in the neighbourhood of the city. He had entered Prague begging his daily bread, but possessing a good understanding he learned grammar and logic. When he advanced to the age of a young man, he became tutor to the son of a certain nobleman. He was admitted to the college as a pauper, and became an auditor of Jacobel. Lastly, he was ordained presbyter, preached the word of God with considerable acceptance, and received his surname from the place of his origin. Being of high repute when the Taborites were besieging Prague, the citizens commissioned him to go out to the camp of the enemy, and he succeeded in reconciling the city to Ziska on the 13th of September 1424.†

Though Albert, and John archbishop of Prague, had some degree of success in Moravia, and though Sigismund had induced the king of Denmark and Coribut not to aid the Hussites, and the king of Poland to promise him 5000 cavalry, yet the emperor judged that prudence required him to attempt to gain Ziska by flattering promises, because the Hussites had hitherto been able to set him at defiance. Sylvius laments, to the infamy of the Christian world, that "our age has seen Sigismund, who is sprung from emperors and himself an emperor, whose name Italy, France, Germany, and all Europe, has venerated, whom barbarous nations feared,—has seen him, I say, a suppliant to a man by no means sprung from noble parents, old, blind, heretical, sacrilegious, bold in

* Æn. Syl. ib. cap. xlv. Lenfant, ib. pp. 226—228.

† Æn. Syl. cap. xlv. Lenfant, p. 228.

every wickedness, to offer him money and the highest honours, that he might condescend to be on his side." This alludes to the emperor's offer of the governorship of Bohemia to Ziska, with a handsome salary, on condition of his acknowledging Sigismund as king.

None can say what were Ziska's designs, but he proceeded towards Moravia, with some friends from Prague, either with a view to recover what he had lost, or to treat with Sigismund. Be this as it may, he was seized with the plague which raged in his army when besieging Przibidlau on the confines of Bohemia and Moravia. He died on the 11th October 1424. Historians almost unanimously agree, that when he felt himself dying, he enjoined his followers to make a drum of his skin, assuring them of victory if they should beat it when going to battle. Another part of his last orders is not quite so well attested, namely, that he commanded them to expose his dead carcase to the beasts and birds. We have no very certain accounts whether the first of his dying wishes was actually executed, but his followers did not contradict the belief of their having fulfilled it. His other command was not complied with, because the Bohemians gave him an honourable burial at Czaslaw, in the cathedral edifice, with this epitaph, "Here lies John Ziska, who in the military art yielded to no general, a rigorous avenger of the rage and avarice of the ecclesiastics, an ardent defender of his country." A variety of other inscriptions on him are found in the neighbourhood of his grave.

At the time of Huss's death, Ziska was chamberlain to the king, and viewing that event as an insult on Bohemia, he resolved with his master's permission to revenge it on the priests and monks. Though revengeful, he displayed admirable prudence and judgment, in various trying and delicate circumstances. Cochle though prejudiced against him admits that though blind none ever achieved greater victories. The battles were always conducted according to his instructions. He invented an ingenious plan of warfare, to place his waggons so as to form a defence against the cavalry of the enemy. He held the sentiments of the Waldenses and the Wycliffites, in opposition to transubstantiation. His persecution of the Piccards, who are commonly viewed as Waldenses, seems to have been

because he considered them as Adamites, or because they shewed a kind of attachment to the ceremonies of the Romish Church, as the author of the Moravian war states. His priests were called singers from their linen surplices.*

CHAPTER III.

Division of the Hussite army into Taborites and Orphans—Are still successful in war in Bohemia and other countries—Interview with the emperor at Presburg unavailing—Send Deputies to the council of Basle, but obtain nothing—The Taborites and Orphans finally vanquished at Prague as to their military power—Roman Catholic Religion re-established in Bohemia—Principles of the Calixtines and Taborites—Cannot unite.

ENOUGH has been already stated to shew that the followers of Ziska were not all of the same sentiments regarding his wars, which were partly political. After his death they divided into several parties. One division elected PROCOP THE GREAT, called RASA or the shaven, formerly mentioned, for their general; and they retained the name of Taborites. Another class conducted the war by a council, and called themselves Orphans, among whom the leading man was PROCOP THE LESS. They united however in opposing foreign violence. Excepting to make necessary purchases, they seldom entered walled cities. They lived with their wives and children in the camps. For a wall they used waggons, which they possessed in great abundance. When they proceeded to battle they formed of these carriages two wings, enclosed their infantry in the middle, and the wings of their horsemen were without these munitions. When the time seemed proper to join battle, the general gave a sign and the waggoners who led the wings, brought together the different divisions of the waggons, so that the party of the enemy which they had in eye was gradually enclosed. The enemy they intercepted were beyond the help of those on their own side, and were killed partly with the sword of the infantry, partly by missiles sent from

* Lenfant, *ib.* pp. 229—240. Sylv. cap. xlvii. Holmes, p. 20.

the waggoners. The Hussite cavalry fought without the fortifications, and if the enemy pressed them so hard as to oblige them to flee, the waggons were immediately opened to receive them. They were thus defended as in a city surrounded with walls, and in this way a great many brilliant victories were achieved, while the circumambient nations were inexperienced in that mode of warfare. That extensive northern region was considered to be much calculated for setting in array these orders of carts or waggons.

Two armies were sent out by the Hussites, the one depopulating Silesia, the other Moravia. Some called the Germans Philistines, some Idumeans, and some Moabites, and denominated Bohemia the land of promise. They made various incursions into the neighbouring provinces, and returned with their prey before the enemy were apprized of their approach. A third army consisting also of Orphan Brethren, was led by Bredric a presbyter of Strasnitz in Moravia, who for a number of years prosecuted the wars in Silesia. Sylvius is displeased with him because he twice married a wife. The Taborites and Orphans besieged at the same time the town Swetla in Austria. For two nights and a day they continued the attack without intermission. Albert, prince of the land, approached with an army to relieve the town, and a bloody battle ensued which lasted four hours; the chief warriors in the two armies fell; and both sides seem to have been so much crippled as to be obliged to desist. The Taborites lost their waggons, and Albert retired from the scene deprived of his camps, which was caused by the negligence of Ropert Vallensis leader of the army. This engagement is dated 5th November, 1425. Procop Rasa besieged Retzen in Austria in 1426. The people of Prague followed him, as did Boheslaus Cygneo, formerly noticed, who was killed by an arrow. Retzen was captured, plundered and burnt, and multitudes perished. James de Haydek, Burgrave of Magdeburg, and lord of the place, was carried to Prague where he died in prison.* The Taborites defeated also a large Imperial force at Aussig in Bohemia on the 18th of June 1426, and laid siege to Podiebrad in October and November that year.†

* Sylv. cap. xlvii. but the dates are from Lenfant.

† Lenfant, ib. pp. 266—268.

In 1427, the administrators of the consistory of Prague, Mr Prizbram and Mr Procop of Pilsen, the chancellor of the university, with Peter of Mladonewitz and Dr Thrzostan a physician, were imprisoned and afterwards banished for the pure doctrine.*

In the course of the year 1427, pope Martin V. ordered cardinal Winton, bishop of Winchester in England, to march along with the emperor against the Bohemians. Three armies were engaged in this contest. In the first the dukes of Saxony and of the stagnant cities served : the marquis of Brandenburg led the second out of Franconia : and Othon the archbishop of Trevers led the third from the banks of the Rhine. Some served from Bavaria, and from the imperial cities of Swabia. Having entered Bohemia at three different points, they afterwards penetrated a wood, and having united, they encamped before Meissen on the 25th June 1427. Prichicho of Eleno, otherwise called Prierco of Clenou, a learned Hussite, had taken that place from the imperialists on the preceding night. Before proceeding farther, the emperor's army intended to recover this city, but having heard of the approach of a Hussite force, they fled to Zachow where they left their warlike instruments and the booty. Here cardinal Winton met the army for the first time, and expressed his astonishment that so many brave men should flee from an inferior enemy. On their refusal to rally, Winton fled along with them ; and scarcely had they entered a wood when the Bohemians attacked their rear. As the Germans fled, the Hussites pursued. Having seized the baggage of the enemy, the Taborites with warlike machines assailed and subdued Zachow. They depopulated Meissen, and returned through Franconia ; and lest they should lay waste the territory of Bamberg and Norimberg, money was granted them, and they were much enriched. Sigismund proceeded to Norimberg to procure fresh supplies from the princes.†

After many bloody battles, the emperor, in March 1428, invited the princes of Bohemia to meet him at Presburg, a town of Hungary, on the confines of Austria, on the Danube. Sigismund went out to meet them in tents. He alluded to his

* Hist. of Bohemian Persecution, chap. xvi.

† Sylv. cap. xlviii.

grandfather's and father's reigns, and stated that if any thing on his part had a tendency to alienate their minds from him, he would remove it, and that he should be an indulging sovereign to the Bohemians from whom he had sprung. Opportunity being now granted to mention their grievances, the Bohemians represented, that Sigismund had assailed them with armed forces without any just cause; that some of their citizens unheard had been burnt at Constance in violation of the public faith; that the chief men of Bohemia were condemned as heretics by the Romish Church; that the kingdom was contemptuously interdicted from the use of sacred things; and that Bohemia had a right to consult her own honour. To evade these reasonable pleas, the emperor proposed a general council in which the Bohemians might shew their innocence, provided they would submit to the judgment of the universal church. But the Bohemians being accustomed to overcome by arms were not to be won by such proposals, and accordingly nothing was accomplished.*

In the course of 1428, at Beraune the Calixtines and Taborites held another conference with a view to conciliation. They disputed on seven sacraments, predestination, free-will, and justification.† Though the historian does not specify the views of the Taborites on the last mentioned points, yet they were probably similar to those of the reformed churches, as may be gathered from some things in their confession of 1442, to be afterwards given.

The war was continued and the Hussites still bade defiance to the emperor to subdue them. Pope Martin V. sent Julian, cardinal of St Angelo, to invade the Bohemians, and waited on Sigismund at Norimberg on the 24th June 1430. The same day Frederic marquis of Brandenburg, was appointed general of the war to be directed by the cardinal. He entered Bohemia by Thopa, and Albert prince of Austria was commanded to lead his forces through Moravia. In that expedition the other chief men were Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, with Frederic of Saxony, also princes Albert and John of Brandenburg, with their father Frederic at the head of the war. The bishops also of Herbipolis, Bamberg, and

* Sylv. cap. xlvii.

† Lenfant, pp. 266, 267.

Eisteten ; the society of St George in Swabia ; the magistrates of imperial cities, the bishops of Mentz, Trevers and Cologne sent auxiliaries, and with these the chief men of these provinces. Report states the number of horsemen at sixty thousand ; the number of infantry was smaller. Renatus prince of Lorraine could not be present, as he was under necessity of opposing the count of Videmont ; the former was aided by the count Palatine of the Rhine. Albert leading his men out of Austria, and not finding the cardinal on the first of August, retreated ; but the cardinal at the head of an immense army, having entered the kingdom, burnt many Hussite villages, plundered the towns, and butchered male and female, old and young. The leaders however feared to enter the interior of the kingdom. The Bohemians burnt many houses of the Romanists ; the Orphans besieged, took and plundered the town of Stiltverg in 1431, putting the youths to death. Whether from treachery or from cowardice, we know not, but the imperial forces in trepidation deserted their camps before they even saw the enemy. Julian and his fellow-officers exhorted the army to rally, by urging, that they did not fight for the glory of the kingdom or the possession of lands, but for the honour of Christ and the salvation of the soul ; that it was base in the honourable German nobility to fly before an unseen enemy ; that they were not safe within walls even after they had deserted their camps and arms to the enemy ; and that unless they would defend their liberty by the sword, they should either fall by the sword of the enemy, or suffer a servitude more miserable than death. But fear had got the mastery of shame. They got into disorder, disregarded commanders and comrades, and threw away standards and arms as if the Hussites had been close at their backs : even Julian joined in the flight. The enemies of the emperor at length appeared, became bold, and obtained possession of all the imperial baggage and booty, which were not easily conveyed through the woods. When Albert had heard of the cardinal entering Bohemia, he collected his troops from Austria and began the siege of Prezorow, a fortified town, but on hearing of Julian's flight he desisted ; carried his hostile standard through Moravia, which had not yet submitted to the emperor ; burnt five hundred manor-houses, and de-

stroyed many towns. A great part of the country desisted from opposition, on condition of their religion having a fair hearing in the council of Basle.*

Leger states that the Waldenses of Bohemia in 1431, drew up a very full Confession of Faith, that they opposed themselves to all the arguments of the Roman Catholics, and especially to the sophisms of Rockyzane, who having revolted from their religion, preached and wrote against them, and became a stumbling-block to the weak. They particularly establish these fundamental points: that we ought to hearken to none but to Jesus Christ: that the gospel alone, without human traditions, is sufficient for faithful travellers in this world: that nothing except the canonical Scriptures, can serve for a rule to our faith; and that to a certain extent, we must admit the writings of the fathers: they declare also the nature of the ceremonies of the New Testament: and that regarding the sacraments we must in no way listen to the Roman Church, but to the Scripture. They then completely explain these matters, but their length prevents them from being here inserted.† The remaining Waldenses seem to have been at this date mixed with the Taborites.

Martin convened a council at Pavia, which was adjourned to Sienna, and ultimately removed to Basle in 1431. Martin died on the 21st February that year, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV. The council continued its sittings till 1443,‡ but the only part of its transactions interesting at present is its treatment of the Bohemians. Sigismund wrote them to attend at Basle, urging, that he was going to Rome to receive the crown; that they surely did not pretend greater wisdom than the Catholic mother Church; that the council would candidly hear them; that they ought to submit in peace to him whose brother, father, and grandfather had reigned over them; and that he would govern them by the same laws as other Christian kings. The synod itself also wrote the Bohe-

* Sylv. cap. xlvihi.

† Leger, part i. pp. 103, 109, where he informs us, that the explication composes a book of 303 pages, large octavo, but that the curious reader will find it at large in the *Valdensia* of Balthazar Lydius, printed at Rotterdam 1616. He seems to refer to vol. i. of said work.

‡ Mosh. cent xv. part ii. chap. ii. § xi. xii.

mians to send deputies, promising a safe journey and liberty of speech. The Bohemians were divided on this question. The Orphans seemed willing to attend, but the Taborites objected that councils commonly tended to rivet the chains of papal domination, and John Huss and Jerome had been burnt at Constance, notwithstanding Sigismund's promise of a safe conduct. Mainard prince of Newhaus urged the propriety of submitting in religion to a general council, and the greater number agreed on the 6th December 1432, to send deputies. Accordingly on the 4th January 1433, three hundred knights were sent on a legation to Basle. Among the principal men was Procop Rasa, who, when the need of a passport was mentioned, exclaimed, "Passport! need we any other passport than our swords?" He was accompanied by William Cosca, Rostka, or Cosel, a baron and chief man among the Taborites, of equestrian dignity, and who had destroyed many Romish churches. Nicholas Galec a Taborite priest was present, and Peter the Englishman, with John Rochyzane, the Calixtine, whom Sylvius calls the false apostle of Prague. At Basle they were received with extraordinary respect. Citizens and members of council went out to witness their approach, windows and tops of houses were crowded with matrons, boys, and girls. The foreign dresses were objects of wonder. One pointed with the finger to this individual, another to that, but the fame of Procop caused him attract peculiar notice, as the man who had defeated the emperor's armies, subverted so many towns, and slain so many thousands, who seemed invincible in war, who was a terror to his enemies, and unsubdued by flattery or fear.*

The Bohemians were hospitably received at Basle. Julian Cesarini, the president of the council, addressed them in a long and perspicuous speech, reminding them, like a good Romanist, that the spouse of Christ is the mother of the faithful, is unspotted, has power to bind and loose, and is inerrable in things necessary to salvation; that he who despises her ought to be reckoned for a heathen and a publican; that she is best represented by a general council; that the council is equally to be believed with the Gospel, because by the authority of

* Svlv. cap. xlix. Holmes p. 21. His. Boh. Pers. chap. x.

councils the Scriptures have been received ; that the Bohemians have been long separated from their mother ; that many desire to return ; that all perished of old who were not in the ark ; that the pascal lamb was eaten in one house ; that the church is the spring shut up, the fountain sealed, without drinking of which there is no salvation ; that the Bohemians are studying their own interest in seeking this water from their mother ; that love ought to be cultivated, and the council would listen to the Bohemians provided they did not despise the Holy Synod ; and that all ought to acquiesce in the decisions of the council who desire eternal life. The Bohemians replied, that they neither despised the church nor council ; that the council of Constance pronounced sentence against such as were refused a fair hearing ; that the Bohemians detract nothing from the Christian religion, and whatever they assert is confirmed by the sacred Scriptures ; that they approached the council to show their innocence, and to ask a public audience in presence of the whole people. Being asked the grounds of their difference with the Church of Rome, they stated four articles, concerning the communion of the eucharist under both bread and wine, by such as wish to be saved ; concerning civil power, which they asserted to be by the divine law forbidden to the clergy ; concerning the preaching of God's word, which they said is free to all in every place ; concerning public faults, which they thought on no account to be tolerated, even with the view of avoiding greater evil. On being asked if they asserted mendicant monks to be an invention of the devil, Procop answered that neither Moses nor the Patriarchs ; neither the Prophets, nor Christ, nor his Apostles, instituted mendicants, and therefore they must be from the devil. The audience laughed, but do not seem to have attempted to refute this reasoning. The legate in his place replied, that not only the institutions of Patriarchs, Prophets, and of Christ himself are binding, but the decrees of the Church as led by the Spirit, are binding ; and the life of mendicants can be taken from another quarter than from the Gospel. The Bohemians selected four individuals to prove their principles to be scriptural, and the council appointed also four fathers to answer them. They disputed fifty days, and conversed long with a view to an

amicable settlement, but the Taborites finding no satisfaction left the council and returned home.*

The Calixtines were also present at the council of Basle, and Rockyzane was their deputy. This party excelled the Taborites in rank and worldly property, and their commissioners were more temporising. They promised obedience to the papal see, on condition of these four points being conceded, viz. The preaching of the Word according to Scripture without human inventions: The Lord's Supper to be administered in both kinds in the common tongue: open sins to be publicly punished: the clergy to exercise no worldly dominion, but to preach the Gospel. The council professed to grant these wishes, but the second was only complied with, and the pope afterwards entirely disannulled this Bohemian compact. The council sent emissaries to Bohemia, who, under pretence of seeking peace, actually widened the breach between the Calixtines and Taborites, and Rockyzane used all his influence to persuade the Calixtines to be satisfied with the use of the cup. These people professed great liberality and moderation, yet were induced to take arms against the Taborites and Orphans.†

The Taborites and Orphans were displeased with Rockyzane, Mainard of Newhaus, and the nobles who obeyed the council of Basle. The barons met and became impatient at the idea of abandoning the emperor, to submit to Procop, whom they called a murderer and robber. At a public meeting of the nobles and citizens, Mainard declared, that the Bohemians are beaten down with war, so that their fields are uncultivated; that the interest of Procop stimulates him to war, since peace would destroy his government; that a new general should be annually elected, with a council to advise him in his progress; and that said general belong not to the barons but to the middle class of nobility. With this proposal the Calixtines agreed, and elected Alscio for general, whom they saluted captain, and who, though a nobleman, was not wealthy. He held the ensigns of majesty, but Mainard held the authority.

Pilsen was now in the hands of the Romanists, and Pro-

* Sylv. cap. xlix. Boh. Pers. ib.

† Holmes p. 22. Boh. Pers. ib.

cop having under him a body of Taborites and Orphans, sat down before it on the 15th July 1433, and closely besieged it eleven months. The townsmen petitioned the council of Basle, not to allow the town to fall into the hands of the Hussites. The fathers from their own private resources, sent Mainard a bond for eight thousand pieces of gold, to raise an army in aid of the besieged. New Prague was held by a guard of Orphans, and the prefect of the place was Rockyzane, whom Sylvius calls a wolf, and who stimulated the people against them. Consequently the Orphans closed the entrance of the old city against the inhabitants of the new. They erected wooden towers of many tabulets, from which they sent missiles to the other town. Alscio collected the nobility, and stated, that his government was of no avail while the Taborites and Orphans contemned it, and that the kingdom must soon perish unless they obey the magistrates. Under the direction of Mainard they all agree to proceed to Prague with a band of men. They enter the new town, enjoining all to obey Alscio, and to remove the towers. The Orphans denied him to be general, as neither they nor the Taborites had received him. When Rockyzane saw some of his men killed and others flee, he also betook himself to flight. Yet Alscio obtained the power of Prague, and the people of Pilsen being apprised of this fact, began to mock Procop from the wall, calling him to exhort his own citizens, and not to injure strangers; to cease attacking others when he cannot defend himself, and to desist from the siege, else the nobility will compel him. Procop believed these things to be fictions and blandishments, with a view to cause the townsmen endure the siege.

Having, however, obtained correct information regarding the proceedings at Prague, he on the 8th of May 1434, left Pilsen and proceeded to the former place. Common friends attempted to mediate between him and the nobles, urging the injury the kingdom was now sustaining, and the necessity for both sides electing commissioners to propose articles of peace. Procop agreed to arrange pacific measures on condition that Prague be given up to him, that the munitions thrown down be repaired, and that Pilsen be placed in the same situation as when he raised the siege, for provisions had been in his ab-

sence imported. The nobles perceiving him quite determined, took arms, left the city, and went out to meet him. At a place between the Bohemian Broda and Kursim, they found the object of their search, about four miles and a half from Prague. Causing the waggons rumble against one another, they called to him in the language of contempt, but he refused to give battle unless his prerogatives were granted him.

Procop proceeded to Prague, expecting to see the New City open its gates to welcome him, and when the cavalry of the nobles had passed his fortifications, he accidentally left the last port open. Embracing the opportunity, he darted into the city and put many to death. The enemy were thrown into confusion, trepidation extended through the camp, and the knights had never seen hitherto a chariot within the fortifications. The infantry are slain, and those on the other side are put to flight, who being met by the nobles, are killed. Procop however was not able to retain his own men, and neither danger nor fear could induce them to hear his exhortations. Along with his own cohort who were more brave than friendly to him, he rushed among the thickest of his enemies. He sustained for some time the attack of his foes, and having slain great numbers, he almost snatched victory from his opponents. But being surrounded by a multitude of horsemen, and not conquered but weary with conquering, he was pierced by a dart that flew at random. Thus fell Procop Rasa, and on the same day, being the 29th or 30th of May 1434, Procop the less was also slain while bravely fighting in the same troop. Thus died the two great leaders of the Taborites and Orphans, and those armies long accustomed to victory were at last destroyed. Coscha, who then followed the nobility, claims the honour of killing Procop Rasa, though this is questioned. Mainard was reckoned the first author of the victory, and after him Ptarsco, or Ptaczo. COAPCHO who had led the Taborite cavalry was an eminent officer. He had harassed the Prutenians, and having been employed by the king of Poland, had led a victorious army to Gedanus and the Baltic Sea. After the battle of Prague he retired with a large party of cavalry to Czapeck.

In a council of the nobles, Mainard resolved to destroy the

prisoners, who amounted to many thousands of the Taborites and Orphans. To save the innocent who had come from the country, he caused a crier proclaim that the war is not finished, that Coapcho is fled, that they must besiege Czapeck and subdue by arms the surrounding country, that the brave men who had fought under the two Procops were necessary for this end, that he would give them public pay till the kingdom be at peace, that such as would receive this pay retire to the neighbouring barns which were common in Bohemia, that such as are inexperienced be excluded, and that in this way they should regain their country places and firesides. The Taborites and Orphans entered a number of barns constructed of peculiar materials, and covered with mud. Many thousands of these men still existed. They were dark, hardy, and terrible in aspect, living in the smoke of the camps. They had aquiline eyes, uncombed hair, and long beards. They were tall, unpolished, and their skin like a coat of mail. These brave warriors, after fighting and gaining so many battles, were at last destroyed by this deceit, for their base and cowardly foes, after all this profession of friendship and unity, immediately fixed the doors and set fire to the buildings, and consumed the best friends of the independence of their country.*

Though we cannot defend all the proceedings of the Taborites, yet for several years previous to this period, they do not appear to have been much given to persecute others for religion. Their general moving principle seems to have been a generous ambition to deliver their country from civil and religious despotism, which they would have accomplished had they not been deserted and betrayed by the cowardly Calixtines. The military power of the Taborites was now finally ruined, but by this disaster, the Lord was preparing the way for shewing that his church does not depend for existence on carnal weapons. "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

Such as escaped present destruction fled to mount Tabor, where the emperor allowed them to settle and follow their own religious views. The Taborite clergy now separate from

the Calixtines, formed a presbytery at Tabor, and elected as their bishop, antistes, or moderator, Nicholas of Poldezmaw. Sylvius who was one of the commissioners from Basle to reconcile the Calixtines to the church of Rome, describes the religious meeting at Tabor. His account of the town was formerly noticed. On the services of religion he proceeds: "In the square stood the temple, a wooden structure, hardly superior to a country barn. Here they preached to the people: here they expounded their doctrines: here stood their unconsecrated altar: and here even the holy sacrament was administered. Their priests were unornamented, except by beards of inordinate length. Tithes were entirely disallowed. The clergy had no property; but were supplied with all necessities in kind, by the people. Images were wholly forbidden. No prayers to saints were permitted; no holidays; no set fasts; no canonical hours. Half the sacraments were discarded. Religious houses, or monastic institutions, were considered as an abomination. Their baptismal font was unconsecrated. Their dead were buried in unhallowed ground. They were, however, punctual in their attendance on divine service, and made use of severe penalties to enforce reverence for it."* In 1435, the consistory elected Rockyzane, archbishop of Prague, but the pope refused to confirm the appointment, unless he would agree entirely to give up the Bohemian compact.†

This year, 1435, the electors of Bohemia agreed that Sigismund retain the kingdom on condition of his confirming the four articles of the council of Basle; his admitting the Hussites, that is to say, the Calixtines, at his court; his not receiving the monks; his re-establishing the academy, and repairing the hospital; his not compelling the inhabitants to rebuild the monasteries; his admitting no foreigners into the senate; his not allowing children to be married without their parents' consent; his permitting no foreigner to be governor of the kingdom; his causing all just debts to the Jews to be paid; and his granting a general amnesty for the past. In these proposals, the Taborites acquiesced, Sigismund accepted of the conditions, and was publicly received at Prague, in 1436.

* Sylvius quoted in Holmes, pp. 22, 23.

† Holmes, *ib.*

Still, however, various troubles afflicted the kingdom, but a detail of these occurrences does not belong to the present work.*

Notwithstanding his solemn promises to pursue an opposite line of conduct, Sigismund, on the 21st of July 1436, by a formal edict, at Iglow, established the Roman Catholic religion; re-instated the monks over the kingdom; and as the Taborites had removed all the funds of the churches, he paid the Romish priests six thousand crowns a-year, being somewhat less than a crown, per week, to each.† He rejected Rockyzane, as archbishop of Prague, unless he submit entirely to Rome, and lay aside the use of the cup in the Lord's Supper.‡ He conferred on Philibert, bishop of Constance, the power of the Archbishop of Prague, and Philibert laboured to restore the Bohemian church to her former external splendour.§ The Hussites in Moravia, in 1437, attempted a rising, but were defeated at Littovel.||

On the 9th December 1437, Sigismund died, and by his will left Albert the archduke, king of Bohemia.¶ On the 23rd December, the council of Basle decreed, that in the Lord's Supper the cup is not necessary, and that one kind is preferable to both.** In 1439, Albert died, and his widow bore Ladislaus, 22nd of February 1440, who was crowned king when a month old, on the day of his baptism. But Mainard and Rosenberg convened the nobles, and elected Albert of Bavaria, who refused the crown, 1440.†† George Podiebrad succeeded as regent, and he and the Calixtines uttered many things against the Pope. Rockyzane spoke of the pope as antichrist, no doubt because his holiness did not confer on him sufficient honour.‡‡

In the year 1441, a synod of Calixtines was held at Kuttenburg, in which Rockyzane presided. A confession of faith was drawn up, in which the common doctrines of the fall of man in Adam, and his recovery by Jesus Christ, are stated. The four articles of Prague are recognized. But speaking of the New Covenant, they add, "XIII. Which is confirmed by the sacraments. These were anciently reckoned seven, viz.

* Lenfant, vol. i. pp. 439, 458.

† Ibid, p. 461.

‡ Ibid, pp. 462, 463.

§ Ibid, p. 463. || Ibid, p. 471.

¶ Ibid, p. 474.

** Ibid, pp. 461, 482.

†† Ibid, vol. ii. pp. 1, 34, 40.

‡‡ Boh. Pers. chap. xvi.

baptism, confirmation, the holy supper, penitence, extreme unction, orders, and marriage. By these sacraments is understood, a symbol or sign of Christianity.”—“ XV. The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, is his real body and his real blood, as he himself has said, ‘ Eat, this is my body ; drink, this is my blood.’ Which could not be done if the bread and the wine had not been changed into the body and blood, and although the external symbols and appearances of bread and wine remain, it is not on that account any other thing than the body and blood of Jesus Christ.” In article XVII. they speak of the sacrifice of *acquisition*, and that the sacrifice of *application* is the mass.* The other articles are tolerable, but these are sufficient to shew how far the Calixtines had now returned to the popish church.

With this we shall contrast a confession of the Taborites, in a synod at Kuttensburg, 1442, when Rockyzane was also present, and spoke for the Calixtines. John of Przibram, and Nicolas Buskipek appeared for the Taborites, whose confession consisted of the following articles :—

1. “ As the Scripture is the word of the true and eternal God, which has been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, in the books of the prophets and apostles, and confirmed by the most divine miracles, and seeing that a person arrived at the years of discretion, cannot without it come to God : consequently it must be translated into the vulgar and maternal tongue, according to the commandment of St Paul, and we must follow it with a sovereign veneration. With regard to the doctrine of the fathers, we ought to receive it when it is agreeable to the canonical books, and reject it when it is contrary to these.

2. “ There is only one God in three persons, as that is marked in the Holy Scriptures, and in the creeds of Nice and of Athanasius. We ought to love him with all our soul, and with all our strength.

3. “ After having well known God, man ought to know himself. Let him know that before the fall of Adam, he was in innocence, but that after Adam fell by the deceit of the devil, he became subject to sin, and that he has been con-

* Lenfant, vol. ii. pp. 53—56.

ceived and born of a criminal seed; that to this original fault, actual sin is added, which sins have subjected him to eternal punishment, from which he cannot relieve himself by his own strength.

4. "Man is recovered by means of the word of God, and by the feeling of temporal punishments, when he knows his sins by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that he has a sincere grief, that he avoids it so far as in his power, that he confides himself to the mercy of God, and to the precious merit of Jesus Christ, and that he does not resist the Holy Spirit, who by the word enflames and augments faith. Such a man ought to know that all his sins are pardoned by the merit of Jesus Christ, without which, no person is able to be saved, because he is the only propitiation between God and man, as the shadows and types of the Old Testament shew him.

5. "And this saving faith not being able to exist without works, according to St James, quite alone justifies according to St Paul, Rom. iii. 4, 5; Gal. iii.; Eph. ii. So that the faithful can approach with all confidence, to the throne of grace, by Jesus Christ our great High Priest, Heb. iv. and can enjoy tranquillity in his conscience, with an unmoveable hope of salvation, Rom. viii. This doctrine of justification is above all things of great importance, because it contains the sum of the gospel, the foundation of the Christian religion, and the most consoling assurance of salvation."

6. "Though the commandments of the Decalogue contain all the good works which we are ever obliged to perform, yet the accomplishment of them is not so perfect, because of human weakness, that men can hope for salvation by the observation of these commandments, far less by that of human ordinances, Isaiah xxix. 13. Ezek. xx. 11, 13, 18. Mat. xv. 8, 9. Mark vi. 7. But the reasons why faith ought to be accompanied with good works, are, *1st*, Gratitude to God. *2nd*, They give testimony to faith. *3d*, The edification of our neighbour. *4th*, Progress in holiness. *5th*, The reward of temporal and eternal life."

7. "Wherever this doctrine is taught, there is the Christian church, of which Jesus Christ is the head; and although it is found in the midst of another church of dead members, nevertheless whoever holds this confession, and regulates his

life accordingly, belongs to this church, and without her is no salvation. Her doctrine and discipline men ought to obey, and not antichrist, who although he has always the church in his mouth, does not cease cruelly to persecute her; for the Apostolic succession of ministers of the church, which without doubt deserves great consideration, is not attached to particular persons and a certain place; but it is founded on the purity of the salutary doctrine taught in the Holy Scripture, which is confirmed by the authority of St Jerom, of St Ambrose on Penitence, B. i. chap. vi. and of Tertullian in the book of prescriptions."

8. "From fear that this visible church fall into doubts and into infidelity, God has given her his word and sacraments, which would not be to deceive. In excellence the word surpasses the sacraments, 1 Cor. i. 17. Acts ii. 38, because it ought to precede the sacraments."

9. "The sacraments are visible signs of a spiritual invisible grace, and of the participation of the heavenly good things which they signify. They are two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper."

10. "Baptism is the external sign of the internal washing from sin. Children can also be initiated, on condition however, that having come to an advanced age, they make a public confession of their faith."

11. "The sacrament of the Holy Supper, which consists in the simple bread, and in the simple wine, without any change, is the sign of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, which remains in heaven, which faith claims and applies, and without this faith no person is able to receive the thing signified by the sacrament, that is to say, the spiritual and celestial things, which are the body and the blood of Jesus Christ."

12. "The Sacrament of the Altar is only bread and wine, which are a sign of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, who is in heaven, and which faith applies to itself, and without this faith no person is able to receive the reality of the sacrament."

13. "Since the sacrament is only bread and wine, we must eat the one, and drink the other, according to the institution of Jesus Christ, but we are not permitted to offer

it for the living and the dead, nor to enclose it in a shrine, as if it were a god, nor to carry it from place to place, and to abuse it to a great many blasphemies against the express prohibition of God in the first commandment of the law. It would have been matter of great desire, that antichrist, instead of this idolatry, had left the true sacrament under the two kinds, according to the commandments of Jesus Christ."

14. "Although we tolerate the ornaments of the churches when there is no scandal nor superstition, when they do not still smell of the leaven of antichrist, and when they are indifferent; nevertheless, if any one attach a salutary virtue to such things, we must suppress and forbid them, particularly in regard to images, to which they render divine worship, contrary to the commandment of God; for if, according to Isaiah vi. we are not allowed to adore the dead, far less to adore images, which has indirectly a regard to the invocation of saints."

15 "This article concludes, by exhorting the ministers of the church to preach this doctrine with zeal, magistrates to defend all Christians in making a profession, to obtain eternal life and to avoid eternal condemnation, and consequently the same article places in the rank of fables all that has been said regarding the fire of purgatory."*

No mention is here made of the violent principles maintained by a party of the Taborites formerly mentioned. When deprived of military power, they seem to have attended to their spiritual concerns, and to have put away from church-fellowship these sanguinary persons, whose principles brought reproach on the other classes who were more moderate.

On the 4th of July 1443, another Synod met at Kuttensburg, and Rockyzane opened the conference, but Biscupecz among the Taborites, considering the importance of the matters of difference, begged eight days for consideration. On the 12th July, he presented a paper in name of the Taborites, containing their views of the Lord's Supper. Some of the words are: "We detest and publicly contradict the horrible error of Transubstantiation, and of the change of

* Lenfant, vol. ii. pp. 68-71.

the bread—Every one must approach the communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, with his whole confidence in the divine grace and mercy, and in that only propitiatory which is the merit of Jesus Christ, for although he eat the bread and drink the blood in giving thanks, that must turn to his condemnation, if he do not previously examine himself with exactness; because without that he confounds this nourishment of the soul with ordinary nourishment.”

Some days after, Rockyzane presented a paper under pretence for refuting the Taborite doctrine. He says, “the sense of these words, ‘This is my body, this is my blood,’ could not subsist without transubstantiation.” He pleads for carrying the sacrament in public procession, from Joshua at Jericho, Josh. iv. from the Israelites against the Philistines, 1 Sam. iv. and from David, 2 Sam. vi.*

Notwithstanding the stedfastness of the Taborites, a large proportion of them were circumvented by force, or fraud, between 1444 and 1448.† In 1444, the Taborites were allured by Rockyzane to a Synod of Divines, but the decision was on the Calixtine side, and Podiebrad laid siege to their city. He cast ministers and others into dungeons at the castle of Podiebrad, and at Lititz put multitudes to death.‡ Though the Taborites were at this time much depressed, the Lord raised a number of witnesses to his cause in a new secession from the Calixtines in 1457, who joined themselves to the remnant of the Taborites, as we shall relate in another chapter.

* Lenfant, vol. ii. pp. 78—81.

† Regen, vols. lib. i. cap. vi.

‡ Boh. Pers. chap. xvii.

CHAPTER IV.

Former anticipations of Reformation in Bohemia—No relief from the Greek Church—A Secession from the Calixtines forms the Church of the Brethren—Choice of three new Pastors—Bishops or Seniors appointed as a matter of expediency—Failure of an attempt to unite with the Waldenses in Austria—Sketch of the Brethren's Church order—They send messengers to search for witnesses in other countries—Persecutions of the Brethren.

IN the former volume,* some notice was taken of the impressions of Mathias Janowski, that the Lord was preparing the way for raising a church to himself in Bohemia, without military power. He was convinced that a new "people should arise formed according to the new man, who is created after God," who should hate the avarice and glory of this life, and hold their conversation in heaven, and from whom new clergy and priests should be taken; that God would successively accomplish these things in his goodness, mercy, long-suffering and patience, to give sinners place for repentance to flee from divine anger; that the corrupt people and clergy should be consumed like a moth; that in Bohemia there should be much war and desolation against the king and emperor; that the Kunstantine family should not reign long, but under that dynasty, an unarmed people, sincere lovers of religion, becoming strong by oppression, should arise; and that only one that heard him should see the events accomplished. This was verified in Wenceslas who lived to be a member of the church of the United Brethren.

Similar sentiments were entertained by Huss, as appears from an epistle written to the Bohemians by him from Constance. "O! how agreeable would the matter be, if in the course of time I should be allowed to expose those wickednesses which are at present known to me, that the faithful servants of God might be able to guard against them. But I hope in God that he will send after me a number of more strenuous men: and some now exist who will more fully de-

velope the malice of antichrist, and will expose their lives to the death on account of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is about to bestow on you and on me the joy of eternal life." Nor did James Meissen, himself a Bohemian, who usually preached at Bethlehem at the time Huss was burnt, declare sentiments dissimilar to those of Huss. Nay, Rockyzane himself, the ecclesiastic of the Calixtine party, and who for the sake of the archbishopric verged to the Romish side, when he saw himself frequently consulted by the Brethren, declared :—" That a happier age is to follow, in which those things which are contaminated in the Church shall be restored to pristine comeliness ; the old things shall be renewed ; and the faith, sacraments, and ecclesiastical ministrations shall be purified : That in the church carried to Babylon nothing is rightly conducted : That the time of her libration from captivity is now near : and, That then also her foundation will be ultimately laid in the Sacred Scriptures themselves ; even as the Israelitish Temple destroyed by the Babylonians, was restored in the ruins of the previous one." " We press the surface," he added, " but in a short time men shall appear, who shall search out the foundations of truth from obscurity."

Thus even Rockyzane afforded to the Brethren an occasion of secession from the Calixtines. The true secret of this man's propagating these sentiments at this period, was his resumed hatred of the Roman Pontiff, for refusing to invest him with the archiepiscopal dignity. On this account he publicly demonstrated from Daniel and the Revelation, that antichrist existed ; that all who do not secede from her are an accursed rabble ; that not the compact, but the law of Christ is to be held for the rule of religion ; and that all things are to be reared up anew on an apostolic foundation. Perceiving however that after all Rockyzane's declamation against antichrist, he never moved his hand to help forward the work which he recommended, the more prudent hearers among the Calixtines, having considered his advices, approached Rockyzane, unfolded their griefs of conscience, and begged his counsel. He received them courteously, praised their zeal, and presented them with some tracts for their perusal, especially those of Peter Chelezitz, a pious and learned

man, against the abominations crept into the church.* In this way the people became more and more inflamed. He still however urged them to silence and patience. Among the petitioners now described, was Gregory, a relation of Rockyzane by his sister, and hitherto a monk in the monastery of Prague.

Some of the writings of the Taborites concerning the doctrine of faith, at this time fell into the hands of certain individuals of the Calixtines, and tended to enlighten them. They were also encouraged from the increase of their numbers. Rockyzane likewise exhorted them to carry their words into realities, and in a matter of so great importance, to beware of precipitancy. In the year 1450, a diet of the different estates and orders of the kingdom assembled at Prague, and a synod of priests met at the same period. Here, by the advice of Rockyzane and the common consent, a deputation was appointed to proceed to Constantinople to inquire into the state of the Christian religion in that quarter. The Greeks rejoiced in hearing the heads of doctrine stated by the legates, and expressed their consent in an epistle to the Bohemians, who were pressing on to farther reformation according to the word of God; and for whose church the Eastern Church promised to ordain ministers. The writing was on parchment of an azure colour, subscribed by the Patriarch and chief Bishops, and dated the 18th January 1451.

The hopes raised by this correspondence, induced Rockyzane publicly to animate his hearers with expectation of speedy reformation, and to urge an entire secession as well from the Calixtines as from the Papists. Lupatz also gave them similar advice. But before any efficient step could be taken for a re-union with the Greek Church, from which the Bohemians had first received the Gospel, the Turks had in 1453 taken Constantinople, and the Grecian Empire had terminated. All views of aid from the East therefore being extinguished, the reforming part of the Calixtines as well as the Taborites, urged Rockyzane to undertake

* Some monuments of these treatises are added to the Norimberg edition of the writings of Huss.

a general removal of papal errors, and besought him for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, not to forsake them in their extremity, but to deliver the people from the delusions in which they were ensnared. They added "Let us secede. We acknowledge, venerate and follow thee as Leader, Teacher and Father." Notwithstanding the lengths he had gone, this importunity displeased him; for though convinced of the need of separation from the Romish communion, he was too much of a temporising spirit to part with his worldly dignities, and to suffer reproach for Christ. He tried to excuse himself by stating that the majority of the Hussites were still too ignorant for this step; that the more pious among them might form an association for prayer, reading the Scriptures, and the perusal of religious books, with a few of which he presented them; that they themselves, if they pleased, might dissent; and that he did not wish to be any more troubled in the matter. He however so far relented as to ask from the Regent George Podiebrad, some place where they might dwell in security, and serve God with a pure conscience: accordingly the Regent granted them liberty to retire to the Lordship of Litz, on the borders of Moravia and Silesia, and which had been much wasted during the war.*

These separatists were partly priests, and partly citizens of Prague. Some of the company were of the equestrian order, among whom the most notable were Gregory Creic, and another Gregory, the son of Rockyzane's sister, both of noble descent, with Mathias Kunwald, Thomas Przelau, Elias Krzenow, Procop, Halar, Vitus, George Peticostels, and others.

For seven years they had seriously and maturely deliberated, and considered matters on all sides. For support, they trusted only to the help of God, and desisted from those wars by which the Taborites had opposed themselves to the fury of adversaries, resolving, rather than take arms, that they should patiently submit to danger for the truth of Christ. They were intent only by the closest bonds to propagate pure doctrine, and to establish and preserve ecclesiastical discipline.

* *Regenvolscii Systema Historico-Chronologicum*, cap. viii. Holmes, pp. 23, 24.

They constantly retained all things which they had received from Huss, and, like the Taborites and Waldenses in reformation, proceeded afterwards to greater advances. In 1456, they had increased, so as to possess several villages. They had some pastors among the Calixtines, priests whom they attended in the territory of Lititz. These resided in Chilceice, Villemow and Kunwald, who were commended both by the love of pure doctrine and by the study of Christian life. Among these the most distinguished individual was MICHAEL BRADATZ, minister of the town of Zamberg, a venerable old man. These ministers admitted none to the supper without previous examination, abolished many superstitions and introduced stricter discipline. The less serious part of the congregations and neighbouring clergy complained to the consistory at Prague, and other incumbents were appointed, who preached against the Hussites, so that the latter withdrew from their ministry, and complained to Rockyzane and his suffragan Lupatz. The former paid no attention to these representations, but Lupatz, Stephen, and Martin the German, exhorted them to persevere in the face of obstacles, to form their own constitution, to elect ministers from among themselves, to follow the primitive church in doctrine and discipline, to fulfil the will of God in the face of Romanists and temporisers, to avoid violence and bloodshed, to be orderly and unbending, and to consider the conflicts of former witnesses.

Finding the advice tendered by Lupatz and the two Brethren who agreed with him, to be the only measure that could at the time be adopted with integrity and success, the Hussites in Lititz, in the year 1457, solemnly made a secession from the Calixtines, erected distinct assemblies, and formed a close union among themselves. They chose Michael Bradatz for their minister, who left Zamberg and removed to Kunwald, which seems to have been a chief retreat of the Hussites. Under the protection of Gregory, a number of the more pious Calixtine ministers from the adjacent villages, convened at Kunwald, and agreed on certain fundamental principles, grounded not on human traditions but on the law of Christ, as the basis of their ecclesiastical constitution. They assumed the general appellation of *Brethren of*

the Law of Christ, but lest they should thus be considered as a new order of monks, they changed this name for that of BRETHREN, and after they became more numerous they called themselves the UNITY OF THE BRETHREN, or the UNITED BRETHREN. They did not choose to nominate themselves Waldenses, though they had received light from them, held similar views, and afterwards applied to the Waldenses to ordain their ministers. Nor did they own the term Piccards as the Waldenses in France were called, but which designation in Bohemia was at this time understood to mean very lawless people. The remnant of the Taborites united with the Brethren.

As a fundamental principle they retained the doctrine taught by Huss, that the Word of God is the only infallible rule for Christians, and that all regulations not enjoined in the Word, or fairly deducible from it are mere matters of expediency, and to be altered according to circumstances. For the maintenance of discipline they elected three Elders, Gregory Creic, who was a kind of Father to the Church, with Procop and Clenow. Comenius, quoted in Allix, speaking of the separation of the Brethren from the Calixtines in 1457, adds, "they happily set up distinct meetings in several places, supported only by the divine assistance, as also a distinct consistory." They resolved not to carry arms, but to suffer, and to seek defence by prayer to God and petitioning. "All the members of this communion," says La Trobe, "covenanted to observe a more strict church-discipline, to suffer all things for conscience sake, and to defend themselves, not by force of arms, but by prayer and calm remonstrance." Their number was soon increased, and congregations formed at various places in Bohemia and Moravia. The Calixtines and Romanists plotted their destruction, and in 1458 the Brethren in Moravia were compelled to retire to Bohemia. They were cited before the consistory in Prague; and Rockyzane severely censured their separation, and prejudiced against them George Podiebrad, who had been elected king on the 6th May that year, and who at his coronation had taken an oath to extirpate heretics. During this persecution many perished by the rack, by cold and hunger, in prisons and dungeons. The

Brethren in Lititz being less annoyed, sent messengers to different places to confirm the disciples, who were often robbed, flayed alive and quartered. Gregory, Rockyzane's nephew, went to Prague in 1461, and advised the Brethren on a sacramental occasion to disperse. Part of them complied, but others refused because they read,* "He that believeth does not flee," according to their version. On a band apprehending them, some students and others who had been bold, recanted. Gregory was stedfast and placed on the rack. On recovering from a swoon he was addressed by the hypocritical Rockyzane, "O my dear Gregory, would to God I were where thou art." The sufferer was liberated and lived thirteen years longer. The Brethren thinking the good seed not yet eradicated from Rockyzane, applied to him to promote reformation, or to direct their affairs.† On this occasion they wrote him an honest letter. Among other expressions they say: "your sermons have been highly pleasant and grateful to us, you earnestly exhorted us to flee from antichrist. You taught us that the devil introduced the abuses of the sacraments. Being distressed in our consciences, and distracted by the variety of opinions, we were induced to follow your advice, to attend the ministry of Peter Chelezitz, whose discourses gave us clearer insight into Christian truth, so that when we saw your life and practice were at variance with your doctrines, we were constrained to entertain doubts concerning your religion. When we conversed with you, your answer was to this effect: 'I know that your sentiments are true: but if I patronize your cause, I must incur the same infamy and disgrace which you do.' Whence we understood that you would desert us rather than relinquish the honours of the world. Trusting in our God, we have assembled in the unity of that faith, by which we have been justified through Jesus Christ, and of which we were made partakers through the image of his death, that we might be the heirs of eternal life. Do not imagine that we have separated ourselves from you on account of certain rites and ceremonies instituted by men: but on account of evil

* Is. xxviii. 16. † Account of the Moravians pp. 59-63. Regenvols. ib. Holmes pp. 42-47. Select Narratives p. 52. Allix, Pied. p. 241.

and corrupt doctrines. For if in connection with you we could have preserved the true faith in Christ Jesus our Lord, we never would have made this separation."*

Finding all endeavours ineffectual to induce Rockyzane to return to his duty, and espouse the Brethren's cause, they finally took leave of him with these emphatic words: "Thou art of the world, and shalt perish with the world." This honest dealing not being blessed to the archbishop, he became one of their bitterest persecutors, and obtained an edict from the king and consistory of Prague against the Brethren, prohibiting the toleration of "these dangerous people in Bohemia and Moravia." Jodoc Rosenberg, bishop of Breslaw, however, observing that the sufferings of martyrs only tended to multiply heretics, obtained a modification of the edict from imprisonment to banishment. They sought concealment among mountains, forests and rocks. They kindled their fires only in the night; and in time of snow they walked in ranks, the last person dragging a bush to efface the impressions of their feet. They often spent whole nights in the perusal of the Scriptures and spiritual conversation. They were also anxious to preserve to children yet unborn a form of sound words, and the pure administration of divine ordinances. Their elders occasionally convened in synods the leading members of their union to preserve the purity of doctrine and discipline in the Church, and to perfect her constitution. They also bound themselves to certain rules for their allegiance to the king and government. The synod also appointed the forms of worship, with days of fasting, and prayer. Many of these members had to travel immense distances, exposed to much danger, as any person might injure or murder them with impunity.†

One thing that particularly afflicted the Brethren's churches at this time was the want of pastors. Many of their old ministers were dead, and they frequently deliberated what course to take, in order to secure a succession of regular teachers. To expect any of the Romish clergy from love to the truth to join them, was at best uncertain. Remembering Rocky-

* Milner, vol. iv. p. 282. Holmes p. 48. † Hist. of Boh. Persecution chap. xx. Holmes pp. 48-50. Account of Moravian Brethren, pp. 64, 65.

zane's declaration that all things must be restored from the foundation, they were half inclined to look to Rome for ordination, but a fear prevailed that this ordination was unlawful, because they did not wish bishops, but presbyters to ordain presbyters. They saw that ordination by Romish bishops could not be defended.

To decide this matter, in 1467 a synod, consisting of seventy persons, ministers, noblemen, scholars, citizens and husbandmen, as deputies from the several congregations in Moravia and Bohemia, met near the town of Reichenau in the house of a man named Duchek in the village of Lhota, which word means emancipation, or freedom from servitude.

The synod was opened with fasting, prayer and reading the Scriptures. With many tears and supplications they entreated God to manifest, if their purpose to elect pastors were acceptable to him. They resolved to follow the advice of Lupatz, Stephen, and Martin, to choose ministers from their own body, and agreed to imitate the election of Mathias to the apostolic office. They first nominated twenty men, and by suffrages selected *nine* whom they judged preferable to others to undertake the ministry. They next folded up twelve slips of paper, nine of which were blanks, and on three the word EST, "This is he," was inscribed, meaning that whoever received these three, were, by the will of God, to be set apart to the pastoral office. If on the contrary the nine candidates should receive the nine blanks, they would know that the Lord was not yet pleased to give them spiritual instructors. All the twelve slips were next put into a small vessel and completely mixed. Gregory again exhorted prayer to God who loved the Church, sent his Son, gave his Spirit, and commissioned teachers, that he would choose one, two, or three, or none from the nine as he pleased. The whole papers were now drawn out by a person with averted face, and put into the hand of a little boy who knew nothing of the matter, and who was desired to distribute to each of the nine men one of the twelve papers. But it so happened that the three pieces with the word EST written on them, were given into the hands of three of the nine, namely to Mathew Kunwald, a most godly man of twenty-five years; Thomas Przelaus, a learned

character; and to Elias Krzenow, a person of very respectable talents and understanding. These three men were now received by the assembly, as a token of obedience giving them the right hand and the kiss of peace. The three having expressed their consent, and their confidence in the divine support, the whole assembly sung a hymn of thanksgiving composed for the occasion.* The following literal translation will not be unacceptable.

“Let us all rejoice this day as one man. Let us ascribe glory to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for he hath been mindful of us in the time of our great tribulation, and hath written his law in our hearts. He hath also by his power raised us faithful pastors. O Lord, give grace, that thy word may run and be glorified! O accomplish in thy good pleasure what thou hast graciously begun, for all our confidence is placed in thee alone. Graciously, O Lord, look down upon the people that walk in ignorance of thy word, and of the path of salvation: for they are lamentably misled, and fed with false doctrine. O adorable Lord and Shepherd, lead them to thy true flock. Give them the shining light of thy word, that they may know thee, O Lord, and repent, and enjoy thy peace. Thy name is Almighty. Thou art Lord of Lords and King of Kings; the Sovereign of all the hosts of heaven, and of the sea, and of the dry land. O destroy antichrist, all error, and craft, and seduction. Let not the powers of this world prevail against thy people. Deliver thy chosen from their tribulation, and cause them to bless and praise thee in peace and liberty. O eternal God! grant that thy word may abide in us; that we may obey it, and thus be able to stand before thee. Help us all to live godly and righteously in thee, and at length to receive as our reward a crown of glory.” The whole transaction was concluded with the dispensation of the Lord’s Supper as instituted by Christ.†

In order to consider what was to be done regarding the ordination of the newly elected ministers, another synod or consultative assembly was convoked, whose decision was to

* Holmes pp. 50, 51. Account of Moravians pp. 66, 67. Select Narratives pp. 57-59. Regenvols ib. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xx. pp. 53, 59.

† Account of the Moravians pp. 67, 68. Regenvols ib.

this purpose:—That presbyterian ordination was agreeable to apostolic practice and the usage of the primitive church; consequently the newly elected ministers might be regularly ordained by those presbyters of the Brethren, who had previously been Calixtine clergymen in priests orders. They knew that the superintendence of one minister as bishop over pastors, was invented several centuries after the time of the Apostles. Yet considering that for many past ages no ordination had been reckoned valid in the dominant church called Christian, unless performed by a bishop, they resolved to use their best endeavours to obtain episcopal ordination. This resolution was formed, not from any conviction of the Scriptural authority for bishops, as an order of church officers distinct from presbyters, but merely to prevent the cavils of adversaries against the authority of their ministers.* But with these convictions of the antiscritptural nature of the order of bishops, they doubtless carried expediency too far, with a view to accommodate themselves to the prejudices of a dark age.

Being now separated from the reigning church, application to the Romish bishops to consecrate bishops among the Brethren was out of the question. They thought therefore of the Waldenses, but probably were not aware that the Romanists viewed all the Waldensian ministers, by whatever name called, as mere laymen. Be this as it may, before this time some of the Waldenses in France when persecuted in one country had fled to another, and had settled in the confines of Moravia and Austria, with one or two pastors called bishops, which name seems to have been given from custom, because the Waldenses in Piemont had no bishops. The Brethren being apprised of this fact, that they might satisfy the scruples of their own consciences, as well as those of others in the present and succeeding generations, they resolved to mission Michael Zamberg, one of their own pastors, formerly ordained among the Calixtines; a second who had joined them from the Waldenses; and a third from the Romanists, to proceed in search of these Waldenses, to whom they were enjoined to detail what had passed among the Brethren; but

* Holmes p. 52. Regenvols ib. Account of the Moravians, pp. 68, 69.

especially to ask their advice concerning the present affair. The deputies found Stephen and another Waldensian bishop, and some ministers. The Vaudois pastors demonstrate to those sent from Moravia and Bohemia, that they had their origin from the time of Constantine, and that the articles of their faith as well as the doctrines of all the Waldenses were still the same. The Waldenses related also to the deputation the horrible persecutions which both they and their Brethren in France and Italy had suffered for the sake of their religion.

On the other hand the Bohemians report to them the Brethren's separation from the pope and from the Calixtines, of which the Waldenses approve and offer them their congratulations. The deputation declare the Brethren's intention in the present mission, they desire their counsel and a Christian Union with them. The Waldenses commended their purpose, and advised them to be particularly careful never to want faithful pastors if they wished to preserve from dispersion those assemblies that had embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel. They also earnestly advised the deputation not to wait till some who had ordination from Rome should from love to the truth, join the Brethren, and ordain pastors, but should themselves confer the office as occasion shall offer. The said Waldenses declared that they had lawful bishops among them, and a lawful and uninterrupted succession from the apostles themselves; therefore in a very solemn manner they created three of the Bohemian ministers bishops, and conferred on them the power of ordaining ministers. "They did not think fit, however, to take on them the name of bishops," says Comenius, "because of the anti-christian abuse of that name, contenting themselves with the name of *elders*." And in another place, "the said Stephen, with the other fore-mentioned, conferred the vocation and ordination by the imposition of hands on the said three pastors that had been sent to them, with power and authority to create others as there should be occasion." These pastors were then returned to those that sent them.*

The Brethren in Bohemia received these tidings with joy,

* John Amos Comenius' History of the churches of Bohemia, Amst. 1644. preface and p. 70, quoted by Allix. Pied. p. 240-243, and by Leger part i. chap. xxvii. Also Hist. of Bohemian Persecution, chap. xx. p. 59, 60.

and, desirous of Christian unity, they deliberate on joining with the Waldenses, to become one people and one church. Their purity of doctrine and Christian deportment much pleased them. No overtures for union seem to have been made at this meeting. From the desire of this union, however, the Brethren in Bohemia have been called also Waldenses, which appellation though they declined, yet the churches of Bohemia and Moravia have never denied that they received from the Waldenses the authority of the imposition of hands, and external succession.

From these statements, it appears that though the Brethren had bishops, they refused the title on account of the anti-christian abuse of the bishop's office. They allowed themselves to be only called SENIORS or ELDERS, and with this title they held the power of ordination, and no individual, however distinguished, had independent power to ordain. They thus shewed that they viewed bishop and elder as only different names for the same office, and indeed this is the Scriptural view of the matter. The same remarks will apply to the Waldenses in Austria. Though both classes at this time and place, had still some confused notion of a bishop above a pastor, yet they hesitated much as to the distinction.* The choice of their office-bearers was by the

* The Rev. J. L. Jackson in his "remarks on the Vaudois of Piemont during an excursion in the summer of 1825," mentions their Church Government as under a Synod, and adds p. 225, 226. "A current opinion prevails in these valleys, that the Moderator was originally styled Bishop, and was addressed as such; though, from the extreme poverty of the persons holding the episcopal office, the title has now for many years been dropped. The Moderator still presides in the convocations of the Synod."—In a note he gives what forms his only proof of this from David Cranz's History of the United Brethren, translated by Benjamin La Trobe, namely, the account of the ordination of the Brethren's ministers, "that as the Waldenses trace the succession of their Bishops from the Apostolic times, they" (the United Brethren in Bohemia A. D. 1467. comp. part iv. § 46.) "dispatched three of their priests, already ordained, (amongst whom Michael of Zamberg is mentioned,) into Austria, to Stephen, bishop of the Waldenses; who rejoiced at the report of the Brethren's emigration and regulations, laid before them, in presence of the elders, the rise and progress, the various vicissitudes, and the episcopal succession of the Waldenses, and consecrated them, with the assistance of his co-bishop and the rest of the clergy, bishops of the Brethren's Church," part ii. § 12. Here Crantz evidently relates that Stephen the Waldensian had not authority to ordain ministers without the consent and assistance of his co-bishop and the other clergy. He seems to have acted as Moderator in ordination.

people. In so far as lots were employed, they evidently imitated the church of Jerusalem, of whose proceedings we are informed in the first chapter of the Acts. The Brethren viewed that history as a precedent for ordinary elections, but we commonly consider it as extraordinary, at least so far as the lots are concerned.

Soon after the return of the three newly consecrated bishops who preferred the name of seniors or elders, another synod of deputies was called, and Michael Bredac of Zamberg took the lead in ordaining the three newly elected presbyters. Mathew Kunwald was also consecrated a senior. Regenvols fully confirms the fact that the appointment of bishops was viewed by the Brethren not as a matter of divine right but of present expediency. They thought the seniors tended to preserve the unity of the body, and the number was four, namely, Michael Bradatz, called Zamberg: a certain old man who had been a priest of the Waldenses: a priest who had been of Roman ordination: and Mathew Kunwald. To these seniors were added ten CONSENIORS to aid in preserving the unity, order and discipline of the church, whose names were, Gregory, the grandson of Rockyane's sister; Thomas Przelaus; Elias Chrzenow; John Chelcie; Laurence Crassonitz; Procop Baccalaur; Lucas; John the Taborite; John Clenow; and Albert.* These appointments show that the Bohemian Brethren were jealous of the power of bishops, and in short the union of seniors and co-seniors in the government of the church, was materially an authoritative synod of pastors for church government. Seeing also that Taborites and Waldenses are mentioned among these office-bearers, we are warranted to gather that both the remnant of the Taborites and many Waldenses of Bohemia had joined the Brethren.

Before the Assembly parted, in 1467, the Brethren desired a closer connection with the Waldenses of Austria, on the frontiers of Bohemia, among whom they understood there were great and learned men appointed for pastors, and that the doctrine of the gospel flourished. In order to ascertain more fully the reality of these things, the Brethren deputed two pastors and

* Regenvols ib.

two elders to enquire into the state of the Waldensian congregations, to ascertain the causes of their separation from the Romish communion, to learn their principles and progress, and to make known to them the behaviour of the Bohemian Brethren, with the reason of their secession from popery. The four deputies having arrived on the spot, and with great care made the necessary enquiry, they encouraged the Waldenses by stating that they did nothing but what was agreeable to the institution of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and that in the sacraments they adhered to the appointments of the Son of God. The Waldenses were also very much pleased to hear from Bohemia the good news of a people thus dedicated to the glory of God, and removed from the abuses and idolatries of the church of Rome. They exhorted the Bohemians to persevere in the good work so happily begun, to maintain the truth, and to be stedfast in good discipline: and in a testimony of joy in the present visit, and of the association and communion they desired to hold with them, they prayed for them, blessed, and laid their hands on them. The Waldenses related to them their wonderful preservation in providence during many centuries, notwithstanding divers and extended persecutions. Both companies parted with mutual expressions of good will. The churches of Bohemia felt unspeakable satisfaction in the relations of the four Brethren. From this period a holy affection was cherished between the Brethren and Waldenses, and for mutual edification they held communion as frequently as circumstances would admit. In prosecution of their intercourse, the Brethren of Bohemia wrote letters to the Waldenses of Austria, in which they expressed their comfort arising from the late interview, but as they themselves did not wish to be flattered in any fault, so they could not dissemble without violation of charity, that they perceived in the Waldenses some things worthy of reprehension. The particulars were, that after knowing the truth, they frequented popish churches, thus polluting themselves by their presence at those idolatries which they condemned, for we are not only firmly to believe with the heart, but to confess with the mouth to salvation: that they were too careful in hoarding up gold and silver, for though the end was good to support them in persecution, yet they seemed to

carry this carefulness to such an extent as to attach them too much to this world, and to prevent them from diligently laying up treasure in heaven.

The Waldenses expressed grateful feelings for their kindness, and entreated the continuation of their holy affection. They further intimated, that the proposition for union is to them very agreeable; that they shall do their best endeavour to promote this object, and wish to hold a conference; that for a long time they had been convinced of the defects noticed as a departure from their ancient faith, yet never had power to remedy them; and that if the proposed union were accomplished, they hoped with their advice to remove these and other evils. A day and place of meeting were fixed, in which further to take order concerning this business. But when the deputies were about to proceed to the meeting, they began to doubt that their designs might be discovered and all parties might be in danger. They considered that though their belief and their assemblies were known, yet they had been supported, and that if they were to join themselves with another people, they would place themselves in critical circumstances. The papists having got some information on this subject, and indulging their propensities against the Waldenses of Austria, in 1468 the former raised a violent persecution against the latter. A great number were burnt at Vienna, among whom was Stephen, an aged man, and bishop of the Waldenses. His constancy confirmed many, and of the survivors some were scattered in Marchea, others in Moravia and a great number were brought into Fulnerha. Several companies retired into the coast of Brandenburg, where they did not long remain, being there exposed to fire and sword. One named Tertor travelled into Bohemia, where he observed a man might enjoy both external and mental peace, and accordingly joined himself to the churches of the Hussites. He returned to his own country, and persuaded many to accompany him to Bohemia, where they settled, and were received with the most ardent affection. After that period the Waldenses in Bohemia commonly joined themselves to the Brethren.*

* Perrin Hist. Wald. book ii. chap. x. Hist. Bohemian Persecution, chap. xx. 5. Account of Moravians, p. 71.

From this transaction of the Bohemian Brethren with the Waldenses, arose the practice of denominating these Brethren also Waldenses. This title however they have always refused, because they did not receive their whole doctrine from the Waldenses, neither did they ever establish themselves into one church with them, nor were they reformed by them, but these Waldenses rather needed to be in some defects reformed by the Brethren. Necessity led them also to decline the name Waldenses, because there had been many decrees published by the magistrates against the Waldenses, which in this way did not affect the Brethren. However, they never denied their having received from the Waldenses the power of ordaining ministers, and through that channel their external succession, though this fact they frequently concealed as occasion required. Huss derived advantage from the Waldenses, and many of that people had joined the Brethren.

Notwithstanding these precautions, God willed the Brethren of Bohemia to be partakers of the persecution of the Waldenses in Austria, for in 1468, probably near the close, George the King, instigated by Rockyzane, in a council of the states, published a decree that every one of the peers in his territory, endeavour to apprehend and prosecute as many Piccardines as in his power. In this way he expected to prevent separations from the popish communion. Many were accordingly siezed and incarcerated till the death of the king three years afterward. Among these was Michael Zamberg. Many perished in dungeons, and others were tortured. Some fled to caves and forests. They kindled their fires only in the night, and read the scriptures and prayed. The Brethren being moved with these unjust proceedings, wrote an apology to Rockyzane, to the consistory, and to the King. Instead of the gospel being extinguished by these attempts the flame was more extended, because many peers, namely the barons of Kragis, Kostkie, Zerotine and others submitted themselves to the discipline of the Brethren, and built oratories for them in their towns and villages. They seem to have screened themselves under the law which allowed by public authority, churches to the Calixtines.*

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xx § 6-8. pp. 61-63. Select Narratives p. 61. Account of Moravians p. 71.

Certain parts of Bohemia enjoyed peace, and afforded an asylum for the Waldenses from Austria.

For some time, the Brethren had been carrying forward a translation of the Bible from the Vulgate into the Bohemian tongue. The first edition was published at Venice, about the year 1470. The sale was so rapid, that in a short time two new editions were executed at Nuremberg. The Brethren afterwards established three printing-offices for the sole purpose of supplying them with the Scriptures: namely, one at Prague, and one at Buntzlau in Bohemia; and one at Kralitz in Moravia *

On 22d February 1471, the Lord was pleased to deliver the Brethren from that apostate and persecutor, Rockyane, who, as might be expected, died in despair. The Calixtines received priests from Italy, who were bound to renounce the compact. A few days after the death of the archbishop, George Podiebrad, the king, also departed this life. He was succeeded by Ladislaus, son of Cassimir of Poland, and the Brethren enjoyed some respite from persecution, for though the new king issued an edict against them, yet on a petition from them he rescinded it. †

The breathing which the Brethren now enjoyed, was improved for grounding their congregations in the truths of the gospel, and regulating their GOVERNMENT and DISCIPLINE. ‡ Here we may give a short sketch of these matters.

Each CONGREGATION consisted of beginners, who were children, or ignorant persons requiring to be catechised; of those growing in grace; and of the perfect, who had made considerable progress, though not completely perfect.

In each congregation, from two to eight *elders* chosen from among the perfect, had, in concert with the minister, the oversight of the morals of the people. This court was called the PRESBYTERY, and its duties seem to have been similar to those of a kirk-session in Scotland. The members exhorted such brothers or sisters as were turning to the broad way: if the persons persevered they were rebuked; and if obstinate, the matter was referred to the minister. Each family was

* Holmes p. 63.
the Moravians, p. 71.

† Regenvols chap. ix. Holmes p. 55. Account of
‡ Holmes p. 55.

visited once a-quarter, and inquiry made regarding family devotion, morning and evening, respecting the reading of the Scriptures, and the conduct of every individual. They tried to procure work for their artizans, urged them to avoid extortion, and cautioned them against contracting debts. Widows, orphans, and all their poor were supported by collections made on purpose, and the almoners from time to time laid the state of accounts before the elders. Four times a-year voluntary donations were collected to defray expences at the Lord's Supper, to purchase candles, to repair the minister's house, to support poor ministers, and to aid weak congregations. The congregations audited their accounts once a-year. The elders visited the sick, and urged them to settle their worldly affairs for the benefit of widow and children. The elders also tried to reconcile discordant brethren, and in law processes directed them how to act before the magistrates. The congregation, by a majority of votes, chose the elders, whose duties being explained, they, in presence of the bishop, minister and congregation, promised solemnly to fulfil them. In the presence of the women, a number of female elders, *presbytera*, were elected from among the matrons, to have charge of the chastity of widows, wives and virgins, to caution the extravagant, to visit the sick, to relieve the destitute, and to reconcile those at variance.

Every FAMILY was to be governed by its male and female head in the fear of the Lord. Prayer to God, singing of psalms and reading the Scriptures, were to be observed at morning, evening, and at noon. All the members were to attend public worship, and children and servants to be questioned on the sermons they heard. Fathers were not to frequent ale-houses nor to be idle. The domestics were not allowed to indulge in cards, dancing, drunkenness, cursing, swearing, costly or indecent dress, levity, clandestine intercourse of sexes, or the like. They were not permitted to engage in suspicious traffic, usury, angry law-suits. No member of the church was allowed to put himself under another minister at his own discretion, and none to be received without testimonials from the minister he left. Nobles were not to despise or oppress their subjects as by the feudal system,

but to give labourers their due, and to remember they are only stewards.

Among CHURCH OFFICERS, *Ministers* were to preach and administer sacraments. At this period the classics and philosophy were not required, but these were enjoined after the reformation. Ministers at this time were trained by other ministers. A sound understanding, acquaintance with Scripture, aptness to teach, personal piety and equal temper were sought, and students were to study the Bible much more than any human writings. The congregations did not choose their ministers, nor did the ministers canvas, but the bishops in their united capacity appointed to the vacancies those they thought best qualified. The candidate preached a sermon, the bishops stated he was appointed for the place, the elders and people promised to receive him by giving their hands to the minister, and the whole was concluded by prayer. If a former minister was retiring, he delivered to his successor a list of the members of the congregation, with an inventory of the furniture belonging to the church and the minister's house, and agreed with him regarding every article. Each minister had the independent guidance of his congregation excepting difficult cases, in which he consulted the bishop. He was to report to the bishop every half-year the state of his congregation. The bishop could summon each minister before him to admonish him regarding his conduct, but occasions of this kind seldom occurred. In connection with the elders, each minister was to inspect his flock to prevent the decline of religion. When a brother wished to change his trade or place of abode, he consulted the minister as a father, and usually followed his advice. In doubts and difficulties the minister tried to counsel and comfort. When the minister entered a house he was received with respect. He instructed, comforted, warned or rebuked as he saw occasion, and gave the family his blessing.—If at morning or evening, he presided at family worship.

Ministers seldom visited the tables of the rich, but if they went, they returned home immediately after the grace or a hymn. Their salary, consisting of money and provisions, was paid by voluntary contributions, one agreeing to give bread,

one fish, one butcher-meat, another malt-liquor, and the like. Vegetables grew in their own gardens. In Poland they held glebe lands, and the superior in some cases granted them money and corn. In the infancy of the church, most of the ministers were unmarried, on account of the persecutions, for they applied the admonition of Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 8, 26. In ordinary times also they preferred unmarried ministers, that they might without distraction attend on the things of the Lord, and many such led a chaste and temperate life. This was not however an absolute law, for when necessity required, and the bishop permitted, the pastor was married to a woman of steady and virtuous character. Females also sometimes lived in voluntary celibacy, some of whom instructed girls in sewing, reading, writing, and the principles of religion.

The *Deacons* assisted the minister in distributing the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper. They attended the conferences of the elders, to learn how to promote brotherly love in the congregation. On the sabbath afternoons, they repeated to such as had been absent, the substance of the sermons they had heard in the morning. The deacons learned handicraft trades, that the congregation might the better provide for the minister. They aided the pastor by instructing the children and catechumens. Being viewed as candidates for the ministry, they occasionally preached the gospel in the villages under the minister's inspection, and baptized children in his absence.

The *Acoluths* were young men of respectable talents, two or three of whom lodged in the house of each pastor, and received so much instruction in the languages and the liberal arts as was necessary for theologians. They studied the New Testament, the Psalms, the Catechism, the spiritual hymns, and other publications of the Brethren. The elder ones read the Scriptures at family worship, and occasionally gave short addresses. They taught the children, expounded a chapter, gave a short discourse, and prayed in select companies. Such as had not talents for study learned trades.

The Deacons, Acoluths, and boys, conformed to the *Domestic rules of the minister's house*. At the sound of the house-bell, they all arose at a certain hour in the morning. Having

washed and dressed, they praised God on their knees. Every one then read and meditated on the Scriptures. In an hour the bell called them to worship, when a psalm or hymn was sung, a portion of Scripture was read and expounded by the minister or some fit person, and then followed praise and prayer. They then went to reading, writing, or other school-work. At two o'clock they had prayers. The afternoon between dinner and supper, being viewed as improper for study, was spent in manual labour, such as binding books; mending clothes; weaving; and working in gardens, orchards, vineyards and woods. After supper they indulged in music and singing psalms, closing the day with devotion. No one was allowed to sit up or leave the house at night. In the morning the overseer rung the bell for rising, lighted the lamps, led the tune, read the text, delivered the exhortation, noticed the absent from prayers or work, put questions for conversation at meals, and locked the doors in the evening, delivering the keys to the minister or the overseer for the ensuing day. During dinner and supper, the Bible, psalms or hymns were repeated. Sometimes a theological question was started, and in the answer the youngest began, and the minister concluded. At other times one read during meals. No one was allowed to be idle. The younger boys prepared the table, swept the room, and the like. The older ones attended the house-door, the cellar, the garret, the garden, the clock, the library. At the beginning of each year, the duties were distributed anew. Deacons and acoluths were often removed from one minister's house to another; and without the minister's concurrence, they were not allowed to go out, to send letters of importance, to lend property, to take charge of other persons' affairs, or to sign contracts and wills. The minister dared not to travel without the consent of the bishop, and in their journeys they lodged if possible with the Brethren, by whom he was kindly received and his feet washed. If poor, he was usually presented with a coat, a knife, or a sum of money. He exhorted at family worship, and gave a discourse in the church.

The church-elders, seniors, or bishops, were elected by the body of ministers. After the death of Mathew Kunwald, who had been chosen by the lot, a synod, in 1500, committed the administration of affairs to a body of four or five of equal

dignity, in order to obviate the danger of such supremacy as prevails in the Romish Church. Two bishops were usually in Bohemia, two in Moravia, and one or two in Poland. They were chiefly distinguished from other ministers by their greater labour. As in the apostolic age every elder was bishop in his own congregation, the Brethren preferred the name elders or seniors, that they might not be confounded with the Romanists. They were solemnly consecrated, and held their office for life, unless their conduct was faulty. Of fifty-five bishops in 200 years, not one was dismissed, and only six or seven resigned, owing to the infirmities of age. No bishop was allowed to decide affairs of importance without the advice of his colleagues and co-seniors. The bishops unitedly composed the ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCIL, from which an appeal was allowed to a general synod, which gave a final decision. The seniors appointed the ministers, stirred them up to diligence, to observe what youths were educated for the ministry, to preserve purity of doctrine, and to enforce discipline. The senior annually visited all the congregations in his diocese. When persecutions and dangers were menaced, he endeavoured to avert the danger and to comfort the afflicted.

One of the seniors held the office of *President*, convened his colleagues in council as necessity required, began the meeting with prayer, and stated the subject of deliberation. The youngest gave his opinion first. The president balanced the different arguments, and the senior who was secretary entered the resolution in the minutes. The president also called a general synod when necessity required. The council of bishops seems to have answered the purpose of a standing committee, or commission of the synod.

The *Secretary* or *Notary* registered the transactions of synod, and was expected to be well acquainted with the deeds of the unity. Under the council he answered adversaries, and drew up confessions of their principles to obtain the protection of government. The truth was stated, but care was taken to avoid controversy. All books for publication were submitted to the council, but attention to ministerial duties left the pastors little time to write.

Each bishop had two or three *Co-elders* or *Conseniors* for his assistants, who aided him in superintending his diocese,

and supplied his place in illness. They examined the acoluths, deacons and ministers for ordination ; and gave them testimonials to the bishops. They became acquainted with individual clerical characters, and took a share in the deliberations of council, on condition of the strictest secrecy.

SYNODS were of two kinds, general and particular. The *general synods* were held every three or four years, and consisted of all the office-bearers and the lords of the manor. These meetings promoted brotherly love, ordained ministers, dismissed offenders, and restored the penitent. Owing to distance, Poland only sent deputies, as did the Bohemians to Poland, when the synod met in that country. The minister at the place of meeting made the necessary preparations. On the previous day the seniors and co-seniors met for prayer. The president exhorted to brotherly love and impartiality, according to their instructions which were repeated by the secretary. They consulted regarding the subjects to come before the synod. The members of synod went each to his lodgings prepared by the minister of the place, and the seniors lodged in the minister's house. The deacons and acoluths acted as servants. On the evening of the first day, the members were welcomed and addressed by the president in the church, who returned thanks to God for their safe arrival. The whole synod took their meals together, and were usually addressed by a bishop or co-senior. The synod deliberated the whole day in the church, but the acoluths and deacons took no share, only they had tasks assigned them to learn. The ministers chose a president and secretary by vote. The former named the subjects of deliberation, every one, beginning with the youngest, gave his opinion supported by arguments, was obliged to keep to the point, and was not interrupted unless he was too verbose or spoke in anger. The secretary marked every one's arguments ; and if any one had forgot any important matter, or sought to explain, he was heard after all the other members had spoken. The president then balanced the arguments, announced the prevailing opinion, and the secretary minuted it in a book which he delivered to the bishops, who with the co-seniors deliberated in another room, but in matters of concern they gave no decision without the consent of the ministers. The bishops ex-

horted the servants to avoid interference in wills, contracts, usury, fairs, feasts, and the like. He urged them if possessed of more than 200 dollars to spend the surplus in charity, and to avoid unnecessary intercourse with strangers. At the close of the business a bishop addressed them all to act to the glory of God; and a minister returned thanks to God, and acknowledged the paternal care of the bishops. As a token of love, the Lord's Supper generally concluded the meeting. The bishops prayed and admonished all present to conduct themselves with propriety, and to salute their patrons and congregations on their return. Each bishop had a copy of the resolutions of synod, and none of them had power to alter any thing without the consent of the whole church-council, who in important matters were obliged to take the opinion of all the ministers. Matters in a single diocese or congregation that could not be delayed till the general synod, were laid before a *particular synod*, called and attended by a small number of bishops and ministers. The transactions of these synods were sent to the absent bishops.

Next we shall attend to ORDINATIONS. The *Acoluths* at the synods were named by the ministers from among their pupils as proper persons to be encouraged to look forward to the ministry. A discourse on the seventy disciples or the like was addressed to them. Being called by name, they, in presence of the synod, devoted themselves to the service of the church by giving their hands, and the older Acoluths gave them the right hand. The *Deacons* were chosen from the elder Acoluths.

The bishops examined them in divinity and piety, and the synod stated their duties from the first epistle to Timothy. The bishop offered a prayer on their behalf and ordained them with the imposition of hands. They gave their hands to the bishops and ministers as a token of obedience, and the older deacons gave them the right hand of fellowship. Each *minister* took to the synod one or more deacons with testimonials from the presbytery of his congregation. They were three times examined. The ministers inquired into their certificates and gave their opinions. The co-seniors examined them in companies on divinity, and regarding their motives in devoting themselves to the church. A bishop then exa-

mined each by himself on his conscience, reminding him of the dignity of the pastoral office, and inquiring into his willingness not to seek temporal advantage. Any thing faulty in his morals was pointed out. This has sometimes caused individuals keep back from the pastoral office. Such as were to be *ordained* to the ministry prepared for it by fasting and prayer. At the ordination, the synod began by singing, and a sermon on the ministerial office. The ordaining bishop read a passage of Scripture, and announced that some ministers were to be ordained, and called on them to devote themselves to God. A consenior read their names, and two others placed them beside the bishop, formally asking him to impart to them the full powers of the ministerial office. The bishop inquired as to their fitness for the office, and one of the conseniors replied, that God has furnished them with gifts, that they have been instructed from their youth, that they are of a blameless life, that they are sound in the faith, that they are desirous to devote themselves to God and his church, that they are free from an evil conscience, and that God in answer to prayer has fitted them for his work. The bishop then declared his acquiescence. The persons to be ordained next solemnly vowed to God and the church, to attend with fidelity to the duties of their office. The bishop also called them to take encouragement from Christ's intercessory prayer, which was read to them by another bishop. All the bishops present then laid their hands on the candidates, and prayed to Christ to receive them among his servants, and fill them with the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The whole assembly knelt and sung the hymn:—"Come Holy Ghost, come Lord our God." After the newly ordained ministers had risen from their knees, the bishop wished them the divine blessing, and urged them to faithfulness, promising them an eternal reward. The congregation answered:—"Amen." The young ministers gave their hands to the bishops and conseniors as a token of obedience, and to the other ministers as a pledge of love, and the deacons gave them their hands from respect. The whole transaction was concluded with the Lord's Supper. *Conseniors* were ordained in the synod by the imposition of hands, having been chosen for the church-council by the conseniors and ministers. A

sealed list of those who had the votes was sent to the bishops. The *bishop* was consecrated in the synod, after fasting and prayer. All the bishops, conseniors and ministers, marked on separate slips of paper the name of the person that each wished to be bishop. Each sealed his own slip, and the bishops received and opened all the slips, believing the man who had most votes to be appointed by God. Next day after prayer, the bishop declared that whoever is announced as elected should obey God's call. Another bishop then pronounced the name of the person chosen. He was next called up and asked if he considered this to be a divine call, and if he was ready to serve God in his church. If he assented, his duties were read from the epistles, and he engaged to perform them. The whole assembly on their knees prayed for grace to him to perform his work. The bishops then laid hands on him, and the congregation kneeled and sung:—"Come Holy Ghost." The bishops lastly gave him the right hand of fellowship, and the conseniors and ministers give their hands as token of obedience. The whole service concluded with singing.

DIVINE WORSHIP must be noticed. *Preaching of the word* was of leading importance. The congregation met four times on sabbath, twice in the forenoon, and twice in the afternoon. In the first sermon the prophecies were expounded, and in the second, texts from the Gospel were discussed. In the afternoon the epistles furnished ground for discourse, and in the evening the Bible was read with cursory remarks by the minister. In summer, a fifth meeting after dinner was held to catechise their children in presence of their parents and others. All the services opened with singing and a short prayer. Then followed the text. The principal points of Christian truth were discussed every year. They published a brief outline of doctrine, which was not intended as a fixed standard, or unalterable law, but to preserve uniformity in doctrine. In the second service an hour was allotted to illustrate the text, but at any of the other meetings the whole service did not occupy above an hour, and the noon and evening meeting only half-an-hour. Prayer, singing and the blessing concluded the worship. At noon and afternoon the elder youths were detained and examined by the minister on the

sermon. On the Wednesday and Friday evenings in Lent, the young people were instructed in the mystery of redemption. In their *manner* of preaching the ministers did not follow the aids of rhetoric, but proclaimed the Gospel with great simplicity, and generally in the words of Scripture. They divided the word by addressing different classes, as weak or strong Christians, the disconsolate or the presumptive, the indolent or the zealous. The leading doctrines of their religion were expressed in their hymns, many of which are still inserted in the hymns of the renewed churches of the Brethren. Their singing was led by a Precentor, who did not follow artificial church-music, but adapted the hymns to the Gregorian tunes of the Roman Catholics. Some of the German melodies introduced in later times, though more simple, frequently awakened the recollection of unscriptural songs. At *baptism*, a text was the ground of a short discourse to show that God's covenant extended to the issue of believers. The parents and sponsors repeated the creed. The former gave the latter power to instruct or reprove the child if they should be negligent. The god-fathers and god-mothers expressed their willingness, especially in case of the parent's death. The aged and rich were not invited to be sponsors. Prayer was offered to God, to cleanse the infant from corruption by the blood of Christ, to regenerate it by the Spirit, to give it the seal of grace by baptism, and to place it among his chosen. The minister then named the child, and baptized it with pure water, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The parents and sponsors were again reminded of their duty.

To the *reception* of strangers into communion, and the *confirmation* of the young, particular attention was paid. Inquiry was made of strange applicants, if they understood and approved of the Brethren's doctrine and discipline, and if they led a blameless life? In case of hesitation, the admission was deferred till a future time. They were admitted only in presence of the elders of the congregation. They were asked if they obeyed God and his congregation, if they submitted to Christ's servants, if they would be willing to be admonished, instructed, and chastised by them, and if they would suffer persecution for the sake of Christ? After giving

their hands as a pledge of obedience. they are received into the church. Young persons brought up among the Brethren, are publicly committed to the minister's care, and confirmed in the baptismal covenant. These persons having been previously examined by the minister, have a discourse on Mat. xi. 28, delivered to them in the church. On being questioned regarding their willingness, they repeat the Apostle's Creed. In reply to other questions, they take on themselves their baptismal vows to renounce the devil, the world, and the flesh, to put off corrupt affections and devote themselves to Christ. The minister then kneeled down and prayed for them in presence of the congregation, laid his hands on them, absolved them, and declared their right to the Lord's Table. The *Holy Communion* was administered four times a-year, or oftener, on the Romish festival days, or at other times. Before the communion was proclaimed, the minister consulted the elders of the congregation regarding the tune, and the conduct of all church members, if any thing required admonition, reproof or censure. The Lord's Supper was then intimated, and a fast proclaimed a fortnight or three weeks before the dispensation. Every head of a family was examined by the minister, regarding the conduct of every individual in his house, and his own diligence in instructing their domestics. Persons were admonished or excluded from the church as occasion required. Penitents were directed to comfort and pardon, though their sins were not palliated. Strangers were admitted on producing testimonials from their own pastors or members of their own congregation. On the day of the communion an address was made to stir up the communicants to hunger and thirst for the bread and wine of eternal life. Next was the confession, in which forgiveness was asked for Christ's sake, cleansing sought by the Holy Ghost, and worthiness begged to approach the table. Forgiveness was proclaimed in name of the Trinity, and the right of God's children to approach. The minister in a white surplice read the words of institution. He took the bread and broke it, putting his hand also on the cup. He explained the ordinance calling all to believe these symbols, to believe sacramentally the body and blood of Christ. He called them to approach the table in faith. The communicants drew near with reverence to

the table covered with a white cloth. The order was, the servants of the church, magistrates, elders, the male members according to age, and lastly the females, according to seniority. The ancient Brethren stood in communicating, to avoid the appearance of adoring the elements, but the later ones kneeled to shun persecution. During the action they sung praises to God. The work was concluded by the congregation thanking on their knees, praying for grace to withstand temptation, and for the destruction of antichrist ; also for mercy to ministers, to the fallen, to the mourner and the penitent ; as well as for magistrates and enemies. The congregation was exhorted to a holy life, and to give alms ; and in conclusion the Old Testament blessing was pronounced.

Clandestine promises of *marriage* were subjected to ecclesiastical discipline ; for parents, guardians and ministers were to be consulted. After a discourse on a text regarding marriage duties, the parties stepped forward, and before the congregation, pledged themselves to mutual love and faithfulness. The minister then joined their hands, and declared them lawfully married persons in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, adding the words, “ what God hath joined let not man put asunder.” After prayer, the parties were exhorted to be moderate in the celebration of their nuptials. The *sick*, if they desired, were named in public prayers. The minister visited them and called them to prepare to meet God, to be resigned to his will, and to expect everlasting life by faith in Christ. If any one asked the communion it was granted, but some others joined with him. At *funerals* the minister and school children sung God’s praises, and an address was delivered to the company.

The Brethren viewed the observation of the *Sabbath* as of moral obligation, because the seventh day was sanctified at the creation, the ten commandments enjoined the Sabbath, and in the days of the Apostles the Lord’s day was appointed instead of the Jewish Sabbath. Therefore it was not ceremonial. The Brethren rested from all secular employments. Their domestics and cattle also rested. They strictly avoided drunkenness, gambling, dancing, idle conversation, lounging, and the like, but spent the day in singing God’s praise, reading the Bible, and attending four or five services at church.

They observed also several festivals or *memorial days*, for Christ's incarnation, circumcision, birth, death, resurrection and ascension; with Pentecost, the annunciation, and visitation of Mary, and several days in remembrance of the apostles and some martyrs. On these days, however, every one returned to his work after the public service. They kept also fast-days four times a-year, and abstained from food till the evening. After sermon, a general confession of sin was made, and prayer to God was offered, that he would pardon sin, avert bloodshed, pestilence and famine; that he would grant peace, faithful labourers, and nursing fathers and mothers to the church; and that he would grant the spirit of wisdom to his servants, raise the fallen, recover the wanderer, and have mercy on the unbelieving. Extraordinary days of fasting and prayer were appointed when threatened with war, plague, or persecution, or when a congregation was distressed, or an individual sinner excluded from the church.

CHURCH VISITATION of each congregation, once a-year, was incumbent on the bishop, or on a consenior commissioned by him. He inquired into the conduct of the minister, elders, and people. He examined the acoluths and deacons regarding their studies and devotedness, and if their wants were supplied. The elders were asked if they had any advice to give, and regarding the practice of the minister and his household. The bishop inquired into the minister's support, and inspected his furniture. If the lord of the manor was of the brethren's communion, the bishop inquired if he was satisfied with the minister. In case of differences the bishop tried to accommodate them. The bishop preached the Word at these visitations, and dispensed the Holy Communion.

Persons of all grades in the brethren's church engaged to submit to their CHURCH DISCIPLINE as a divine institution, with a view to preserve the upright, and to raise the fallen. There were three degrees of discipline according to Matt. xviii. 15. 1. *Admonition*.—All brethren and sisters were to reprove one another for what was amiss; and if no good effect was apparent, the elder or minister rebuked the delinquent with gentleness. 2. *Public Reproof*.—If no improvement followed, the elders summoned him, and in presence of the minister called upon him to lay aside his fault; which if he

did, he was dismissed with an admonition. In cases of gross and public transgression, the person was for a time suspended from the Holy Communion. He was exhorted to seek forgiveness from God, and encouraged to expect pardon from men, on manifesting penitence and amendment. He was to ask pardon from all the congregation, and to continue this exercise till next communion, or longer if necessary. If the sin was not publicly known, his asking pardon of the presbytery was sufficient. 3. *Exclusion from the church.*—This took place when persons after the above reproof gave up themselves to vice. But the minister never proceeded to this step on his own sole authority, for the matter was laid before the bishops, who gave the decision. The congregation was also sometimes called to decide if the offenders ought to be excluded. When matters came to this issue, the culprit, in presence of the congregation, was reminded of the enormity of his guilt, and of God's appointment to exclude obstinate sinners from his church. He was told that his sins forfeited everlasting life, was cast out of the congregation of the saints, and was delivered to Satan in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The assembled congregation, with sighs and tears, answered, Amen. Finally, he was led out by one of the deacons or elders, and the congregation prayed our heavenly Father not to suffer this strayed sheep to persist in sin, but to bring him back to his fold. The door of hope was still opened to him, and he was encouraged to repent. He was allowed to attend public services, but was obliged to stand without the door. If he showed signs of repentance and reformation, he was allowed to make penitent confession in the congregation, and was joyfully re-admitted, and was felicitated on his happy change, and the minister paid particular attention to him, that his good resolutions might be strengthened. This discipline was not enforced either in a hypocritical or tyrannical manner, but in meekness.*

These details regarding the Brethren's church order are more extended than was at first intended, but they are on the whole so excellent that few readers will grudge their insertion. The episcopacy of the Brethren not being urged as of di-

* Account of the Bohemians, pp. 75—138. Holmes, pp. 64—91.

vine right, and having so many checks against becoming oppressive, Independents and Presbyterians will be sparing in their remarks, though both these classes of Christians consider the perfect equality of pastors as the true Scriptural view.

About the year 1474, the Brethren further improved the season of tranquillity to inquire if in any other nations, other Christians like themselves existed, who in the same way confessed Christ and imitated him in morals, who followed pure doctrine from the word and rejected the Roman Pontiff, and who might join their fraternal society, and render their unity more respectable? Some of the nobility among the Brethren generously offered to bear the expence of such journies of inquiry. In this proposal Bohuslaus Kostka, Baron of Postupitz, lord Litomelitz, acted a distinguished part, for he obtained from king Uladislaus charters of safe conduct for the travellers through the dominions of certain kings and princes. Having received their instructions, the persons selected proceeded to Constantinople. Thence they proceeded in different directions. Lucas Baccalaur of Prague, proceeded to Greece, and the regions towards Italy. Cocowitz proceeded through Scythia into Moscovy, and the other territories of the Slavinian race. Martin Cabatnitz, citizen of Litomelitz, journied into Palestine and Egypt, with a Jewish interpreter.* This Martin was one of the Bohemian brethren, unskilled in scholastic subtleties, but most diligent and prudent. Caspar Marchitz at Constantinople protected the travelling companions in their way home, in such a way that Thrace was also explored. On their arrival in Bohemia, they reported that they had made no such discovery as they desired.†

The benevolent King Uladislaus protected the Brethren from persecution. But in 1476 their enemies suborned a base Polander, named Lezka, to publish that he had been an elder in the Brethren's church, but had withdrawn, from a burdened conscience, and was ready to publish their wickedness. In the habit of a penitent, he declared the pretended abominations of the Brethren to crowds of people in villages, towns and churches. To places which he could not visit his deposi-

* His Travels were printed in Bohemian, in 1491 and 1542.

† Regenvols, cap. viii. Holmes, p. 63.

tions were sent and read from pulpits warning all against the Brethren. The apologies of the reproached Christians obtained no credit. But the false witness became conscience-struck, and confessed the whole imposture. Consequently many attended the Brethren's meetings to judge for themselves, and many new proselytes joined their communion. Thus God turned the counsel of enemies to the advantage of his own flock.*

The next plan of the adversaries was to propose an interview with the Brethren, to attempt the formation of a union. The chief of the Calixtines proposed to meet with them. The Brethren appointed Michael Zamberg, now considerably advanced in years, John Chelcitz, and Procop, to confer, and who, protected by the public faith, convened with the other party on the 13th of September 1479. The discussions were continued for several days in the University of Prague, but the meeting broke up without any reconciliation being effected.†

As might be expected, some of the bitterest enemies of the Brethren were the Calixtines, especially when a union was not obtained. In a conference at Glatz in 1480, the Brethren's answers to sundry questions were sadly perverted. For example, when the Brethren replied, "that Christian churches might differ in their religious ceremonies, provided they were not contrary to the command of Christ and his apostles, without being thereby excluded from salvation;" the Calixtines inferred, that they believed all heretics would be saved. In another answer, the Brethren stated, that "Christians ought to suffer patiently, and not resist evil, even though it were inflicted by the Turks;" and the Calixtines accused them of maintaining that the emperor's war with the Turks was unlawful. When the Brethren wished their doctrine to be examined, their opponents said, "they have adopted the doctrine of the Waldenses, who have been condemned long ago." Some of the Brethren, with a view to stop persecution and to avoid the charge of schism, wished to form a union with the more sound and pious Calixtines. The older minis-

* Sect. Nar. pp. 71—73. Holmes, pp. 55, 56. Boh. Pers. chap. xxi.

† Holmes, p. 56. Regenvols, ib.

ters, however, who had observed and felt the malevolence of the Calixtines, feared this plan would relax the discipline and cool the zeal of their churches.*

In 1481, the enemies of the truth prevailed on Mathew, king of Hungary, who, since the death of Podiebrad had possessed Lusatia, Silesia, and Moravia, to banish the Brethren from the last mentioned province. The refugees took with them Nicolas Slanius, a minister of the word, travelling through Hungary, Transylvannia, and that part of Wallachia nearest the Poles, all the way to Moldavia.† Meantime, on the 2nd of April 1482, an Italian archbishop, came into Bohemia; and at Prague, on 20th October 1483, began to ordain priests among the Calixtines, and to administer the Lord's Supper under both kinds. The Calixtine priests had now to be educated in Italy. He lived ten years.‡ But neither did the Brethren forget their distant friends, for they sent from Bohemia to Moldavia, Elias Chrzenow, one of their conseniors, with letters in 1483, to excite their Brethren in a foreign land, to endure affliction with equanimity and patience. Under Stephen, the prince of that country, the banished Moravians lived till 1486, or as some say, a year later, when most of them returned to their own country, as the troubles had ceased by the restoration of Moravia to Bohemia.§

As some of the Brethren still shewed a wish to hold intercourse with some of the Calixtines, a synod was convened in 1486, and the following resolutions formed:—

I. “ If a minister be found in any other church, who maintains pure doctrine and good morals, the faithful ought to be thankful to God, but not to join or to receive the sacraments from him, for these reasons: *1st*, Because it is dangerous for a person to unite again with a church, which he had previously left on account of its errors. *2nd*, Because this good minister, when removed by death, may be succeeded by one of a different character. *3rd*, Because such as leave their church, break the social tie which connects them as members of a well regulated community, where some direct, others

* Holmes, p. 57.

† Regenvols, ib. Holmes, p. 56. Sel. Nar. p. 73.

‡ Regenvols, cap. ix.

§ Boh. Pers. chap. xxii. Regen. cap. viii.

obey, but all remain in the unity of the spirit, and of the body of Christ. 4th, Because the faithful, who by the grace of God, are richly supplied with spiritual blessings in their own church, cannot without hazard, go in quest of them among strangers.

II. "In case there be many ministers in another church, who are united by proper regulations and good order, and feed their flocks with the pure word of God; the faithful must by no means despise them: yet they ought not to forsake their own church communion and join them: but the elders in the church must try to ascertain whether it is practicable to unite with them in *one* body; for in the church of Christ all things must 'be done decently and in order.'

III. "Should the elders find that they excel us in knowledge of the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, we ought to submit ourselves to them, and learn of them. If they do not excel us, we are not on that account to disdain or to revile them. Nevertheless, we are not to join them, lest by their defects, (though unknown to them, yet known to us) the purity of doctrine among us should be corrupted. We ought to serve them with brotherly affection, that they may attain to clearer light and knowledge.

IV. "Finally, We confess that no community, however numerous, can be called the CATHOLIC Church, that is, such a church as comprehends the entire number of the faithful, in such a manner that God has none of his elect out of it. But wherever in any part of Christendom, the Catholic or only saving faith is found in truth, as declared in God's holy word, *there is the holy catholic church*, without the fellowship of which is no hope of salvation."*

In the same year, or as others say in 1489, the Brethren persevered in their search for Christ's witnesses, and deputed the consenior Lucas, and Thomas Germanus, to proceed to France and Italy, to make inquiry regarding pious assemblies. In these countries they found the great body of Christians alienated from the life of Christ. Some, however, they found endowed with the fear of God, bearing the cross, and groaning under diverse afflictions. With these they dis-

* Holmes, pp. 57—59

coursed concerning religion, and endeavoured to excite one another to the practice of piety. In Gaul (perhaps on both sides of the Alps) they met with the Waldenses in similar circumstances, who received them in the most hospitable and brotherly manner. They remained some time at Rome, and had ocular demonstration of things they had been told. On their return to Bohemia, they reported that they discovered some upright souls, who mourned over prevailing abominations, that they had witnessed the burning of several noble confessors of the truth, but had nowhere found a *church* with which they could propose to unite. Their only present duty they thought to be fervent prayer to God for opportunities to co-operate with other Christians. In 1489 a synod unanimously resolved:—"That if it should please God in any country, to raise up sincere teachers and reformers in the Church, they would make common cause with them."*

On the 28th January 1491, at the temple of *Læta Curia*, where the Brethren were administering the Supper in both kinds, a German struck a gentleman on the head, so that his mouth was cleft. The aggressor was imprisoned, but was dismissed without merited punishment. In 1493 the Calixtine bishop died, and was succeeded by Philip who resided at Prague and Kuttensburg, and for three years ordained ministers, but was prohibited by the pope.

In 1499 some scholars travelled into Armenia for ordination. Two of these afterwards suffered martyrdom by fire at Radnice, namely Martin a Taborite and his deacon.†

By this time some of the chief men and barons, namely, the Kragirzs, Kostkas, Zerotines and others, had submitted themselves to the discipline of the Brethren, and had built in their towns and villages oratories for them; because by the present laws of the kingdom the public temples were conferred on the Calixtines. About the year 1500, almost two hundred churches of the Brethren existed in Bohemia and Moravia.‡

* Holmes pp. 63, 64. Regenvols ib. † Boh. Pers. chap. xxvii.

‡ Regenvols ib.

CHAPTER V.

Hussites in POLAND during the Fifteenth Century.

FOUR years after the death of Louis king of Hungary and Poland, Jagello the Grand Duke of Lithuania, who had been baptized by the name Ladislaus, was on the 14th of February 1386, married with Hedwige, the daughter of Louis, and became king of POLAND. The Lithuanians received the Christian religion in 1387, and queen Hedwige bore the expense of procuring for them a very large house, in which they might receive an honourable education. In 1390 she could translate the Old and New Testament from Latin into Polish. In 1394 Jagello, in consequence of reading the Bible, brought priests from Bohemia to Poland, who, in the common Slavonic or Polish tongue, administered divine ordinances in the temple of St Cross, at the town called Cleparia, without the walls of Cracow. On the 12th of July 1399, the queen died, and bequeathed a sum of money in aid of the academy at Cracow, which had fallen into decay. In 1400 the king restored and confirmed the said school for liberal education, which had been, by Cassimir II. king of Poland, founded at Cassimiria, a part of the city of Cracow. Uladislaus now removed it more into the city. His second queen, Sophia, was also an encourager of religion and learning.

By the use of the Scriptures therefore, and by intercourse with Bohemia, the principles of the Hussites spread in Poland. The emperor Sigismund in one of his speeches remarks, that "in Poland and other provinces, the minds of men are imbued with the doctrine of Huss." In 1431 the Poles at Cracow held a meeting concerning religion, with some of the Taborites from Bohemia, namely, with Procop Holy, Bedrick Straznitz, William Kostka, and Peter Payne, an Englishman. The doctors of the academy of Cracow were employed to refute their errors by disputation. King Uladislaus and the senate of the kingdom were also present.

On this period Dlugoss thus writes:—"A certain Bohemian priest had come to king Uladislaus to disseminate the Wycliffite poisons by his preaching, which had already begun to appear. Sbign Olesnitz, bishop of Cracow, solemnly reprov'd him and prohibited him to preach. He also interdicted king Uladislaus from communion with him, as he wished himself and his kingdom to be not only without trespass, but without the mark and suspicion of trespass." Cromer also states that "Sbign ejected a heretical priest who had come to the king." We learn also from Dlugoss in his record, and in other places, that a presbyter from Bohemia, promoted and exalted in various ways the sect of the Bohemians by much reasoning among the common people. A Bohemian priest of the same description, a celebrated mathematician, related to the king at Prziszow in 1433, that that year many conjunctions of the planets, and an eclipse under the earth would happen, which according to the superstitions of some at that time presaged the changes and death of princes. He exhorted him to put his house in order. Though not caused by the planets, yet the king died on the 31st of May 1434.

Dlugoss states that Sigismund Coribut of Lithuania, the king's brother by the father's side, and cousin german of Witold, began both by himself and his followers, to agitate in Bohemia communion under both kinds, and to favour what the writer is pleased to call the pestiferous errors of the Bohemians. "Among others," says Cromer, "Abraham Sbantz, the judge of Posnan, favoured the sect of the Bohemians, and cherished in his house heretical Bohemian priests, by whom the poison spread abroad among the people.* Andrew Bnin, bishop of Posnan, issued out an anathema against him. But

* Regenvols, chap. vii. and p. 165. In the former place, the historian gives the names of a variety of the Polish nobility who favoured the Bohemian doctrines, viz. Sendivo Ostrorog, palatine of Polnan, general of the army of Greater Poland, against those who bore the sign of the cross; John Menise of Drabrow, palatine of Russia; John Giza, prefect of the forces of the kingdom, who sent auxiliaries from Poland to Ziska in Bohemia; Peter Crosboc, of the house and family of Kurtzbach; James Rogow Nadobny, by sprung from Dzialoss; John Kuropatwa, born in Srenaw; Spitko Melstin, palatine of Cracow, whom Cromer accuses of heresy; Derslaus Rytnan, palatinate of Lancitz; John Strasz; the designations of others are not recorded.

since in that way he effected nothing, he began to restrain the innovators by force. He led to the castle of Sbantz more than nine hundred horsemen collected from among his neighbours and clients, and compelled five Bohemian priests to be delivered to him. He renewed the judgment of Posnan, and in the year 1439, publicly burned them in the market place." These martyrs were doubtless Hussite ministers.

In the year 1448, the legate of Pope Eugenius, entered Cracow, but no particular honour was done him by the academy, which adhered to the doctrine of the council of Basle, that a council is superior to the Pope, which doctrine, Nicolas, who succeeded Eugenius, had subscribed.

Queen Sophia, the widow of Uladislaus, ordered a copy of the whole Bible to be written in the vulgar tongue, at the close of which, this sentence was added: "These books were finished in the camp of new city, Corczyn, at the command and will of the most serene Sophia, queen of Poland, translated by Andrew of Jassowitz, written by Peter of Cadoszitz, 18th August 1455. The widow queen, Sophia, still survives, and her son, Cassimir Jagellonide, now reigns."

In 1460, Cassimir III. of Poland, resisted the Pope, and refused to permit him to distribute bishoprics according to his pleasure. The king being exasperated by the insolence of the legate, said in conversation, "that he would retire from the kingdom rather than suffer any bishop to be created against his will." On this occasion, the legate began to vociferate, "Better that the three kingdoms perish, than that the right and authority of the Pontiff be disturbed or diminished."*

Demalewicz† informs us, that "in 1480, Sbignic of Olesnitz, bishop of Uladislaw, diligently sought after the heresy of the Hussites, and inflicted on a certain presbyter, Mathias, the punishment of perpetual imprisonment, which he administered to multitudes who communicated under both kinds."

Though the materials for a history of the Hussites in Poland are very scanty, yet the statements now made, short as

* Regenvols, cap. vii.

† In the Life of the bishop of Uladislaw, p. 343, in Regenvols, p. 165.

they are, afford reason to conclude that their doctrine, morality, and government, were similar to those of Bohemia.

CHAPTER VI.

Waldenses in Germany dreadfully persecuted in this Century.

THOUGH we cannot give a very succinet account of the Waldenses in Germany during this century any more than in the fourteenth,* yet the gleanings which we are able to pick up show the existence of the Waldensian churches in the German provinces. The malevolence and persecution of them by their foes prove they annoyed them. The treatise of Pilicdorf against the Waldenses of Germany, near the close of the foregoing century was formerly analysed,† as well as several others on the same side. These were doubtless in circulation to defend the Romanists in the fifteenth century. Nay, the work of Pilicdorf was enlarged, for the editor tells us, “ they more largely treated of the oppositions of the sacred Scripture, to the errors of the Waldenses in the year of our Lord 1444.”‡

In 1457, at Eychester in Germany, multitudes of the Waldensian Christians were put to violent deaths.§ In the same year, the monks inquisitors in the diocese of Eisten in Germany, discovered many Waldenses whom they put to death. Among these were no fewer than twelve pastors, who instructed them in their religion.||

In 1471, numbers of the Waldenses were at Vienna committed to the flames, and among these the elder Stephen who had ordained the seniors of the Bohemian Brethren, as formerly detailed. This persecution was conducted under the influence of Johanna, the widow of George Podiebrad king

* See vol. i. pp. 228, 229, 248.

† Ib. pp. 438-443.

‡ Bib. Pat. tome iv. coll. 811, 812. § Twisk on 1457, in D. Anvers p. 258.

|| Perrin b. ii. chap. xi. Hist. of Martyrs, book viii. in Leger.

of Bohemia.* For several years the unmolested parts of Bohemia afforded an asylum for the persecuted Waldenses of Austria. In 1488, the Bishops of Mentz and Strasburg caused burn thirty-five burgesses of Mentz in one fire at Bingen, and eighteen at Mentz, who all suffered with constancy.†

CHAPTER VII.

Lollard Martyrs in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND during the fifteenth century—Sawtree—Thorpe—Ashton—Badby--Lord Cobham—Acton--Beverly—Claydon—Turming—Mungyn--Resby—Tailor--White—Baker—Backster, &c.—Craw—Pecock—Goose—Lollards of Sarum—Joan Boughton—Lollards of Kyle.

A REBELLION, headed by Henry Duke of Lancaster, deposed Richard of England in 1399. The duke was crowned as Henry IV. and soon found that the only way to secure the friendship of the clergy, was to execute the letter of Pope Boniface against the Lollards and itinerant preachers. Accordingly, Henry declared both to the Convocation of the clergy and to the parliament, that he is “the protector of the church against the assaults of the Lollards.”‡ On a petition from the Romanists, the king, in the second year of his reign, 1401, enacted the infamous statute for burning heretics. This instrument complains of heretical books, unlawful assemblies, and unlicensed preachers. The act enjoins that none give religious instruction without due authority; that in forty days all books opposed to the decisions of the church be delivered to the church officers; that such as favour prohibited meetings be imprisoned, but not exceeding three months; that if they then purge themselves, they shall be dismissed on paying a fine; and that such as retain or relapse into error shall be

* Dutch Martyrol. b. ii. on the year 1471, in D'Anvers p. 259.

† Bib. Pat. Tom. iv. part ii. p. 838, on the margin of which the date is marked. Perrin b. i. chap. ii. See vol. i. pp. 428, 429.

‡ Lingard in Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe vol. ii. pp. 390, 391.

openly burnt for an example to others. The clerical origin of this enactment is evident from its being founded on the canons of the church, and from its similarity to the regulations proposed by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and adopted by the Convocation. Arundel declares the Pope to bear the key of eternal life and death, to fill the place of the true God, and to have power to denounce those as rebels who oppose their own judgments to his. He asserts that the heretics conceal their evil purposes under a mask of sanctity, and are the tail of the black horse in the Revelation; that none shall preach without licence from his ordinary; that such as are licensed shall confine themselves to the things contained in the constitution in aid of the ignorant priests; that the contemners of these canons shall forfeit their possessions and suffer as heretics; that churches admitting heretical teachers be interdicted; that school-masters shall not teach religious opinions, and shall prevent their pupils from discussions on the vernacular scriptures and the sacraments of the church; that all books written by Wycliffe, and the like men, shall be banished from all places, unless approved by twelve persons chosen by the universities; that all who shall on his own authority translate any text of scripture into English, shall be viewed as a favourer of heresy and error; that no man shall dispute on any articles determined by the holy church, in her provincial or general councils, especially concerning pilgrimages, adorations, crosses and images; that the "new and damnable name of Lollardie" is to be deplored; and that all persons refusing to appear when charged with heresy shall be judged guilty.*

Notwithstanding the severity of the laws against the Lollards, they boldly maintained, that the sacraments administered in the Church of Rome are dead signs; that virginity and the celibacy of the priests are not acceptable to God, but destroy the holy seed; that consent, without any church observance, constitutes marriage; that the church is a synagogue of Satan; that for that cause they (the Lollards) do not repair to the church to serve God, or to receive the sacrament,

* Vaughan ib pp. 392-394. Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. ii, p. 171.

for it is "the tower and pinnacle of Antichrist;" that they do not get their children baptized by the priests, lest they should become worse in passing through their hands, and from a fear of that child who is the second person in the Trinity, and unstained with sin; that no day, not even the sabbath, is in itself more holy than another; that all days are equal for working, eating and drinking; that no purgatory exists after this life; and that no other penance is necessary except abandoning and repenting of sin.* On such articles the inquisitors are to examine the suspected. The twelfth question is, whether an infant dying in infancy can be saved? Sir L. Clifford, an apostate Lollard, asserted to the archbishop of Canterbury, that the Lollards think children ought not to be baptized. This is doubtless a distorted view of their refusing to carry their children to the Romish priests, and of their doctrine that unbaptized children may be saved.†

On the 12th of February 1401, WILLIAM SAWTREE or CHAWTREY, a parish priest, was summoned before the archbishop of Canterbury, and accused of refusing to worship the cross, and of denying transubstantiation. As he refused to renounce his sentiments, he was condemned as a heretic. On the 26th of February the council again met, and on his persevering in his profession, he was degraded from the priesthood, and delivered to the High Constable to be punished. Though he was given to the civil powers under the pretence of requesting them to be merciful to him, yet the bishops urged the king, who directed the lord mayor to burn him as a heretic, which was executed without delay. This was the first martyr in England who was consigned to the flames for heresy.‡

A simple artizan of the Lollard communion, was condemned to be cast into a cask of boiling oil by the secular arm, for having asserted that the body of Jesus is not in the eucharist, which is less animated than a toad or a spider. The Prince of Wales, son of Henry IV. endeavoured to persuade the man to retract, but he refused and was cast into the fire. The prince, moved with his cries, promised him a comfortable living

* Lenfant ib. p. 33.

† D'Anvers pp. 302, 303.

‡ The Lollards

pp. 8-10. Bloomfield's History of the Martyrs, pp. 16-19.

provided he would renounce his errors, but even then he still persisted and miserably perished.

Some English gentlemen of the Lollard profession, presented to the king a memorial to demonstrate that the funds which supported the wicked bishops, abbots and priors, would be able to maintain fifteen counts, fifteen hundred gentlemen soldiers, and six thousand two hundred common soldiers; and to build a hundred hospitals: but as they did not prove these things in detail, the king prohibited them from attempting such a step in future. They afterwards asked that their priests, whom they should ordain, on being prosecuted for heresy, should not be cast into the bishop's prison, but into that of the king, or of secular lords. They petitioned also for the modification or revocation of an edict which authorized, without a special order, the arrest of any Lollard when teaching, and his confinement in the king's prison. These reasonable petitions however were presented in vain.* The cruelty of the edicts which condemned the innovators to the fire, was not able to allay the tempest against the clergy. England being impoverished by the wars against France, the grandees of the kingdom assembled in parliament in 1404, proposed to apply the revenues of the established church to support the state. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, remonstrated with the king, urging his oath to protect the church.

In 1405 a faction was raised against Henry, on pretext of his usurpation against Richard, his oppressing the church, and his depriving the people of their liberties. This conjuration was dispelled, and among the conspirators punished, was Richard Scroop archbishop of York. The king sent the warlike arms and the habiliment to Pope Innocent VII. asking if this were his son's coat? The pope answered in the affirmative that a beast had devoured him.†

The decree of Henry IV. that the Lollards be seized and delivered to the bishop of the diocese, and that if their priests persist, they be degraded and committed to the secular arm, was executed in regard to a Lollard minister, who seems to be WILLIAM THORPE‡ who was imprisoned in the castle of

* Lenfant ib. p. 38.

† Lenfant ib. 171.

‡ Mentioned vol. i. p. 464.

Saltwood in Kent, in 1407. The archbishop desired him to abjure his errors, and he declared his readiness to renounce every thing contrary to the law of God. The archbishop required him to leave the communion of the Lollards, to part with every thing he pointed out to him as erroneous, and to confirm these engagements by oath, with a promise to inform against all he knew to hold the Lollard opinions. On his refusal to comply, the archbishop threatened to burn him at Smithfield, and Thorpe prayed God in silence, to grant him grace, strength and mercy, and to enable him to state the grounds of his hope with meekness, reason and Scripture. On transubstantiation, Thorpe referred to the Scriptures without explanation by human reason. The archbishop asserted that the crucifix, the images of the Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, and of the other saints, ought to be worshipped for the sake of bringing these to remembrance. The confessor asked the prelate in what image or likeness God, who is a spirit, can be painted, and the archbishop was at once silenced. After some additional questions regarding confession, pilgrimages, and several other Romish tenets, Thorpe was committed to a noisome prison. As the registries do not mention his being brought to the stake, he seems to have ended his days in prison, either by sickness or by violence. In like manner JOHN ASHTON, who had refused to recant the doctrine of Wycliffe concerning the sacraments, was committed to perpetual imprisonment, and died in confinement.*

JOHN BADBY, a tailor by trade, was on Sabbath, March 1, 1409, before Arundel, and other popish dignitaries, charged with asserting that after the sacramental words, the material bread remains on the altar as in the beginning, and is not turned into the very body of Christ; that he was not able to believe that any priest could make the body of Christ, unless he should see the body in the priest's hand; and that when Christ sat at the supper, he did not hold his body in his hand. Arundel said, if John would live according to the doctrine of Christ, he would pledge his soul for him at the judgment day. Badby defended all his articles, and added, that the bread is a sign or sacrament of the living God; that

* Lollards pp. 14-16. Bloomfield pp. 23-38.

he believed God in Trinity, which he had been accused of denying, and that if every consecrated host were the Lord's body, twenty thousand Gods would exist in England. He was imprisoned till the 15th of March, and re-examined before the bishops and temporal lords in St Paul's. Arundel finding him inflexible, and observing his answers influence others, condemned him as a heretic, and delivered him to the lords temporal, with the hypocritical request not to put him to death. In the afternoon, the king's writ for the execution of Badby arrived. He was immediately led to Smithfield, placed in an empty barrel, bound with iron chains, fastened to a stake, and surrounded with dry wood.

The Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. by promises and threatenings, urged Badby to retract his opinions, and Courtney, chancellor of Oxford, preached a sermon on the faith of the church of Rome. On the host being presented to him, he denied it to be God's body, and the fire was kindled. On feeling the flames, he in prayer exclaimed, "Mercy!" The prince ordered the fire to be quenched, and offered him a yearly stipend from the king's treasury, provided he would turn to the faith of the holy church. On his resisting this temptation, he was again put into the cask, and being supported by the Spirit of God, he persevered till death relieved him from his cruel agony. Whether this is the same as the artizan formerly mentioned, does not seem very clear. Much more true heroism is discernible in John Badby, than in the conqueror at Agincourt.*

The severe proceedings of the Romish church and of the civil government, imply that the doctrines of Wycliffe were making considerable progress in England, and giving trouble to the ecclesiastics. Mr Fox asks, "Who would have thought by these laws and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumstantially provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sect should have been utterly rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet, such be the works of the Lord, passing all man's admiration, that notwithstanding all this, so far was it off, though the number and courage of these good men were indeed vanquished,

* Lollard's, pp. 10—13. Bloomfield, pp. 19—23.

that they rather multiplied daily and increased, especially at London, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calais, and divers other quarters more.”*

At this period, Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE, known as Lord Cobham, was for several years the chief protector of the disciples of Wycliffe. The superior talents and unblemished reputation of Lord Cobham, are evident, by his continuance in the favour of Henry IV. notwithstanding his being a sincere and avowed Lollard. In 1407, when Henry sent an army to aid the duke of Burgundy against the duke of Orleans, the name of Lord Cobham occurs as second in command.† At the king's death, however, in 1413, his lordship's period of safety was terminated.

Immediately after Henry V's. succession to the crown, Arundel of Canterbury, and the clergy, complained to him against Lord Cobham, who was a supporter of Lollard preachers, a circulator of Wycliffe's books, and a great favourite with the public. In a conversation, the king urged his lordship to submit to the mother church. The knight cheerfully acknowledged the authority of Henry as his king, and added, “Unto you, next my eternal God, I owe my whole obedience, and submit thereunto all that I possess, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever you shall in that Lord command me. But as touching the pope, and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him by the Scriptures to be the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place.” On this the king left him, and granted permission to Arundel to summon him before the clergy, but the knight at Clowling castle refused admission to the summoner. On the gates of the cathedral of Rochester, he was cited to appear before Arundel at Ledis, on the 11th day of September, but as he declined to appear, a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him.

Lord Cobham perceiving his danger, offered a written confession of his faith to the king, which is excellent and clear on all heads, except that he is not so explicit in denying pur-

* Fox, Acts, &c. pp. 686, 687, in Vaughan, ib. pp. 394, 395.

† Vaughan, ib. p. 397.

gatory and transubstantiation as a Protestant could wish, nay, seems rather to believe these things, though he expresses doubts. But no doubt he expressed himself according to the best of his judgment. The king did not condescend even to read the paper, but handed it to the archbishop. The knight was willing to demonstrate his innocence in any way the law allowed, either by proof before the king, or by appeal to arms, with any man living. But Henry allowed Arundel's summons to be served on him, even in the royal presence. Sir John appealed to the pope, but the king sent him to the tower. On the 22nd of September, he was brought before the chapter of prelates at St Paul's. He read a confession of his faith, the same as he had offered to the king, but adding a contradiction of the Romish doctrine of images, penance, and pilgrimage. In conversation he again denied the authority of the pope and clergy, to enact any thing contrary to the Scriptures. Next day Arundel sent him a paper containing the popish doctrine regarding the sacrament of the altar, confession, the power of St Peter, pilgrimages and images.

On the 25th of September 1413, the archbishop and bishops, with multitudes of other clergy, met at the Dominican Friars, Ludgate. The knight was treated with scorn, and told he would get absolution if he meekly asked it; but he replied, that he had never offended them, and therefore needed not absolution. On this he kneeled down on the pavement, and stretching forth his hands to heaven, prayed aloud:—"I confess myself here unto thee, my eternal, living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, Lord, most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony; in covetousness and lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins. Good Lord, I ask thee mercy." When he arose, bathed in tears, he intimated to the people that his enemies had never cursed him for violating the laws of God, but for breaking human appointments. His enemies were for a little disconcerted, but recovering courage to continue the interrogations, he firmly rejoined, "I fully and faithfully believe the whole laws of God; I believe all that to be true which is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Bible; finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe." During his examination regarding the sacrament of

the altar, he stated, as in the paper to the king,—“ I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ’s very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified on the cross.” But he explained, “ I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes; the body of Christ which is his flesh and his blood, is thereunder hid, and not seen but by faith.” Being asked if he meant *material* bread, he said the Scriptures do not speak of material bread, but Paul calls it, “ the bread which we break.” They said Paul cannot mean it is bread after consecration, because holy church determines it to be Christ’s body. After his lordship had declared Jesus and his apostles to be holy, but the church of Rome to be like the Pharisees and Beelzebub, a long discussion followed. On being asked his belief regarding the four points in the paper sent to him in the tower, all his answers were contrary to the belief of the Romanists, and he denied our salvation to be by the material cross. Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced on him, and appointed to be read in all the pulpits in the kingdom. Lord Cobham declared that this sentence might effect his body, but could no more injure his soul than Satan did the soul of Job; that the Creator of the soul would have saved it by his mercy; that by the grace of God, he would persevere to death in the articles of his belief, and that the people ought to be on their guard against the men who were leading them with themselves blindfold to hell. He then knelt down, prayed aloud for his enemies, and was conducted back to the Tower.*

By some means Lord Cobham escaped from his prison, and on the 7th of January 1414, some of his enemies insinuated to the King, that the Lollards were plotting under Cobham to destroy him and his brothers at Eltham, to burn Westminster Abbey, St. Paul’s, St. Alban’s, and other friaries; that they were to assemble at St. Giles’; and that they were to be joined by multitudes from London. The King proceeded to St. Giles’ but found only a few persons, who were imprisoned. This is the report of Walsingham the Romanist, who says that had not these precautions been taken, 50,000 servants and apprentices would have come out against the King.

* Bloomfield’s Hist. of Martyrs vol. i. pp. 40-55. Vaughan ib. pp. 397-408.

Some writers on the same side say 20,000 were ready to rise, and others make them 100,000.* Rapin, and Mr Sharon Turner think the enemies of the Lollards acted on the King, by secret agents, to cause him believe such insinuations, but that there is no evidence of any such plots being really formed. Mr Vaughan remarks how easily Hume and Lingard of opposite creeds receive impressions against the reforming Lollards, but thinks the abuse of Wycliffe by the Milners far more aggravated and unaccountable.† This meeting at St. Giles' was held in the night, for devotional purposes, in a forest, when the Lollards durst not meet publicly. Thirty-six prisoners, including SIR ROGER ACTON and MR BEVERLY, one of their preachers, were hanged and burnt near the spot where they were captured. Mr Fox completely vindicates them from the charge of rebellion or sedition. Lenfant gives the history of Lord Cobham, but does not sufficiently contradict the injurious statements of Walsingham.‡

In February 1414, Arundel died and was succeeded by Chichely, who continued archbishop of Canterbury till 1443, and was a more violent persecutor than his predecessor. In 1415, a law was passed by which all magistrates on their admission to office, were bound to take an oath to aid the ecclesiastical authorities in extirpating the Lollards. Consequently the sufferings of the witnesses were much extended. That same year JOHN CLAYDON, a furrier, who had been formerly imprisoned as a heretic, was subjected to a new prosecution for having in his possession a book entitled "the Lanthorn of Light," which exposed various Romish errors. The book had been written at his expence, and though he could not himself read, had delighted in hearing it, and had declared "that many things he had heard from this book were profitable, good, and healthful to his soul." In company with RICHARD TURMING, a baker, he was burned at Smithfield. In 1416, Chichely issued an order, that every six months, three persons in each parish should be examined on oath, to inform against all persons whom they understood

† Walsingham ii. 452, 453. and Dr Lingard's Hist. iv. 443, 319, 334. v. 3-6. in Vaughan pp. 408, 409.

‡ Vaughan, p. 410.

§ Concile de Pise, tome ii. pp. 290-293.

to frequent private conventicles, to differ from the Romish church, or to possess suspected books in the common tongue, that the guilty might be either burned or imprisoned. From this cause many individuals of all ranks suffered for conscience sake.

Near the close of 1417, Lord Cobham was apprehended by Lord Powis, and sent prisoner to London. Without further trial, he suffered a most cruel death. With insult and barbarity, he was dragged on a hurdle to St Giles' Fields, where, as a reputed traitor and heretic, he was hung alive in chains. A fire was lighted below him, and he was slowly burnt to death, which he suffered "with the utmost bravery and most triumphant joy, exhorting the people to follow the instructions which God had given them in the Scriptures, and to disclaim those false teachers whose lives and conversation were so contrary to Christ and his religion." About this time RALPH MUNGYN refused to recant his principles, and was consigned to perpetual imprisonment.*

At this period Scotland was not destitute of witnesses for the truth. Tertullian, who lived in the close of the second, and in the beginning of the third century, records, that in his time, the gospel had spread in Britain beyond those districts which the Romans had conquered, that is to say, farther north than the Grampian mountains. Idolatry gave way, and a succession of pious Christians followed, commonly known by the name of CULDEES, which some think to be a contraction of *cultores dei*, worshippers of God. When in 597 Augustine came to Britain from the Pope, a great part of England submitted, but Scotland persevered in her ancient Christianity. On the mission of Romish agents, the Scottish Christians for the first time had bishops superior to presbyters. But in the eleventh century, Margaret, the queen of one of the Malcolms, succeeded in establishing a general conformity with the church of Rome in doctrine and worship. She was canonized and appointed patroness of Scotland. A remnant of the Culdees, however, remained pure, and acted like the Waldenses of Piemont in the same century, who persevered in their ancient religion, when the other churches of

* Lollards, pp. 26—28. Lenfant, *ib.* p. 294. Martyrs, p. 56.

Lombardy submitted to the Pope. Even popish writers state, that some Waldenses and Wycliffites were found in Scotland from time to time.*

The records of Glasgow mention JAMES RESBY, an Englishman, a disciple of Wycliffe, who was accused of heresy in Scotland, by one Laurence Lindors. His offence was asserting that the Pope is not the vicar of Christ, and that a wicked man ought not to be acknowledged for Pope. He was consumed at the stake in 1422.†

That year, 1422, Henry VI. an infant, succeeded to the throne of England, and WILLIAM TAILOR, a priest of the diocese of Canterbury, was put to death by fire, for asserting that saints are not to be adored, and that every petition for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone. WILLIAM WHITE, a godly man, resigned his office of priesthood in the Romish church, and married a pious young woman. He persevered, however, to perform the duty of a minister of the gospel. He taught "that men should seek the forgiveness of sins from God only; that the Pope is an enemy to the truth of Christ, and that men ought not to worship images." Though condemned as a heretic, the people highly esteemed and begged an interest in his prayers. When brought to the stake at Norwich, he was about to address the people, but a servant of the bishop silenced him by a blow on the mouth. He died a martyr in September 1424. From this time to 1428, the persecution was continued. In 1425, we find a list of sixteen persons accused before the bishop, among whom was JOHN BAKER, whose offence was repeating the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Creed in English. MARGERY BACKSTER was prosecuted for boiling bacon on the first Saturday of lent, and for reproving one of her neighbours who went daily to church to worship the crucifix and the Virgin Mary.

In 1428 the bones of Wycliffe were dug up and burnt by order of the Pope. Betwixt the years 1428 and 1431, upwards of one hundred and twenty individuals are named as examined on suspicion of Lollardism. Death, imprisonment,

* Lollards, pp. 301—303. Preface to Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland. See also Dr M'Crie's Introduction to his Life of John Knox, and Dr Jamieson's History of the Culdees.

† Knox, p. 1.

abjuration, or penance, followed according as they were steadfast or yielded. A wonderful uniformity was displayed in the sentiments of the opponents of the Romish hierarchy. During this season, NICOLAS BELWARD paid within three shillings and fourpence of three pounds for a New Testament, which is considered to be equal to twenty pounds at the present day. ABRAHAM of COLCHESTER, and JOHN WADDON, were burnt. In Norfolk and Suffolk, the sufferings of the Lollards were peculiarly severe. JOHN FLORENCE was scourged for six several sabbaths at the churches. In 1430, RICHARD HOVEDEN was burned for Wycliffitism, near the tower of London. In the spring of 1431, THOMAS BAGDBY, vicar of Monenden in Essex, was degraded and consumed to ashes at Smithfield.*

During the reign of James I. king of Scotland, about the year 1431, the University of St Andrew's apprehended PAUL CRAW, from Bohemia, who was accused of holding the doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss, in denying transubstantiation, confession to priests, and prayers to departed saints. By the grace of God, he resisted these popish principles. Our bishops, like Pilate, both condemned this man, and washed their hands by delivering him to the secular judge, who consigned him to the flames, by which he was consumed at St Andrews.†

In 1457, REYNOLD PEACOCK, a Romanist, was summoned before Archbishop Burscher, for holding that the office of a Christian prelate is especially to preach the word of God; that man's reason is not to be preferred before the Scripture; that Scripture is only to be taken in its proper sense, and similar principles. Though he is said to have recanted, yet he appears not to have utterly relinquished his opinions, because, during the remainder of his life, he was detained prisoner in Thorney Abbey, and some assert that he was privately murdered.

Neville, Archbishop of York, in 1466, enjoined all parish priests, four times a-year, to preach without subtilty on the fourteen Articles of the Church of Rome, the Ten Commandments, the two Precepts of the Gospel, the seven Works of Mercy, the seven Mortal Sins, the seven Virtues, and the seven Sacraments. The Archbishop gave a sketch of his

* Bloomfield, *ib.* pp. 58, 59. Lollards, pp. 28—33.

† Knox, book i.

views, and explained the first commandment as especially forbidding witchcraft and superstition; the second is entirely left out; the third forbids heresy as well as blasphemy and perjury; the fourth inculcates the Christian religion; the fifth refers to our natural parents, and to the bishop, and the "Holy Church," our mother; and to make up for the want of the second, the tenth is divided into two. To obtain the aid of the clergy in his present difficulties, Edward IV. gave a charter, which dispensed with "the statute of Premunere," which, to some extent, checked the temporal authority of the clergy. This charter also prohibited magistrates from trying ecclesiastics accused of murder, or other gross crimes, but such cases were to be handed over to the Bishop.

The bloody wars between the families of York and Lancaster created great confusion in England, and the Lollards were still persecuted. In 1473 JOHN GOOSE was delivered to Robert Belisdon, a sheriff, to burn him in the afternoon. The sheriff urged him to renounce his opinions, and save his life. Goose entreated him to say no more, but to grant him some food, as he felt a keen appetite. On this being granted, he ate cheerfully, and remarked, "I now eat a good and sufficient dinner, as I have a short but sharp shower to pass through before supper." Having dined, he gave thanks, and signified his readiness for the execution. He was immediately burned on the Tower Hill, where he yielded up his spirit to God. During the short reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. from 1483 to 1485, the blood of the saints was not shed, but under Henry VII. the barbarous work was resumed.*

In the beginning of 1490, six persons in the diocese of Sarum, publicly confessed and renounced heresy, which they specified each in various articles; but no good end can be served by a minute account of these proceedings. The individuals were subjected to a variety of penances.† JOAN BOUGHTON, a very old woman, mother of Lady Young, steadfastly maintained eight of Wycliffe's opinions. In the face of all the doctors in London she declared her principles, when threatened with the flames. On the 28th of April 1494, she

* Lollards, pp. 33—35. Bloomfield, p. 60.

† Allix, Alb. pp. 276—282.

was fixed to the stake, and from the midst of the fire, cried to the Lord to receive her spirit into his holy hands. That same night her ashes were carried away by her associates.*

In the same year, 1494, Robert Blacater, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned thirty Lollards from Kyle, Kingstyle, and Cuningham, before King James IV. of Scotland, and his great Council. Among the persons accused were GEORGE CAMPBELL of Cosnock, ADAM REID of Barskynning, JOHN CAMPBELL of Newinills, ANDREW SHAW of Polkemac, HELEN CHALMER Lady Pokellie, ISABEL CHALMER Lady Stairs. The substance of the accusations against these Scottish Lollards was, that images are not to be used in the kirk, nor adored; that relics are not to be worshipped; that human laws and ordinances are frequently varying, even by the Pope; that it is not lawful without necessity to defend or fight for the faith by the sword; that the power of binding and loosing was given to Peter, and the other Apostles, but not to the Pope; that the Romish priests are not ordained by Christ; that after consecration, bread remains in the mass, and it is not the natural body of Christ; that tithes ought not to be given wholly to ecclesiastics, but partly to the poor, to widows, to orphans, and to other pious uses; that Christ at his coming has taken from kings the power of judgment; that every faithful man and woman is a priest, as John asserts; that the unction of kings ceased at the advent of Messiah; that the Pope is not the successor of Peter, except in the words, "get thee behind me, Satan;" that the Pope, by his bulls and indulgences, deceives the people; that masses and the Pope's pardons do not profit the souls which are said to be in purgatory; that pardons by the Pope and Bishops are deceptions; that indulgences to fight against the Saracens ought not to be granted; that the Pope exalts himself against God, and above God; that the blessings of the bishops are of no value; that the excommunication of the kirk without a cause is not to be feared; that in no case is idle, rash, and vain swearing lawful; that according to law and the primitive church, priests may have wives; that every day

* Bloomfield, *ib.*

true Christians receive the body of Christ by faith ; that after the contraction of matrimony the church may make no divorce ; that unjust excommunication is not binding ; that God alone, and not the pope, forgives sins ; that faith is not to be given to miracles at this day ; that we ought not to pray to the Virgin Mary, but only to God ; that we are not bound to pray in the kirk any more than in other places ; that we are not bound to believe all that the doctors of the kirk have written ; that such as worship the sacrament in the kirk commit idolatry ; that the Pope is the head of the kirk of antichrist ; that the Pope and his ministers are murderers of souls ; and, that they who are called princes and prelates in the church are thieves and robbers.*

Besides the article on the power of kings, Knox thinks the statements on the heads of excommunication, swearing, and matrimony, misrepresented in the Glasgow register, for the servants of God condemned only the abuse and not the use of the ordinances of God. Notwithstanding the eagerness of the archbishop against the persons accused of these tenets, yet by the Lord inclining the King's heart to gentleness, and enabling his people to give bold and godly answers, the design of their enemies was frustrated. Adam Reid seems to have been a person of a particular humour, and to have had the talent of answering the fool according to his folly, for when Blacater in mockery asked, " Reid, believe ye that God is in heaven ?" he answered, " Not as I do the sacraments seven." By these words, Reid doubtless meant, that he believed God to be in heaven, but did not believe the seven sacraments. The King wondering, proceeded : " Adam Reid, what say ye ?" The other replied, " Please your Majesty to hear the end betwixt the churl and me." Reid then addressed the archbishop : " I neither think nor believe as thou thinkest that God is in heaven ; but I am most assured that he is not only in heaven, but also in earth. But thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think

* Knox, in his History of the Reformation in Scotland, from whom this account is taken, remarks, that doubtless the article against the power of kings is the venomous accusation of enemies, who have always tried to make the true doctrine suspected in the eyes of kings. Knox gives the articles from the Registers of Glasgow, written by adversaries.

there is no God at all, or that he so sits in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth; for if thou firmly believedst that God were in the heaven, thou shouldest not make thyself check-mate to the king, and altogether forget the charge that Jesus Christ the Son of God gave to his apostles, which was to preach his gospel, and not to play the proud prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day. And now, Sir," continued he to the king, "judge ye whether the bishop or I believe best that God is in heaven." While the bishop and his band were sadly vexed with the repartees of the Lollards, the king wished to put an end to further reasoning, and asked Adam Reid, "Wilt thou burn thy bill?" The latter rejoined, "Sir, the bishop if ye will." By such sarcasms the Lollards turned the greater part of the accusations to laughter, and put their enemies out of countenance. Consequently the diet was deserted, without any punishment inflicted on the witnesses for the true religion. Blacater lived only six years longer, and we find almost no question regarding any man's religion in Scotland for the next thirty years.*

In the beginning of May 1498, when king Henry VII. was at Canterbury, a priest was brought before him charged with heresy, but all the eloquence of the king could not persuade him to renounce his principles, and he was consumed by the fire. In 1499, a good man, named BABRAM, was burned at Norwich. On the 9th of July 1500, a very old man, whose name is not mentioned, having been condemned as a heretic, attempted to escape from Lollard's Tower, but being severely hurt by a fall in the endeavour, he was still detained in prison. On the 19th of July, he was still so disabled, that his enemies were obliged to have him carried on a cart to Smithfield, where he was consumed to ashes as a glorious martyr.†

* Knox pp. 2-5

† Bloomfield p. 60.

CHAPTER VIII.

State of the Waldenses and of Literature in SPAIN during the fifteenth century.

ABOUT the middle of this century, learning made some progress in Spain under the patronage of Alfonso V. of Arragon. His education had been neglected, and the first part of his life was spent in arms, but at fifty years of age he began the study of Roman literature, in which he made considerable proficiency. He was anxious to rescue the writings of the ancients from oblivion, and his soldiers could not perform a more agreeable action to their prince, than carry to him any book which they might have found among the spoils which they had taken in war. Cosmo de Medici, by presenting him with an old manuscript, procured a treaty highly favourable to Florence. Anthony of Palermo lived at his Court, and that eminent scholar Laurentius Valla, when persecuted in other places, taught Greek and Roman eloquence at Naples, under the protection of Alfonso.*

As human literature was somewhat revived at this period, so we also perceive that the light of divine truth formerly supported by the Albigenses in Spain, was not yet extinct in the fifteenth century. This appears from the trouble which the inquisitors took to eradicate the alleged heresy, as we find in a book written in 1461, entitled, "The Fort of Faith," (*Fortalitium Fidei*) by a friar inquisitor of the order of Cordeliers. In the eleventh book "on the war of heretics," he enumerates the heresies with which these people were charged.

The author mentions one class of people who maintain, that confession does not merit remission of sins, because remission is the free gift of God. The members of this class taught that God according to his mercy hath saved us, and "not by works of righteousness which we have done;" and "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of

* M'Crie's History of Reformation in Spain, pp. 59, 60.

God that sheweth mercy." But this is not all, for they pleaded that the first grace is the remission of sin, which is from the mercy of God, and not the effect of confession, "which by consequence is not necessary to salvation." Now, though confession to God is not necessary to merit salvation, yet every adult who obtains salvation does confess. If these people were Albigenses, they appear to have gone to an extreme, in abusing the doctrine of grace, by asserting that because we are not enjoined to make known all our sins to the priest, we are not to confess to God.

The writer, however, describes another heresy which he charges on "those who acknowledge that we ought to confess, but add that we are not to confess to man." These assert that we are to confess to God alone, and kept the proper medium. They alleged the authority of Chrysostom in the epistle to the Hebrews: "It is not said that you need publish to the world what are your sins, neither need you accuse yourself before all mankind; you are only enjoined to practise the exhortation of David, in the hundred and thirty-sixth Psalm,* that you spend all the parts of your life in the presence of God, that you confess to him who is your true Judge, and that you rather express your repentance by the secret groans of your conscience, than by the abundance of words: this is the true way to obtain grace from heaven." The friar further informs us that these religionists were accustomed to use another passage of Chrysostom, in which he gives this exhortation: "If thou desirest to have thy sins blotted out, confess them; but if thou art ashamed to discover them to any body, repeat them every day in the secret of thine heart. It is not necessary to tell them to men; they might perhaps afterwards reproach thee with them; but rather declare them to God, who only can give thee such a remedy as thou wantest: and though thou wouldest not confess them to him, yet he still sees thee, he was present and looked upon thee whilst thou didst commit them." From all which Chrysostom concludes, "that we ought to confess our sins only to God." The friar relates, that "this detestable heresy

* This seems to be Psalm, lxi. 7.

which is practised in secret assemblies, hath already infected a great number of people."

Another heretical doctrine in the opinion of the author, is, "that we ought to obey none but God alone." The inquisitor tells us "this is the error of a certain arch-heretic, called Waldo." If this is the worst the friar has to say against Waldo, we shall not yet lose our good opinion of him. After abusing him for presuming to preach without the bishop's leave, and joining with Alain in calling him "a wise man without reason, a prophet without a vision, an apostle without being sent, and a doctor who never had instruction," he proceeds to state how the Waldenses defend the above opinion. "We see," say they, "in the fifth chapter of the Acts, that St Peter and St John, speaking to the Scribes and Pharisees," tell them, "Judge ye whether it be reasonable to obey you rather than God, and not to do what he commands us because you forbid us." He states that the Waldenses also maintain, "that if we obey a man when we ought not to obey him, we commit a sin, because then we do not obey God: Samuel saith to Saul, in the fifteenth of the first Book of Samuel, that disobedience, or rebellion, is as the sin of witchcraft." They evidently mean that obedience to man in opposition to the command of God, is rebellion against God.

Another heresy charged against the Waldenses, is their assertion, that when we are to obey man, we are to submit only to such as are of a pure life, or are "not under sin," and "that good priests only have the power of binding and loosing." He asserts that this was one of the errors of the Englishman Wycliffe, of the fox John Huss, and of the viper Jerome of Prague. But this was just such an error as every good Christian and genuine Protestant will avow, for men of dissolute lives, let them be authorised by any ecclesiastical authority whatever, have no right to administer divine ordinances. On the head of ecclesiastical binding and loosing, or excommunication and absolution, he says, the Waldenses quote Augustine in his book on Baptism, where he writes: "That God pardons sins either immediately by himself, or by the members of his dove, and that the saints," or holy men, "can either absolve us of our sins or retain them." On Exodus, speaking of the plate of gold on the forehead of

the High Priest, Augustine teaches : " This plate was the testimony of a good life, and that he only who has the testimony of a good life, not in figure, but in truth and reality, can forgive sins." Gregory declares : " That they only in this world have the power of binding and loosing, so as the apostles had, who retain their doctrine, and imitate their examples." Origen, on the power of Peter, says : " That the same is also granted to those who imitate him, because all those that follow the footsteps of Peter can also lawfully bind and loose." The Waldenses pleaded from the place in Ezek. xiii. where false prophets are said " to slay the souls that should not die, and to save the souls alive that should not live : " and from Malachi ii. where God says, " I will curse your blessings." They argued that if God declares that the souls which wicked pastors pretend to quicken, do not live, and if he curse their blessing, he does not communicate his grace through them.

The ninth heresy which the friar says " is professed by the same people, is to the same purpose, that it is neither the office nor the order, but only the merit of a good life which confers the power of binding and loosing, of consecrating and blessing." Without receiving orders therefore they blessed and consecrated, bound and loosed like the priests. They declared themselves the apostles' vicegerents, and in this they chiefly opposed the faith of the Romish church.

The tenth heresy of which the inquisitor discourses, is " taught by the same heretics, who maintain that the dispensations or indulgences which a bishop grants are of no value." The eleventh heresy is, " that the prayers which are made for the dead, by those who are in any mortal sin, are unprofitable." The reason they gave was, that these prayers are of no service to the persons who offer them, and therefore cannot be of advantage to others, for " unto the wicked God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant into thy mouth?" The author informs us that these people asserted " that men ought not to pray or sing Psalms in the church, as long as they are under mortal sin." If the Waldenses admitted of even good men praying for the dead, distinguished between venial and mortal sins, or said such as are under mortal sin ought not to use

the means of prayer and praise, they doubtless erred. The twelfth heresy enumerated by the author, is that of those who deny purgatory, and who say that it is a mere invention of the church to make the people give alms and offerings.

The Albigenses are not indeed mentioned by name in the above treatise, but the writer speaks of the Waldenses, and acquaints us that he follows Alain, who wrote against both the Waldenses and Albigenses, and like the author of the "Fort of Faith," confounds them with Arians and Manichees. Though Alain ascribes to the Albigenses the rejection of transubstantiation, yet the present author writes only against the Jews as refusing that doctrine, because he wished to deprive the Jews of the advantage they drew from some Christians holding their views on this point.

Petrus Oxoniensis, a doctor of Salamanca in 1479, was doubtless a disciple of the Albigenses and Waldenses, particularly in those nine conclusions which he was forced to retract by the order of Pope Sixtus IV. who authorised Caranza, archbishop of Toledo, to condemn them. When we read Caranza on heresies, we are led to think that only the nine propositions mentioned offended the archbishop; but on reading the Pope's Bull as published by Alphonsus à Castro, we see that Petrus opposed many other principles of popery, for the words of Sixtus are: "And other propositions, which on account of their enormity, we have judged to be passed over in silence, that those who have knowledge of them may forget them, and those who have no knowledge of them, may not be instructed in them by these presents."*

In the course of this century the knowledge of Greek and Latin made progress in Spain. Alfonso of Palencia, having had intercourse with Cardinal Bessarion, and having heard the lectures of the Greek Trapezuntius, he, on his return to his native country, became historiographer to Henry IV. of Castile, and afterwards to queen Isabella. He was considerably successful in creating among his countrymen a taste for learning.

Next followed Antonio of Lebrixa, who became to Spain

* Allix. Alb. pp. 265-273.

what Valla was to Italy, Erasmus to Germany, and Budé to France. Having studied ten years in Italy, he returned to Spain in 1473, and revived classical literature in the Universities, for the revival of letters had been hitherto confined to a few inquisitive individuals. The barbarous Latin jargon, mixed with some abstruse questions in metaphysics, which had been long set before the youth, was expelled from the Universities of Seville, Salamanca, and Alcala, by Lebrixa, through means of his lectures, and his grammatical institutes in Castilian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. As might be expected, the monks who could not bear the light, who wished to prevent all others from enjoying it, and who had monopolized the art of teaching, opposed Lebrixa; but being favoured with the support of influential persons, he disregarded their selfish clamour, and in 1482, printed a second edition of his Latin introduction. He lived to an advanced age, a literary ornament to his country. In a letter to Vives, Erasmus writes: "The cultivation of languages and polite letters has given celebrity to the university of Alcala, whose principal ornament is that illustrious and truly old worthy, Anthony of Librixa, who has outstripped many Nestors." On account of the failure of memory, Librixa was permitted in old age to *read* his lectures, contrary to the universal custom at that period. After his death, which was caused by apoplexy, the preacher of his funeral sermon imitated his example, pleading as an apology the short time allowed for preparation; but the audience no sooner saw the paper than they strongly expressed ridicule and disapprobation. When at Salamanca, Librixa was aided by Arius Barbosa, a Portuguese, and an excellent Greek scholar. Another coadjutor was Lucio Marineo, a Sicilian, who, in 1485, came into Spain with the grand admiral of Castile, and commenced lectures on poetry. A third fellow-labourer was Peter Martyr of Anghiera, who came to Spain from Italy in 1488, and was applauded for his first lecture at Salamanca, on the Satires of Juvenal. He was then invited by Isabella to teach the sons of the nobility, that a liberal education was not inconsistent with military glory. But Martyr finding the prejudices of his pupils stronger than he expected, he abandoned his system of tuition, and accepted of a political appointment. Notwithstanding these disappoint-

ments, however, a love for learning, spread in the universities, and we observe in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Francesco Ximines exerted himself in the restoration of letters.*

CHAPTER IX.

Waldenses in FRANCE—Martyrdom of CATHERINE SUAUBE—Epistle of BARTOLEMI TERTIAN to the Church of Pragela—Persecutions in Frassinere, Argentiere and Loyse, in Dauphiny, by the Archbishops of Embrun—RUFFI and GIRAND burnt as Waldenses—Bull of Innocent VIII.—Four hundred infants and many others smoked to death—PETER JAMES, and FRANCIS GIRON-DIN before the Inquisitors—Examination of the widow Peyronetta.

THE persecutions of the witnesses for the truth in the foregoing centuries were not diminished in France during the fifteenth. The Albigenses still existed in France, for we have an account of the martyrdom of a number of females of that religion, given by John Chapsagnien, and inserted in Vallai's History of the Albigenses, from which John Leger has extracted the statement. Among the sufferers, CATHERINE SUAUBE of Thoul in Lorraine, is particularly eminent. Though she belonged to a nunnery, she had become acquainted with the principles of the Albigenses. In all probability she and others in said society, had learned these principles previous to their being placed in the convent. "Having been sent with solemnity," says the historian, "to the convent of nuns enclosed at Montpellier, on the road to Lates, in the year 1416, the magistrates of the city having led and conducted her thence as a bride in procession, she soon manifested the knowledge which God has since that time given her of certain points concerning religion, as, 1st, That the Catholic

* M'Crie's Spain, pp. 61—64.

church consists only of men and women, who hold and follow the life of the apostles. *2nd*, That we ought not to adore the host consecrated by the priest, because she did not believe that this was the body of Christ. *3rd*, That it is not necessary to confess one's self to a priest, for it is enough to confess to God. *4th*, That after this life, no purgatory exists.

By reason of these propositions which she constantly asserted and maintained to the very end, she was condemned as a Waldensian heretic, to be burnt in the following year, 1417, at the said Montpellier. "Very likely she received such instruction in the said convent, because sometime after, the other nuns, with the foresaid convent, were in like manner committed to the flames." This fact shews that the Albigensian or Waldensian principles had struck deep root in France, when the whole of this nunnery was infected by them.

Vallai goes on to write regarding Catherine Suaube, that "besides the above, she was accused of four articles, among which this was one,—that the children who die after baptism, and in the meantime have not faith, are not saved." Vallai informs us, that this "has been a peculiar opinion of the Albigenses," as he has "spoken in the first book." Now, in turning to his first book, chapter sixth, we find him thus writing of many Albigenses: "Although they may never have rejected the sacrament, nor said that it was useless, have nevertheless reckoned that it was not necessary for little infants so long as they were not of age to believe, and while it is written, 'he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.' In which they have followed Tertullian, who is of this sentiment, that baptism may be deferred with regard to infants, till they be bigger, and have knowledge and understanding." He also states this to have been the opinion "likewise of Cyprian and of Gregory Nazianzen, who have been of sentiment, if no danger existed, which might press on the baptism of little children, that it was deferred even to the third year or more."

Though Catherine Suaube be viewed on the whole as a genuine martyr, yet she was not altogether free from narrow mindedness, an instance of which we have in the sentiment, that children who have not faith when they die, are not saved;

yet these Albigenses mentioned, do not seem to have carried the matter so far, for they only considered the want of faith in infants to be a reason why the outward sign of baptism “was not necessary.” They do not appear to have refused baptism when desired, and were exceedingly moderate in opposing, (if opposition it can be called to) the baptism of infants. This however was not the general sentiment of the Albigenses. We can acknowledge modern evangelical antipædobaptists as Christian friends, though they carry their opposition much farther than the religionists just referred to; yet no class of the enemies to infant baptism goes to the extreme of Catherine Suaube, who thought that because infants cannot actually believe, they cannot obtain salvation.*

In the former volume, a statement was inserted of the dismal persecutions of the Waldenses of the valleys of the Alps, belonging to France, in the fourteenth century. During the first sixty years of the fifteenth, however, these Alpine Christians appear to have enjoyed external tranquillity, and to have made progress in ardent piety. A specimen of the apostolic spirit of their ministers, at this period, we perceive in an epistle written about the year 1428, by the Barbe BARTHOLOMEI TERTIAN, of Meana, surnamed Della-Grossa-Mano, because of his great hand and brawny arm, to the evangelical churches of Pragela, which displays the holy affection of the pastor, and his zeal to bring the people to faith, repentance and sanctity.†

“JESUS BE WITH US.”

“To all our faithful and beloved Brethren in Jesus Christ. I salute you all.—Amen.”

“This epistle is to advertise your Fraternity, acquitting myself of that trust which is committed to me by God concerning you, in order to the salvation of your souls, accord-

* Leger part ii. p. 332.

† In the original this letter commences thus: Jesus sia con nos. A tuit li nostres fidels et ama tant cant coma fraires en Jesus Christ Salva sia a tuit vos. Amen.

La present es per advertir la vostra fraternita, pagant lo meo debit de mi vos de la part de Dio, maximament sobre la cura de la salu de las vostras armas en lo lume de verita, departi a nos de l' altissime, &c.

ing to the light of truth which is given us by the Most High, that you would please, every one of you to maintain, increase, and cherish, to your utmost, and by no means weaken or diminish those good principles, usages, and customs, which have been left us by our ancestors, and of which we are unworthy. For it would be but a very small and poor advantage for us to have been renewed by the fatherly persuasions of God himself, and that light which he hath given us, if we should now give ourselves up to a worldly, diabolical, and fleshly conversation, forsaking the principal, which is God, and the salvation of our own souls, for a short and temporal life. For the Lord has said in the gospel, "what will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" And, it were better never to have "known the way of righteousness," than having once known it, to walk contrary to it. For we shall be altogether inexcusable, and our condemnation will be more severe, forasmuch as there will be greater punishments inflicted upon those that have had the greatest measure of knowledge. Wherefore I beseech you for the love of God, not to diminish but increase that love, fear, and obedience which are due unto God, and to one another, as also to keep the good customs which you have seen and heard of God, by our means. And that ye will take away and purge out from among you all those faults and failings which interrupt your peace, love, and concord, with whatsoever obstructs liberty in the service of God, and your own salvation, and the administration of the truth, if you desire that God should be propitious to you, in regard either of your spiritual or temporal estate. If then you desire to be heirs of his glory, do as he commands you: and "if you enter into life, keep my commandments." Moreover, beware that you entertain among you no vain sports, gluttony, whoredom, balls, or other debaucheries, as likewise no questions, frauds, usury, malevolence or discords. Take heed of supporting or upholding in the midst of you, any persons of an ill life, who may become a scandal, or an evil example to others. But on the contrary, let love, and faithfulness, and all manner of good examples reign amongst you, doing one to another as every one would that it should be done to him. For otherwise it is not possible that any can be saved, or find grace and favour

with God and man, in this world, or glory in the other. And it is necessary that the leaders, and especially those who govern or bear rule amongst you, see to the putting of these things into execution; for when the head is sick, all the members are distempered: wherefore if ye hope and desire to inherit eternal life, and to be in good esteem and credit, and to prosper in this world, both as to temporal and spiritual good things; cleanse yourselves from every disorderly way among you, so that God may be always with you, who never forsakes those who put their trust in him. But know for certain, that God does not hear nor dwell with sinners; neither does he in his soul cleave to evil doing, or to the man that is a slave sold under sin. Wherefore let every one rectify the way of his own heart, and shun dangers, if he will not perish in them. I shall not add more for the present, but only this, that ye see to the performance of these things, and ‘the God of peace be with you all,’ and accompany us according to our true, devout and humble prayers for the salvation of all the faithful and beloved of Christ.

Yours, ready to serve you in all things in our power, according to the will of God,

BARTELEMI TERTIAN.*

Albert Capitan, in his paper on the origin of the Waldenses, addressed to Rostain, Archbishop of Evreux, derives them from Waldo, whose disciples, he states, fled to the Valleys nearest France. Yet we have already shewn that though the Waldenses of the Valleys might be multiplied from this cause, their commencement is by no means to be dated from this source. Albert denounces as heretics the men and women of the Valley of Cluson in the diocese of Turin, with all the males and females of the Valley of Fraissiniere, Argentiere, and Loyse of Evreux in Dauphiny. From 1460, to the end of the century, severe persecution was carried on against the inhabitants of these three Valleys.† Albert gives a list of the articles charged against

* Morland, pp. 160–162. Leger, part i. pp. 200, 201. Perrin, b. i. chap. xi.

† Albert in Morland, pp. 215–217.

these culprits, from which we may ascertain "the head and front of their offending." They call the church of Rome a church of malignants. They say the church of God is constituted among the poor, and is without spot and wrinkle; their barbes have the power of binding and loosing; the prelates of the Romish church ought not to have patrimony or temporal jurisdiction in this world; since Sylvester, there has not been a true Pope, none has a greater degree of power and holiness in the church than he has of holiness; the sacraments administered by the priests of the Roman church are of no efficacy; tithes are not to be given to the Romish priests, nor are offerings to be given them; the censures and penances inflicted by the prelates are to be slighted; the Roman church is a house of confusion, Babylon the whore, and the synagogue of the devil; none ought to yield obedience to the said Roman church or the prelates; no purgatory exists in the other world; when a man dies, he either instantly mounts to heaven, or is cast down to hell; and covetousness caused the Romanists invent purgatory.

Albert states, they likewise asserted that it is not lawful to swear; that it is as profitable to pray to God in a stable as in a church; that God alone is to be prayed to, and not the Virgin Mary nor the saints, because they are at so great a distance they cannot hear our prayers; that rain water has as great a virtue as holy water in the church, because all waters are blessed of God; that no man ought to observe the festive days of the saints; that the law allows us to do any servile work on every one of the six days; that the law admits the eating of flesh in all places and at all times; that the fasts brought in by the Romish church are not to be observed; and that the law forbids those of their sect to be married with Catholics.

Several charges are enumerated in this list which are evident forgeries, such as,—that men are to confess to their barbes as they do to the Romish priests; that all who obey the Roman prelate are damned; that the law permits persons of this sect, though near in consanguinity, to meet for wanton purposes during the time of preachings, and after the lights are put out; that temporal lords are not to be obeyed, unless of their

own sect; and that when one man discovers another of their sect he commits an unpardonable sin.*

In order to eradicate these opponents of the church of Rome, Albert further tells us, that John, Archbishop of Embrun, from the period of the assumption of his office in 1460 or 1461, used his utmost endeavours by admonitions, exhortations, and threatenings. The better to accomplish his purpose, the Archbishop, in 1473, appointed the Franciscan Friar, John Veyletti, to be commissioner against the Waldenses of the three places mentioned. This Inquisitor proceeded with such violence, that hardly any person in the Valleys of Frassinieri, Argentiere, and Loyse, was able to escape his hands, and to avoid apprehension either as a heretic charged with the foregoing articles, or as a favourer of such persons.†

Some persons, however, that did not belong to the Waldenses, were grieved to see such proceedings, and petitioned Louis XI. to interpose his authority as a shield to the sufferers. Accordingly the king, on the 18th May 1478, sent from Arras a letter to the Governor of Dauphiny, in behalf of "the inhabitants of the Valley of Loyse, Frassinieri, Argentiere, and other places." His majesty states, that these people "have lived, and are desirous to live" as good Christians; that yet they are vexed by some religious persons with mandates, "who call themselves the inquisitors of the faith," who take their goods, and impute to them false charges; that they are put to the rack, questioned, and condemned for faults of which they are innocent; that sums of money have been unjustly extorted, to the injury of the petitioners, and of the country of Dauphiny; that it is unreasonable for men to be condemned for heresy, "except they only, who with obdurate obstinacy will stubbornly maintain things contrary to the sincerity of our faith;" that the people who have been prosecuted for the above causes "be freed from their courts and process," with the exception of such as obstinately oppose "the holy Catholic faith;" that the Parliament of Dauphiny shall cause to be restored the money or goods unjustly seized;

* Morland, pp. 217, 218. Leger, part ii. pp. 21—24.

† Albert in

Morland, pp. 219—222, and Perrin, book ii. chap. iii. Leger, ib. p. 24.

that the king's officers shall not hereafter make any such confiscations; that the inquisitors of the faith shall not be henceforth allowed to proceed against any of the said inhabitants of Dauphiny without express letters from the king; that neither shall the king's judges, nor officers, undertake jurisdiction of the said causes, but they shall be remitted to the king and the grand council; and that all persons in authority and subjects enforce obedience to this letter.

Though the above order from king Louis deprived the inquisitors of power to prosecute for heresy, the Archbishop of Embrun not only persevered in his unjust proceedings, but became more violent, laying hold of the words, "except they only who will stubbornly maintain things contrary to the sincerity of our faith." He maintained that the persons accused did not appear and free themselves from obstinacy, and procured some individuals of the three places, who declared that the petitioners to the king were heretics, though they cleared themselves before Louis; nay, a number of Romish priests, influenced by him, witnessed that those who applied to the king were Waldenses. He also paid one John Pelegrin to accuse the Waldenses in their assemblies of the impure practices with which the primitive Christians were reproached, and which actions are mentioned by Albert. Pelegrin's deposition was made before the king, but none was found to violate his conscience by a similar declaration. John of Embrun, however, still annoyed the Waldenses, and many of them fled.* In 1483 John took ninety-nine informations against the Waldenses in the three valleys mentioned. On the 18th and 29th June, and 3d July 1486, John gave general admonitions against heresy by letters. In August he offered the favour by name, if they would return. AUGELIN PALLONI, and many others, were excommunicated in September.† One JAMES PATINERI had the boldness, however, to demand a sight of the king's letter, but John prudently avoided interference with him, and prosecuted those who were not so courageous. The Archbishop had the impertinence to summon MICHAEL RUFFI and JOHN GIRAND, the consuls of Frassiniera, to appear and to answer before him, both for

* Perrin, *ib.*

† Morland and Leger, *ib.*

themselves and for the inhabitants of the Valley. They replied that their cause was depending before the king and his council. But the Archbishop was moved with rage against the two consuls, and without an indictment consigned them both to be consumed by the flames, and the sentence was immediately executed.

The monk Veyletti, commissioner to the archbishop, in cases of prosecution for heresy, proceeded in a villanous manner; for on cut slips of paper he wrote the answers of the accused persons exactly as dictated by them, but these replies were afterwards extended and enlarged in the process, so that the intention of the respondent was completely reversed. For example, when the question was, if he believed that after the priest pronounced the words of consecration in the mass, the body of Christ was in the Host as large as when he died on the cross? and if the Waldensian answered, No; then Veyletti or his secretary wrote, that he had confessed that he believed not in God. If on inquiry, the person declared that we are not to pray to saints; then Veyletti marked, that he railed and spoke evil of the saints. If he denied prayers to the Virgin Mary, the commissioner inserted that he had blasphemed the Virgin. In this way the members of the faithful church were butchered. The archbishop died in 1487, very soon after the condemnation of the two consuls of Frassiniera. In the wonderful providence of God, the knowledge of the deceitful procedure against the Lord's people was preserved.*

“In this year, 1487, Pope Innocent VIII. issued a Bull for the extirpation of the Waldenses, given to Albert of Capitan,” Arch-Deacon of Cremona, “his legate and commissioner for that employment.” This bull is intended to extend over

* Perrin *ib.* pp. 28—30, who states that in 1585 the city of Embrun was taken from some conspirators by the forces of the king of France, under the Marshal of Lesdignieres, and the records of the processes against the Waldenses were cast into the street, when the Archbishop's house was set on fire by the enemies themselves, with a view to defend the Tower called Brune, to which they retired when they could no longer defend the house. The Lord of Calignon, chancellor of Navarra, and the Lord of Vulcon, counsellor of the parliament of Grenoble, ordered these papers to be collected. By the latter individual, Perrin was allowed to inspect them, and availed himself of them down to 1585.

Dauphiny, as well as to the dominions of the Duke of Savoy. It is meant to pluck up the execrable sect, root and branch, and Charles of Savoy, as well Charles king of France, are invited to undertake a crusade against these people. The clergy are to preach on this topic, and such as will engage in it are to be freed from many other vows and oaths, especially from all contracts with the execrable objects of revenge. Such as refuse to help in the good work are to be subjected to vengeance.*

The true date of this document is that given by Leger and Morland, the 20th of June 1487. In all copies I have seen, the third year of the pontificate of Innocent is mentioned. Now, this pope was advanced to the papal chair in 1484. The error of those who date the bull in 1477 is obvious.† The Waldenses were now persecuted by war, for Albert induced Hugues of La Paln, the king's Lieutenant of Dauphiny, to enter Loyse with an armed force, in company with a courtier named John Rabot, but all the inhabitants, with their children and their most valuable moveables had retired to the caverns of the high mountains. The lieutenant caused light large fires of wood at the entrance of the caves. Consequently they were either suffocated by the smoke, or cast themselves headlong over the rocks, or if they chose neither of these kinds of suffering, they were slain by the military bands. So extreme was this destruction, that within these hiding-places, four hundred infants were found stifled in their cradles, or locked in the arms of their dead mothers. The indwellers of the valleys in the vicinity relate, that at this period upwards of three thousand men and women were left dead; and indeed the Waldenses there were so completely extirpated, that no remainder of the ancient families remained, and the valley was peopled anew from other places.‡ In the year 1829, Mr Gilley visited those places of retreat, and with difficulty entered them.§ He has inserted in his re-

* This bull is inserted at large in Morland, pp. 196—214. Leger, part ii. pp. 8—20. Free thoughts on the toleration of popery, pp. 395—401. The original of this bull was deposited by Sir Samuel Morland in the Library at Cambridge, as well as the papers in the foregoing note.

† Such as Jackson's remarks p. 164. Pyran's Introduction, pp. xxxvi. xxxvii.

‡ Perrin ib.

§ Gilley's Researches chap. xvii.

searches a drawing of some of them taken by his amiable consort. At Castelluzzo, he with difficulty found the entrance on the side of a high rock. Only one person at a time can descend by a chimney.

The people of Loyse having been thus exterminated, the king's lieutenant bestowed their goods on his favourites. The Waldenses of Pragela and Frassiniere having been advertised of these proceedings, they attended their narrow passages, set their persecutors at defiance, and De la Palm was compelled to retire. In 1489, Albert surrogated Francis Ploieri, a Franciscan, to give new informations against the inhabitants of Frassiniere. Albert summoned them to Embrun; and on their declining to appear, he excommunicated, repeatedly cursed, and condemned them as heretics, pertinacious and backsliders, to be delivered to the secular arm, and their goods confiscated. In order that the sentence might be without appeal, councillor Ponce gave assistance in behalf of the parliament of Dauphiny. The decision was pronounced in the great church at Embrun, fastened on a table at the door, and on the lower part a list was attached of thirty-two articles believed by the Waldenses, such as regarding the mass, purgatory, and the invocation of saints; also respecting pilgrimage, the observation of feasts, and the distinction of meats. To these Albert added from his own invention the charge of several unnatural crimes, as that they believed a man might connect himself with his nearest relations in order to augment the number of the human race, because God hath said, "be fruitful and multiply," and that they said a man to satisfy his inclination might have carnal knowledge of any woman whatever, because "better marry than burn," and "he that is able to receive, let him receive." The falsehood of these latter accusations was discovered by Mr Perrin, who obtained an inspection of some of the processes, and all the witnesses were either priests or monks. Even these when interrogated by Albert regarding the Waldensian belief of the aforesaid horrible articles, replied, that they never knew of the Waldenses teaching or practising any such things.*

This discovery by Perrin, will serve to set aside the ridiculous

* Perrin ib.

statements in many of the prosecutions before Albert, and which are so inconsistent with one another as to bear internal evidence of forgery. For example, in the examination of the two pastors who were apprehended around the hill on the side of the plain or *Costa Plana*. The one was named **PETER JAMES**, and the other **FRANCIS GIRON DIN**, of *Spoletto*, called also *Barbe Martin*, at that time prisoners at *Uley* in *Dauphiny*. *Girondin* is particularly mentioned in the process, but *Perrin* views it as including both. The trial was before *Bartholemew Pascal*, vicar of the vicar-general of *John Michael*, cardinal of *St Angelo*, and administrator of the monastery of *Uley*; and presence councillor *Ponce* of *Dauphiny*, and judge *Oronce Eme* of *Embrun*, on the 2d of August 1492. *Girondin* declared that his father, who was a *barbe*, taught him the faith of the *Waldenses*; and led him through *Genoa*, *Bononia*, *Lucca*, *Monte Martio*, and *Ancona*, when he went to teach and preach on those mountains: that after the second year he went to learn said doctrine in company with *BARNOVO*, from the neighbourhood of the lake *Perugia* in *Camarino*, who itinerated two or three years in the foresaid places: that he next followed the same doctrine in company with *Barbe JOSHUA* of *Sancto Loco*, also in *Camarino* in the above places: that *Barbe ANDREAS* led him to one of their chief masters, *JOHN ANTHONY*, in the town of *Cambro*: that the last named person made him take an oath not to reveal what he should tell him, and to be true to the *Waldensian* faith: and that the said *Barbe Anthony* preached that all who follow their faith shall be saved.*

The process states that *Girondin* declared that their great *barbe* taught them that their church was founded in wandering through the world, and perceiving the avarice, luxury, and pride;—the pomp, gluttony, and anger of the *Romish* ecclesiastics: that these clergy break their oaths of chastity, purity, and virginity: that they keep ladies for the vilest purposes: and that these are the chief grounds of separation, as the people are easily taught that the religion which produces such fruits cannot be good.† On being in-

* Allix. *Pied.* pp. 270, 271, 307, 308.
271, 272, 308, 309.

† *Perrin*, *ib.* Allix, *ib.* pp.

terrogated, Girondin stated that they were taught to use every exertion to extend their faith by preaching, in order to promote the salvation of men; that when constituted Barbes, they received a new name, as he himself was formerly called Francis but now Martin; that each Barbe had a charge or office committed to him, yet all had power to itinerate; and that they taught that one God alone is to be worshipped, who created heaven and earth, the sun, moon, and stars.* The Waldenses believe that Mary is not to be worshipped, for "Hail Mary" is only a salutation; that the Lord's Prayer is a true prayer because made by God himself; that purgatory has no existence, but was invented by the covetous priests; that God blessing the heaven and earth, the rivers and fountains, the herbs and fruits at ascension day in May, is much better than the blessing of a profligate priest; that one may as well pray in a stable as in the church, because God is omnipresent; that the only holidays of divine appointment are the Lord's Day, the nativity of Christ, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday, but no man unless he pleases is obliged to observe the feasts of the blessed virgin and of the saints, nor to fast on the vigils of the holidays; that wicked clergy cannot consecrate the body of the Lord, and therefore the Waldensian Barbes do not receive the eucharist, but bless the bread and say that this is of greater efficacy to promote holiness than the consecration of the priests.†

The inquisitor represents Girondin as confessing the most unnatural impurities to be committed in the nocturnal assemblies, when the lights are put out, which are said to be innocent unless between a mother and her son. This is similar to the reproaches cast by pagans on the primitive Christians, and is also most inconsistent with the former parts of the ex-

* Allix *ib.* in pp. 273, 310. Girondin is represented as saying that the Waldenses believed not in St Paul, but in St Peter, who began to build St Peter's church, but the devil commenced a similar work and made it better than Peter's building. The devil invited Peter to come to inspect his edifice, but to enter without making the sign of the cross. Peter entered, but crossed himself, and laid his hand on his own holy beard, stomach, and shoulders. Consequently the devil flew out at the top of the church leaving Peter in possession of it. This story is no doubt forged by the Inquisitors to make the Waldenses as credulous as the Romanists.

† Allix *ib.* pp. 274, 275, 310—312.

amination, in which the Waldenses are represented as separating from the Romish Church, on account of the impurities that prevailed. The Waldensian expositions of the seventh commandment, and the discipline of the churches of the valleys, demonstrate the ridiculous falsehood and fabrication of the answers said to be given.*

The answers represent swearing as a mortal sin, and that no one ought to be put to death except for murder. When their Barbes are created, the Master assembles the rest of the Barbes and they take an oath in this form, "Thou such an one swearest on thy faith to maintain, multiply, and increase our law, and not to discover the same to any person in the world, and that thou promisest not in any manner to swear by God, and that thou observe the Lord's Day, and that thou wilt not do any thing to thy neighbour which thou wouldst not have him to do to thee, and that thou dost believe in God who has made the sun and moon, the heaven and the earth, the cherubim and seraphim, and all that thou seest." The foresaid oath being finished, the great master gives to the same Barbe, so called, a little wine to drink. From that time his name is changed, as from Francisco to Martin.

After he exercised the office of a Barbe about six years in Italy, he passed the mountains into Provence and the kingdom of France, first in company with another Barbe called Anthony of Pilhocalia of Spoleto, and after a year has elapsed, these two passed by mount Cenis, and proceeded to Borbon and Rodes, forest of Alvern, and de Marca to Bordell. In these provinces they taught their doctrine and brought over many to their society. Other Barbes were found in Limoges, such as Colla, John the Baptist, Thomasso, Paulo, Bartholomeo, Mocarello, Bastiano, Luce, all of the country of Spolitana, who instructed Girondin and his companions, and others of their sectary, and taught and preached in all places to which they had access. He admitted that his brethren in France were called poor men of Lyons, and in Italy the poor men of the world; that that year he, along with Andrew his associate Barbe, travelled through Genoa and Nice to the city of Acques and to the country of Vivarais, where they met with some of

* Allix, ib. pp. 275, 311, 312.

the same communion,—among the mountains of Alby and Privace, towards Auvergne at Clermont, whence to Montorio where are many of this body of people, who were augmented by the wicked lives of the Roman ecclesiastics. The society was also enlarged in Crapona and Sineria in the same country of Auvergne, and in Foresium among the mountains of Furnium in Foretium, and of Saneto Saforino. He next approached the district of Belvosium, where this class of persons prevail, whence he proceeded to the places near Villa Belli Joci, and Villa Franca, and next to Lyons. In this city, on the last day of May, they were lodged at St Nices, where a consultation was held of eight Barbes. Along with these two, were six others, namely, Pascal de Pasco, James de Laro, Peter Mathew de Capriano, Heucho de Andrea, Pasturius de Jaco, with the fore-mentioned Peter de Jaco. The whole eight were from the country of Spoleto, and having met in the same place, held a conference regarding the matters in which they had been employed in the different places which they had traversed, and concerning measures to be adopted for the future.

He related that Pascal and Pastuchin gave an account of their having been in Dauphiny, where they found multitudes of the Waldenses in the mountains of the country about Valence. They were also in the country near Embrun and Gap, where they found many who had been banished from their native soil, and ejected from their houses; and some of whom, on account of the tribulations they endured, declared that they were willing to hold the Romish faith, but others said that they believed they have a remedy, and that they wished to have and hold their own society. Girondin also stated, that when he himself and the other Barbe, Andrew, his companion, in March last were travelling through Provence, and near the city, they found three who said they were of Dauphiny; which three knew the very Barbes themselves in their habits, namely, in the mantles, and conversed concerning their community. The three men said that they had been banished, expected to obtain favour and to be restored to their property and native country, and to continue in their first resolution. He declared that Pascal and Pastuchin reported that they endeavoured as much as in their power to

comfort the banished and those expelled from Dauphiny, but the passionate and remiss sympathized on account of the severe persecutions that caused this, and some indulged the unhappy disposition to return, expecting to obtain favour. Girondin intimated also that the two Barbes considered the archbishop of Embrun, Lord Ponce, and judge Oronce Eme as the great persecutors.

All the eight Barbes departed from Lyons, and Girondin chose a new associate instead of Andrew, namely, the Barbe Peter. These two returned to the lady of Puy in Valay and other places of Auvergne, Foresium, and Bellum Joci, proceeding to the city Autun in Burgundy, in which two places, and in a certain valley in which is a particular river, which branches off from the river Lera, are some Waldenses. They came to the country about Villa Belli Joci and Villa Franca, where numbers of the above people inhabit. The Barbes returned to Lyons to the foresaid hospitable quarters, and thence took the way at Bresse and St Claude, in which places and the neighbouring mountains, in various directions, numbers of the same communion reside. Some ones preached and heard them on confession, and retired from thence and journeyed to Gebenna and Niciacum; next to Aqua Bella, and Camera, where they found a few of their people; again they proceeded to Mount Valono; thence to Neuachia, and Bardonenchia; further to Uley; and lastly to the vicinity of the hill of Costa Plana, where they were apprehended and carried before the officaries of Uley. On being questioned, he replied that report stated that some of their brethren lived in Pratum Jallatum, that if they had wished to confess to them they would have heard them, and that they had traversed the place in expectation of exercising their office and consoling the Waldenses residing in those parts. He further stated in reply to queries, that the Barbes did not absolve those who confessed in the way the priests did, but they urge them to be true to their society, and enjoin them to repeat several times the Lord's Prayer for penitence, but not "Hail Mary," nor do they permit the peregrinations of Italy, and alms for the love of God. He also admitted, that in consequence of mutual deliberation, two other Barbes, namely, John de Christopher, and Liberatus de Coquet, were expected to meet the

present speaker Girondin, and his associate Peter at Tortona in Lombardy, and that Peter and the above two had held a conversation on the subject. He also stated that the people confessed gross sins, usually called mortal, but not any other transgressions.*

The judgment on Francis Girondin and Peter James is not mentioned, but in all probability they were consigned to the fire, because when the inquisitor condemned the accused as heretics, Ponce the counsellor and Oronce the judge of Briancon sent them to the stake without appeal. The number of the persecuted was enlarged from the circumstance that such as mediated for the Waldenses, though their nearest relatives, were imprisoned and indicted as favourers.†

On Wednesday the 29th January, 1494, Peyronetta widow of Peter Beraud, or Forner of Beauregard in Valentinois, was brought before Anthony Fabri, doctor of the Canon of Embrun, appointed by the Pope to be inquisitor for heresy in all Dauphiny, the counties of Vienne, Valence, and Die; and Christophor de Salhien, vicar and official of the bishop of Valence. This was at the instance of Valentine de Razer, Professor of Laws, Solicitor and Fiscal of Valence. This trial was at Beauregard, she was about fifty years of age, and charged with belonging to the Waldenses, called also Chagmards. The notary Gobaud acted as secretary. Peyronetta was either very inconstant in her answers, or the inquisitor has done her great injustice in reporting them. She was enjoined to confess under pain of excommunication, and the payment of twenty-five ducats of gold. She denied that she had ever lived or intended to live otherwise than according to the church of Rome, that she knew any thing of the Waldenses or of their preachers by night or day, and that she knew any of that sect in Beauregard.

She was sent to the prison of the bishop of Valence, and on Friday the last day of January, was again examined. She was again desired to submit to the mercy of the Virgin Mary, and made oath to declare the truth. She confessed that about twenty-five years ago, two strangers in grey clothes, who spoke the Italian language of Lombardy, came

* Allix, *ib.* pp. 313—317.

† Perrin, *ib.*

to the house of her husband, who received them for the love of God; that at supper one of them began to read a godly book which he said contained the gospels and the precepts of the law; that he professed to be sent from God to reform the catholic faith, and teach the people the right way of worshipping God, and of obeying the commandments; and that he proposed to preach and expound the book to all present. She stated that the said preacher taught, that no one ought to do to others what he would not be willing they should do to him; that God alone is to be served, worshipped, and prayed to, because he alone can help us; that swearing any oath with the use of *by*, is a great sin; that the sacrament of matrimony is to be faithfully kept; that good works before death are of greater advantage than all those performed for a man after death; that we are not to pray to any saints, because they cannot assist us; that the Lord's Day alone ought to be kept as a holy day, and on those holidays enjoined by the church a man may work, except on the festivals of the apostles and other great saints; that the Romish clergy possessed too much money, and indulged in whoredom and usury; that the Waldensian preachers had as much power to absolve as these priests; that the pope, on account of his wickedness, has no power; that in the other world there is no purgatory, but only paradise for the righteous, and hell for the wicked; that, consequently, prayers for the dead are vain, as also sprinkling holy water on graves, while the priests exclaim, "Lord have mercy on us, Christ have mercy on us;" that God blessing the waters at the creation was sufficient without the priest's blessing; that purgatory was invented by priests to support their dissoluteness; that more merit attaches to alms presented to the poor, than to priests; that prayer is equally acceptable to God in the house, as in the church; that though saints are for good works rewarded with a place in paradise, they cannot help us; that praying before the images of saints is vain; that pilgrimages are useless; that fasts on the vigils of holy days are unnecessary, except those of Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and other great festivals; that we ought to fast on friday; that the Waldensian preachers and the Romish clergy were formerly of one order, but when the clergy became covetous and vain,

the preachers continued in poverty, a separation happened, and the clergy became their enemies; and that the small number of the said preachers obliged them to itinerate from place to place, and to aim at caution in traversing their districts.

Being further interrogated, she replied, she did not know the names of the preachers, and the Waldenses offered gifts at the church though they did not pray for the dead. She recollected conversing one day with TELMON PASCHAL of Beauregard, who, speaking of keeping God's commandments, asked her, "Have you ever heard speak of a handful of people in the world without the existence of whom all the world would have an end?" She told this man, that Monsen Andrew, a vicar at Beauregard, had told her of that small remnant of people. She stated that Telmon Paschal then told her, that he was come to converse with her regarding this little flock, that they were the men who had learned to serve God and keep his commandments, and that she ought to swear not to publish this interview, with which she complied. Being questioned, she said she had seen these preachers nine or ten times; that she saw these teachers in the houses of the above named Telmon Paschal, of William Paschal, and of Peter Garner, when others besides the families were present, but the neighbours were not promiscuously admitted; that the preachers four or five times preached in her house, when her husband was alive, who was present, as well as the persons above named, and John Prodome; that they confessed to these preachers, who enjoined no penance but prayer and fasting; that they did not confess to the priest; and that she then believed the doctrine of these preachers, but now submits to the correction of holy mother church.

She was remanded to prison, and again examined on the first day of February. She confirmed her former confessions, adding, that the pastors asserted that the priests who received money to sing mass were like Judas, who sold his master for silver, and that such as paid for masses resembled the Jews who bought Jesus Christ. She owned that these preachers when leaving her house, sometimes gave her a quantity of needles, for which her husband paid; that Simeon Acto and his wife Francisca heard the preachers; that when she and

her husband went to Bareillonia, on a visit to John and Monet Fabri, their relations, they, at the house of the latter, heard two of the preachers, but left the house because Monet Fabri was offended with their coming to the secret meeting; and that the preachers did not seem to be offended. After making her swear on the gospels to appear when called, and inflicting a penalty as on a relapsed heretic, the inquisitor dismissed her.

On the twenty-third of March that year, at palm sunday, Peyronetta was again examined by Henry Dileri, a vicar, and Vincent Gobaud, notary, deputed by Christophor de Salhien, and she on oath confirmed all her former statements, which were injurious to the cause of the Waldenses in those parts.*

Besides the Barbes already mentioned in this chapter, FRANCESCHINO of the valley of Frassiniera, and MICHAEL PORTA of the valley Pragela, are named in the lists of this century.†

In the year 1497, Rostain became archbishop of Embrun, and finding that the Waldenses of Frassiniera had been excommunicated by the inquisitors and delivered to the secular power, nothing but the flight of the people prevented the execution of the sentence. He refused, however, to go personally into the valley though requested by Fozion Gay, and though the goods of the people were viewed as his by having been confiscated. He sent one to consult the Pope, but got no reply. In 1498, Charles VIII. of France, died, and the archbishop proceeded to the coronation of Louis XII,‡ but the further proceedings of the Waldenses of Frassiniera shall be detailed in the next book of this work.

* Allix, *ib.* pp. 276—279, 316—331. Perrin, *ib.*

† Leger, *part i.* p. 203. Morland, *b. i.* chap. viii.

‡ Perrin, *ib.*

CHAPTER X.

Good conduct of the Waldenses of the Valleys of Piemont, wards off Persecution for a time—Waldensian Martyrs—Military Crusade against the Valleys most providentially defeated by the brave people—Duke relents and sees the falsehood of the monstrous calumnies against the Vaudois—Banished Waldenses from Privilhelm, in Saluzzo—Boldly return and expel the plunderers—Pastors and morality of the Valley churches.

THE persecution of the Waldenses of the French Alps in the last years of the foregoing century, does not seem to have then extended to those who lived in the Valleys of Piemont, yet the Popes at that time looked with an evil eye on the tranquillity of these Christians. In 1423, Amadeus, of Savoy, was stimulated by Martin V. to send a military force to co-operate with the army of Sigismund, to suppress the Hussites of Bohemia; and we are not to expect to find the Duke very favourable to the Waldenses in his own dominions. By the council of Basle in 1439, he was elected Pope, under the title of Felix V., and held the Papal chair for nine years and a half, when he resigned in favour of Nicholas V.*

The Vaudois of the Alpine mountains, whether under France or Savoy, were in fact the same people, and manifested to each other the most kindly affections, especially in seasons of suffering for their common faith. The first troubles of the Waldenses in the Valleys of Piemont, were caused by the archbishop and inquisitors at Turin. The former sent several priests to inquire into the religion of the Valley-men. The report of these inquisitorial commissioners bore, that the inhabitants of the districts visited, did not conform to the faith and practice of the Romish church; that they did not offer for the dead; that they cared not for masses and absolutions; and that they did not use means to have their relations delivered from the pains of purgatory. Consequently the archbishops of Turin endeavoured to injure them as much as lay in their power, and among other malicious actions, endeavoured to render them odious in the eyes of their princes. Yet

* Guichenon, vol. i. p. 484, et seq. in Acland, 53.

for a number of years, the good conduct of the followers of the Lamb was their protection. The Dukes learned from other sources, that the dissenters from the Romish superstitions were men of mild and honest deportment; that they were simple and feared God; that they were without deceit and malice; that they were men of integrity and plain dealing; and that they were ready and cheerful in giving all due obedience to their princes. They were in so great favour with their neighbours, that such as wanted nurses, preferred the Waldensian women to suckle their infants, and to give them the first lessons of duty. But the priests and monks gaining from them no temporal advantage, they charged them with innumerable calumnies.*

Some the inquisitors compelled to renounce their religion, but the converts not being able, with a safe conscience, to remain in the Church of Rome, set their affairs in order as well as circumstances would permit, and retired from the country. Some proceeded to Provence, others to Calabria and adjacent places. When John Campesia, archbishop of Turin, and Andrew of Aquapendente, his inquisitor, heard of these facts, they issued against the defaulters several bulls, dated 28th November, 1574. In a clandestine manner some were seized and carried before the inquisitors, who had them put to death in some place distant from the Valleys. Though the far greater part of the Waldenses escaped, yet almost every city and town in Piemont witnessed the martyrdom of some individual or other of the objects of papal vengeance. JORDAN TERTIAN, an excellent Barbe, was burnt at Suza, and HYPOLITE ROUSSIER at Turin. VILLERMIN AMBROISE, and ANTHONY HIUN, were hanged at Meana. HUGH CHIAMPE DE FENESTRELLES having been seized at Suza, was carried to Turin, tied alive to a stake, his bowels were pulled out and cast into a basin, and he died in the most excruciating agony. Among the sufferers, CATELIN GIRARD is worthy of remembrance, for having been placed on the wood, which was to be lighted in order to consume him to ashes at Revel in the Marquisite of Saluzzo, he requested the executioners to hand him two stones. Fearing he intended to strike some person with them, they refused compliance with

* Perrin b. ii. chap. iv.

his request, but he having protested that he had no such design, they delivered to him what he wanted. Holding the hard pebbles in his hand, he exclaimed:—"When I shall have eaten these stones, then shall ye see an end to that religion for which ye put me to death." On this he cast the flints on the ground, and the officers performed their horrible work.

While the inquisitorial fires continued to consume many individuals of the Waldenses in the Valleys, their enemies perceived that the constancy of those publicly put to death brought numbers to the knowledge of God and of his truth, and that by these means they were making no progress towards the extermination of the hated religionists. They therefore resolved on another mode of attack, namely, by open force. For this purpose, in 1488, they levied men to join Albert of Capitan, already mentioned, as conducting the persecution among the French Alps, in consequence of the commissions of Popes Sixtus III. and Innocent VIII. Eighteen thousand regular troops were mustered under the badge of the cross, to proceed in a crusade against the Waldenses of the Valleys. Besides these, eight thousand volunteers from all parts of Piedmont ran to the pillage, and expected a perpetual pardon from Rome. They all at once marched to Angrogna, Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Praviglierm, and Biolet, which last place is in the Marquisate of Saluzzo. The persecutors raised also troops in Vaucluse of Dauphiny, who over-ran Pragela, in order that the inhabitants of that valley, being obliged to attend to their own defence, might be unable to favour their brethren of the Waldensian churches of Piedmont. In the singular providence of God, the popish party by thus dividing their forces were much weakened, and though the assaulted people were incapacitated to succour one another, yet the assailants were also too much separated to act in concert. Consequently the invaders were every where repulsed. In Angrogna, the defeat of the crusaders was peculiarly remarkable, for as the levy of the popish troops could not be raised without public advertisement, the Waldenses were apprised of their plans, and seized the strait passages where only few of their enemies were able to assail them. They provided themselves with long targets of wood which entirely covered them, and in which the arrows of the oppo-

site archers stuck without injuring those against whom they were aimed. The foremost of the Vaudois being thus armed and shielded, their brethren, who were also defended behind the said targets, performed with their bows and cross-bows an important service against the enemy. As the invaders approached the passes, the women and children on their knees, exclaimed in their own language, "O God, help us." The profane soldiers turned this prayer into laughter; and among others, Captain Saquet, while caricaturing the expressions of the women, was slain, and tumbled headlong from the mountain, into a deep ravine, which, a hundred and thirty years afterwards, was still denominated the Gulph of Saquet. On this occasion, Captain le Noir of Montdeni, mocked the women who prayed to the Almighty, exclaimed to his soldiers to put them to death, and was shot by an arrow in the throat. The papists perceiving this disaster of the Captain, and finding themselves covered by showers of stones and arrows, betook themselves to flight, and the greater part cast themselves down from the rocks. Another wonderful intervention of Divine Providence was at this time displayed, for while the Romanists were in the valley of Angrogna, and were approaching that part of it which is strongest by nature, namely, the Meadow of the Tower, in which they might have fortified themselves, and have made themselves masters of the whole valley, God sent so dark a cloud of thick fog that the intruders could hardly see one another; and having no leisure to halt, they did not discover the excellence of the situation for their defence against their pursuers. At this critical moment the Waldenses mustered their courage and closely followed their enemies, who being separated from one another and losing their way, a very large proportion were precipitated over the mountains. Such as were able betook themselves to flight, cast away their arms, and left the booty which they had seized at their entrance of the valley, where they had robbed the houses of the corn, the wine, and other moveables, with which they had loaded their servants. At the termination of the combat, however, they all felt happy to get off with their lives.*

* Ferrin, *ib.*

At this period, God was pleased to touch the heart of Philip VII., Duke of Savoy, to pity the persecuted flock of the Redeemer, which he declared to have been always faithful to him. He frequently declared "that he never had at any time so good, and faithful, and obedient subjects as the Waldenses;" and would not permit them to be cruelly attacked by arms. By a certain bishop whom he sent to Praisut, he intimated that he would be satisfied if about twelve of the principal men among the Waldenses, should come to Pignerol, where he then resided, to ask pardon in name of the whole community, for having taking arms in their own defence. In accordance with the wish of his Highness, a dozen of deputies were commissioned to meet him. He received them with kindness, forgave all that had occurred during the hostilities, and paid them a certain sum of money for their charges. He stated that he had been informed that their infants were born with black throats, four rows of teeth, and their skin covered with hair. On his ordering some children to be shown him, some persons proceeded to Angrogna, and brought twelve infants with their mothers to Pignerol. On their being exhibited to the Duke, he inspected the babes with intense interest, declared he had "never seen prettier children in his life," and was much displeased with himself for having been so easily persuaded to give credit to the groundless reports regarding these young persons. He likewise intimated his pleasure that the Waldenses henceforth enjoy the same liberties as in former times, and such as his other subjects in Piedmont enjoyed. The Prince confirmed their privileges, and we have every reason to believe he was sincere. But the inquisitorial monks in their pious frauds, issued processes every day against all the people they were able to apprehend. The Inquisitors held themselves in ambush at a certain convent near Pignerol, where they condemned such as were accused of heresy, and whence they delivered them to the secular powers, who were in general sufficiently submissive to comply with the will of the ecclesiastics. In the Duke's dominions this persecution continued till 1532.*

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv. Morland, pp. 222, 223. Boyer in the Dedication, and chap. v. p. 40—43.

By their secret machinations, the monks also persuaded Margaret Foix, Lady of the Marquisite of Saluzzo, which did not then belong to the Duke, cruelly to persecute the poor Waldenses of Pravillelm. To such an extent did the cruelties proceed, that they were all obliged to abandon their houses, property and country, and to save themselves in the valley of Lucerna, having only their lives for a prey. For five years they incessantly supplicated his Highness of Savoy, to intercede for them with the Lady of Saluzzo, that they might be permitted to return to their country, and have their goods restored from the usurpers. But the influence of the Pope, the clergy, and especially of the Inquisition, was so great, that no progress was made in their favour. Seeing no prospect of success in this way, they resolved to endeavour by force of arms to return to their possessions. To this course they were the more disposed to betake themselves, from the consideration that they had been cruelly expelled, without any order from their sovereign. Under the blessing of a kind providence in 1493, they attacked the plunderers with so happy a result, that they put them all to flight, and impressed them with such terror, that for a century the rightful owners continued to enjoy both their lands and religious liberty in Pravillelm.*

Among the pastors of the valleys of Piemont, in the fifteenth century, the following are mentioned. THOMASIN BASTIA of Angrogna, who died in Puglia about 1409. BARTOLOMEO BASTIA of Angrogna, who died in Calabria. GIACOMO BELLONATO of Angrogna. GIACOMO GERMANO of the valley of Perosa. BENEDETTO GIOVANNI and GIACOMO DI LEGERO, are named, but their places are not mentioned. GIOVANNI ROMAGNOLO of Sienna in Italy, is also noticed. PAOLO GIGNOUS of Bobbio, is added by Perrin.†

The morality of the Waldenses of the Valleys at this period is attested by Claude Seissel, who had been bishop of Marseilles, and was appointed archbishop of Turin and of the Valleys, with a view to convert them to the pale of the Romish church. In a book which he wrote against them about the year 1500,

* Leger, part ii. pp. 26, 27. Morland, p. 223. Boyer, chap. v. pp. 43, 44.

† Perrin, b. i. chap. ix. Leger, part i. p. 203. Morland, b. i. chap. viii.

he confesses in formal terms, "That in regard to their life and manners, they have been without reproach among men, applying themselves with all their ability to the observation of the commandments of God." On these words, Leger asks :— "Was any one ever able to render a testimony as a whole more honourable and more authentic to the most faithful martyrs of the Lord Jesus in the primitive church? *

CHAPTER XI.

Waldenses in Calabria, Genoa, Florence, Aquila and Greece.

WHILE the persecution of the inhabitants of the Alpine Valleys was carried on with severity, the Waldenses in Calabria seem to have enjoyed tranquillity. Accordingly, before 1475, some who were unable to remain in the Valleys with the profession of their religion, proceeded to Calabria, to join their brethren already in that quarter. BARTOLOMEO BASTIA, of Angrognia, seems to have been one of these emigrants, for he is mentioned as a pastor who died in Calabria.† They had settlements also in other parts of Italy at this time, because when Albert of Capitan, archdeacon of Cremona, apprehended PETER JAMES, in passing the mountain on the side of the plain, on his journey to Pragela, as detailed in the ninth chapter of this book, he was interrogated whence he came? and he replied, that he had proceeded from the churches of the Waldenses in Italy, where he had been engaged in performing his duty to the people of his charge; and that he had passed Genoa, where the Waldensian pastors held a house of their own, which was probably a temple for public worship, supplied by several ministers, either at the same period, or at different times. This corresponds with the notice of Vignaux in his Memorials, where he mentions John of Lucerna, who had been suspended from his office for a fault, and resided at

* Leger, part i. p. 184.

† Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv.

Genoa, where the pastors had a house, as was noticed in the former volume.* Vignaux testifies that the Vaudois had also a house at Florence.†

Albert of Capitan in his treatise on the origin of the Waldenses, speaks of their having their great master in the city of Aquila, in the kingdom of Naples, on whom they absolutely depended. Though they had no individual among them who acted like a pope or supreme bishop, yet the expressions of Albert show that the Waldenses extended to Aquila, where they had at least one congregation under the pastor whom he calls master. Two Monks, Grey Friars, namely JOHN CHASTILLON and FRANCIS HERCATURA were burnt for adhering to the Waldensian doctrines. Under the domination of the Turks, the Waldenses found an asylum, because all Christians who disowned the pope were there encouraged. Accordingly, those who were unsafe in some parts of Italy, retired into Greece, as Antonin relates, among whom LOUIS BANIERE is of principal note. In the course of time, such refugees insensibly incorporated with the Greek churches, which they conceived to agree with them in all fundamental articles.‡ At this period, the mal-treatment of the witnesses in the Valleys, caused them to be scattered into such other districts of Italy as afforded them peace, as well as to foreign countries, and under providence was the means of extending their religion.

The space to which this work is limited, will not admit of details of the revival of Grecian learning in Italy during the fifteenth century, previous to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453; and especially subsequent to that event, a taste for which literature had previously appeared in Barlaam, a native and Monk of Calabria, the very spot where the Vaudois had found a refuge, and he had taught it to Leontius Pilatus, also born in Calabria, from which latter individual, the celebrated Boccacio, afterwards professor at Florence, learned Greek in the foregoing century. ||

* Page 467.

† Perrin, b. ii. chap. xvi.

‡ Perrin, b. ii. chap. xvii. Leger, part ii. p. 337.

|| M'Crie's Hist. of Reform. in Italy, p. 6. Mosheim, cent. xiv. part ii chap. i. § ii. iv. chap. ii. § xxxvii. chap. iii. § ix. chap. v. § i. ii.

HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK VI.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

The BRETHREN of Bohemia present an Apology and a Confession of Faith to king Ladislaus to stop persecution—Unsatisfactory correspondence with Erasmus—Various interviews with LUTHER, who dislikes their strict discipline and their doctrine on the Lord's Supper—Waldenses or Brethren severely persecuted, because they refuse to apostatize—Account of burning the Martyrs—Luther becomes satisfied with the Brethren, and frequently testifies his approbation—MELANTHON, BUCER, CAPITO, and CALVIN, approve of the Brethren's churches.

IN the sixteenth century, the UNITED BRETHREN of Bohemia persevered in stedfastly maintaining the cause they had espoused. Since they contained among them the descendants of the Waldenses, as well as the Hussites or Taborites, they are sometimes called by these names, as well as denominated Piccards; the reason of which appellations have been formerly stated. The most common designation, however, is that of Brethren.

With a view to concord, Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, invited the Brethren to commission certain deputies to hold a conference with the members of the academy and the consistory, in order to attempt the healing of their religious differences. The Brethren, as usual, being ready for a frank discussion of their views, appointed LUCAS of Prague, and

LAURENTZ of Crassonitz. On 26th December, 1503, six days before the meeting, Baron Von Postupitz wrote a most friendly letter to one of the deputies, urging to steadfastness in the strength of divine grace. But by the dawn of the morning of that day on which the interview was to be held, January 1, 1504, Martin Poczatez, Rector of the University, suddenly died, and the whole city convened, demanding that the discussions shall not be in a retired corner, but in the presence of the populace. Such as were afraid of the light had influence to delay the matter to a future period, and the Brethren's deputies were dismissed.*

At this period the Calixtine ministers were ordained by papists, and on the 28th May, 1504, the Calixtines of Prague received Philip Novavilla as their bishop from Italy. Next year he removed to Kuttensburg, where he ordained priests, and dispensed the Supper under both kinds, till his death on the 21st October, 1507.†

In July 1506, the enemies of the Brethren, by the instrumentality of the queen, whom they threatened with a miscarriage, if she did not second their wishes, prevailed on the good king Ladislaus to sign a new and severe edict against them. The king finding himself hard pressed, retired to his chamber, kneeled down, and prayed to God to forgive him, and to defeat this bloody plot formed against innocent persons. His prayers were heard, for his royal consort being in difficult labour, the child was cut out at her side, she gave up the ghost, and the edict was not enforced. The bloody persecutors attempted to compel the parliament of the States, at the diet of 10th August, 1508, to adopt the said act of the king as the standing laws of the realm, but as a considerable number at this time protested against such a step, the execution of the bloody deed was at this time also prevented.‡

Meantime, the Brethren, to show the monarch the injustice of seeking their destruction, presented to him two papers. The one is an APOLOGY addressed to the King, Barons, and Nobles of the kingdom, to justify themselves against sundry complaints made by their adversaries, to their

* Select Nar. pp. 74, 76. Regenvols, chap. viii.

† Ib. chap. xi.

‡ Select Nar. pp. 76, 77. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxiv.

disadvantage. This paper defends them against the charge of gross impurities, of the community of goods, of denying baptism to infants, of adoring their pastors, of denying the lawfulness of swearing, of preferring the Turk to the Church, of despising consecrated places, of condemning the punishment of death, of saying a gracious man has more authority than a wicked prince, of refusing the pope's power over kings, of maintaining that the intention sanctifies the means, of declaring a man may kill or deprive priests of their tithes, and of being besom-riders.* This paper shows the pure morality of the Waldenses in Bohemia at this period.†

The other document is a CONFESSION OF FAITH presented to Ladislaus, who is also called Lancelau and Uladislau, king of Bohemia, in 1508, and afterwards amplified and presented to Ferdinand of Bohemia, in 1535. The writers declare the things in this confession to be "the cause of our separation from the church of Rome." They state their views of the scriptures, catechising, and the Trinity; of sin, repentance, the Lord Christ, and faith in him; of good works, the Holy Catholic Church, and ecclesiastical overseers or ministers of the church; of preaching the Word, Sacraments, and church discipline; of human traditions, the secular power, and worshipping of saints; and of fasts, celibacy, and the season of grace.‡

In the preface to the writers against the Waldenses in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, the editor mentions Schumsselburg, a Lutheran Superintendent, as gathering from this confession, the Waldensian denial of the real presence in the Supper, "that the Waldenses are infected with the sacramentary heresy, appears from the confession of the Waldenses, which in the year 1506 (1508) they exhibited to king Uladislau; for in that confession they affirm and conclude that Christ can by no means be present on earth, in his natural body, before the last day, but resides in a certain place at the right

* Perrin, *Hist. Wald.* b. i. chap. iv. pp. 11—23. For the apology see Appendix, No. I.

† Leger, on the manners of the Waldenses quotes largely from this quarter, especially from the first article.

‡ Confession of Faith of the Bohemians, printed at Dort, 1617. See Appendix No. I.

hand of God; that therefore the bread is in no other way the body of Christ than John is called Elias.—These Waldenses the Calvinists reckon for their brethren, as Beza testifies in his book of images, (*Icones*) in which he has chiefly expressed the living images of his associates.” Thus we see that both Lutherans and Papists allow that the Waldenses in Bohemia clearly deny the real presence, and maintain that the bread only signifies the Lord’s Body. The editor, in the *Bibliotheca*, is hard pushed for arguments, when he pleads, that, because the Waldenses mention seven sacraments, they are not brethren of the Calvinists. This plea is overturned by himself, for he admits that “the Waldenses explain them so as to make them no sacraments,” and in the present confession of their faith, they mention no other sacraments except Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper.*

In 1510, the foes of the Brethren succeeded by all manner of subtilty, especially by the influence of the chancellor, Hallowrath and his party, in getting the decree of 1506, entered as a statute. On his way home, the chancellor called at the house of Baron Von Colditz, and at dinner related with great exultation the resolutions of the diet against the Brethren; and turning to his own servant, who was a member of the Brethren’s church, insultingly asked:—“Well, Simon, what do you say to it?” The servant modestly replied,—“*All* have not agreed, my Lord!” The chancellor in wrath demanded who were the traitors that dared to oppose the State?—Simon, lifting up his hand, boldly answered:—“One dwells above, and if he has not agreed to your council, it will come to nought.” On this the chancellor struck his hand against the table, and with a dreadful oath exclaimed:—“You villain, you shall suffer with the rest, or may I never reach home in safety.” On his journey, he was seized with inflammation in his limbs, and died in a few days. His friend, Bosek, archbishop of Hungary, in getting out of his carriage on the road, received such a wound as in a short time terminated his days. The death of these two men, and of several other open enemies of the Brethren happening in succession, so alarmed the

* *Biblioth. Pat.* vol. iv. part ii. col. 736.

rest, that for the present a general persecution was still suspended. The people proverbially used to say :—" Whosoever is weary of life let him attack the Piccardines."*

The persecution, therefore, was not general, but in some places the teachers were concealed, and in others several martyrs suffered. At Bor, a nobleman condemned six Brethren from Aujest to the flames. These were Mathew Procopius, a shoemaker ; John Simonowitz, a weaver ; Bartholomew Kranowitz, a leather-dresser ; John Herbek, a potter ; John and Nicolas Nadrib, German ploughmen. They all proceeded cheerfully to the place of execution, declaring that they died in the faith of Jesus Christ their Saviour, the only propitiation for sin, and the hope of believers. The judge offered Nicolas a whole year to consider of a recantation. The latter, after a pause, replied, that after a year's respite he would as little think of denying the true faith as now, and chose presently to accompany his beloved brethren to the stake, in preference to dying by himself a year later. Andrew Policka of Kuttensburg having joined the Brethren, was obliged to retire to Litomissa. On visiting his wife, who was not of his religion, she betrayed him, and he was compelled to attend the Calixtine worship. On seeing the parson consecrate the host, he exclaimed from the power of conscience, " Hold thy peace, thou wicked sacrificer, and allow me to speak in my turn." He then addressed himself to the people : " What are you doing, dear brethren, why do you worship a God of bread ? O worship the living God in heaven, who is blessed for evermore." By the priest's orders the people beat him till he was almost dead. Next day he declared in the senate, that he acted by the same instinct which induced Abraham and David to renounce idols. On the rack, he would not recant, and on his way to the stake he was not permitted to speak. From the midst of the fire he exclaimed : " Jesus, the Son of the everlasting God, be merciful to me a sinner." The priest stupidly interpreted this of reverencing the sacrament.†

Erasmus of Rotterdam was now becoming celebrated for

* Select Nar. pp. 77, 78. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxiv. xxv.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxiv. with Select Nar. pp. 78, 79.

his exertions in promoting classical learning, publishing correct editions of the Sacred Scriptures, and restoring pure theology. Therefore in the year 1511, the Brethren deputed NICOLAUS CLADIUS, and LAURENTIUS VOTICUS to proceed to Antwerp, to present him with a copy of their Apology, which was then printed and published at Norimberg. The deputies offer him a present, and in the name of the Brethren beg, that he carefully peruse the book; that if he find any error contrary to the word of God, he will be so candid as point it out, for they were prepared to renounce whatever should be proved inconsistent with that unerring standard; but that if it contained nothing contrary to the Christian faith, he would by a public testimony commend the justice of their cause, and use his influence to protect them from injury. Erasmus returned a polite answer, and proceeded to promise the accomplishment of what they requested,—to say the employment would be very agreeable to him, to congratulate the Brethren on their superior knowledge of the truth, and to discourse on a variety of subjects with the legates, for they were learned and prudent men. The legates allowed some time for Erasmus to prepare his answer, and spent the interval in making observations and inquiries concerning the state of religion in the Low Countries. On their returning to Erasmus, they inquired if he had perused their Apology, who had read such a variety of works, and had himself written much; but, like a temporising man, he made excuse, by pretending that from his various occupations he had not leisure to examine every thing; that having read over a considerable number of articles he observed no error, and trusted that what he had not read was equally good; that his giving a public testimony would only injure him, and would not be of any service in defending the Brethren against the adversaries of the Piccards; that if he were to recommend men hated by all, his writings, which contained the seeds of genuine piety, would be condemned by pontifical authority; that if his books were allowed to circulate, they would by degrees be read by all, and produce much fruit; that his review of their Apology would render it neither more noble nor better; that it would be better for him to reserve himself to more prosperous times of the church; and that as the Brethren had begun their ad-

herence to the kingdom of Christ in great purity, they would quietly propagate and enlarge it in their own way. Thus Erasmus had neither the courage nor integrity to risk his worldly reputation and interest by favouring the Brethren. The Brethren of Bunzlau, on hearing from their legates the behaviour of Erasmus, endured the disappointment with resignation, recollecting the words of Christ, "I receive not testimony from man." Erasmus used afterwards the same caution regarding the Reformation, and there was ground for the remark "that he had indeed opened the door, but himself refused to enter."* In 1518, Thomas Przelau, one of the Brethren's ministers, died, after a ministry of fifty-one years.

On the 14th October 1519, John Slechta, a noble Bohemian of Kostelic, wrote Erasmus, who, on the 1st November, answered from Louvain, "that the Brethren electing ministers for themselves is not different from the custom of the ancients; that Nicholas and Ambrose were elected; that they ascribe less to teachers than to the divine word, having more deference for God than for men; that though it is not contrary to the truth to consecrate Christ's body, and to set apart ministers in an ordinary dress, yet it is impious to condemn the institutions of the Fathers; that the Lord's Prayer, which pleases the Brethren, is also part of the sacrifice of the Catholics; and that in regarding feast days, their opinion is similar to that of Jerom."†

In 1519, Luther himself, in the disputation at Leipsic and in explaining the first commandment, speaks of the Waldenses as rustics, but he had not at that time held personal intercourse with them. The celebrity of Luther's exertions against the abuses of the church of Rome, soon reached the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia. In 1520, Luther's works entered Bohemia, and he had written to the senate of Prague on the necessity of providing and inducting into the temples, pure ministers of the gospel. A century had elapsed since the martyrdom of Huss, and one of his sayings to his iniquitous judges was not forgotten: "A hundred

* Regenvols, chap. viii. Select Narratives, p. 86.

† Regenvols, chap. xi. Lenfant, pp. 88—90.

years hence you shall answer to God and to me." The Brethren considered the labours of the Reformers as likely to verify this declaration, and to answer the prayers of the Bohemians. Accordingly, in 1522, they deputed John Hern and Michael Weiss to visit Luther, and express the interest they felt in his labours. He received the legates with great cordiality, and declared that his prejudices against the Brethren were now removed.* He wrote an epistle to the Bohemians who assembled at Prague, but does not speak of himself as joining their fraternity, though this might have strengthened his hands. He however urges them not to return to Rome.† In writing to Spalatin, and to the theologian Paul Sperat, Luther mentions this interview with kindly recollections. In the following year the Brethren again wrote to Luther, and stated to him the necessity of his combining Christian practice and scriptural discipline, with that soundness of doctrine which he had introduced.‡ This year the Brethren published a Catechism in German, for children. In this work they deny that the natural body of Christ is included in the sacrament, and that the sacrament is to be adored. The words of the Catechism are, "adoration ought by no means to be given to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, because, in it, the body of Christ, in its own nature, is by no means contained." This summary was this year inspected by Luther,§ and it was probably sent him with the deputies. In regard to discipline, he replied, "with us, things are not sufficiently ripe for introducing such holy exercises, both in doctrine and practice, as are said to be found amongst you. With us matters are still in a state of immaturity, and we proceed slowly; but do you pray for us."|| In regard to the sacrament, Luther begged them to write more clearly, and in regard to adoration, he calls the Brethren Waldenses, and others call them Piccards. He mentions also the sentiments of Berenger as similar. These things are given by Regenvols, on the authority of Bucholcer, and happened previous to the controversy of Luther with the Swiss Reformers in regard to the sacrament. To satisfy

* Holmes, p. 93. Select Narratives, p. 87. Regenvols, ib.

† Bib. Pat. ib. col. 734.

‡ Regenvols, ib. Holmes, ib.

§ Regenvols, lib. i. cap. xi.

|| Holmes, ib. and Select Nar. ib.

the German Reformer, the Brethren sent him another German book on the eucharist, which is found in Luther's German works. Luther answered them in German, declaring his sentiments and those of others concerning the sacrament, stating what in their writings he thought obscure, and what institutions among them he approved. In the same year they sent in writing another book in Bohemian, a Latin copy of which is found in the history of the Brethren by John Lasic, b. iv. Luther objected nothing, but said, "I was willing to exhibit a testimony to you, that ye approach nearer to the purity of the Gospel than all others whom I have known."* This year Luther published a book on the adoration of the body and blood of Christ, addressed to the Brethren named Waldenses in Bohemia and Moravia. In the beginning of his treatise, he wonders that the Waldenses in their small work published in Bohemian and German, affirm, "that Christ is not substantially and naturally in the sacrament, nor ought to be there adored." He also found fault with this, "that the Waldenses endured no married minister of the church." This is rather strongly expressed, because in their Confession of 1508, article xix. they indeed recommend those ministers to continue single, in order to be more serviceable to the church, but if they are inclined to marry, they may do so with the advice of their brethren in the ministry. In his Table Dialogues, Luther calls the Waldensian doctrine "Schwermers." In a Latin epistle to Nicolaus Hausman in 1523, he writes:—"Of the Pighards I do not now think amiss, having heard their belief respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist, while they themselves were present." In another letter to the same Hausman, Luther explains what the Waldenses thought of the Eucharist. "Regarding the sacrament, the Pighards think that Christ is not corporeally under the bread, in which way some say that they have there seen blood, and a little beyond such like things, but spiritually and sacramentally, that is, he who visibly receives the bread, really receives naturally, but invisibly, the blood of Him who sits at the right hand of the Father. Beyond this I cannot condemn them. Hence they refer to the same reason, why they do not adore,

* Regenvols, ib.

that it is not there visibly as they hold visible things, but invisibly, that is, at the right hand of the Father."*. Thus the only fault Luther found with the Waldenses of Bohemia, was their denial of the real presence of Christ's real body and blood in the sacrament of the supper.

The conduct of the Brethren in their intercourse with Erasmus, and especially with Luther, places their character in the most amiable light. The Brethren were an old and experienced church, and ever since the burning of Huss and Jerom, had been exposed to the fiery ordeal of persecution; yet with modesty and docility they approach Luther, who had but lately begun to contend with the corruption of the papal See. They still however exercised the right of judging for themselves, and observing that the want of strict discipline in the Lutheran churches induced some of the Brethren's members to join the newly-formed societies, in which they could enjoy evangelical preaching, without being subjected to so strict a discipline, they in 1524 sent John Hern to hold another conference with Luther at Witemburg, and inquired by letter how far he had proceeded in introducing Christian discipline into the church! When the persons who composed the deputation were informed that no steps had been taken, they pointed out the sad consequences of lukewarmness, immorality and unsteadfastness, with which such remissness would affect the Brethren's church. On this rebuke, Luther had the unmanliness to be offended,—even went so far as to declare that he disapproved of some of their regulations, and suspended interviews with them for ten years.†

In January 1523, the States of Bohemia and Moravia, with some pastors, among whom were PAUL SPERAT, afterwards burned at Aumetz by command of the bishop, BENEDICT OPTATUS, Dr. WENCESLAUS and JOHN CHARPE, had assembled at Prague, and had proposed to the Regent Master of the University, twenty articles, which were forerunners of reformation, among which are the following:—That he who teaches the gospel without human additions, shall not be reckoned a heretic; that mercenary masses for pecuniary

* Bib. Pat. ib. coll. 734—736.

† Regenvols, ib. Select Nar. p. 88. Holmes, p. 94.

advantage be abrogated ; that the elevation of the host be by degrees cancelled ; and that the consecration of herbs and such impositions be discontinued. At that period, Zachera, a friend of Luther's, was pastor of the Hussite church of Laeta Curia in Old Prague, and through his influence much good was expected. But in June 1524, Zachera, to please king Lewis, returned to the Calixtine doctrine, and persecuted the Orthodox. The pope flattered him, and by the instigation of John Pasoke, Zachere, in lent 1525, wrote in name of the consistory a flattering letter to the pope's legate, declaring his happiness to be restored to the rock of the Catholic church. When questioned regarding his consistency, he said he joined Luther and the Brethren, just that he might the more successfully oppose the Piccardines or Waldenses.*

In this business, the pastors and citizens who refused to subscribe the new articles, were banished. Six ministers, namely, WENCESLAUS PO CZATEK, GEORGE SMAHAL, MARTIN BETLEM, PAUL of St. Michael, MARTIN of Opatowitz, and JOHN MARUSSA, with sixty-five citizens, were proscribed. Among these latter, were BURIAN de Cornitz, Chancellor of Prague, and JOHN HLAWSA, ex-consul. A report was in circulation that the Gospellers were forming a conspiracy against the Calixtines, and three of the Brethren, namely, JOHN BONUSSA, MATHEW HRZEBENARE, and JOHN SLIWKAM, chose to suffer on the rack rather than bear false witness. LEWIS PICTOR was imprisoned for preaching that "people had better be instructed out of the gospel, than be entertained with such fables." A cutler was whipped for having a book on the sacrament. JOHN KELENETZ was branded in the forehead for administering the sacrament to his family, while he was considered only as a layman.

The assemblies of the kingdom agreed that those who plead for communion under one kind should be one, but the Piccardines should be punished. Mathias an Ermite, from 1519 to 1525, exhorted the people in the streets, and wrote to Zachera, chief magistrate, not to convert men by prisons, tortures, and the like means ; but for this sound advice, he was incarcerated till Ferdinand became king† in 1526.

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxviii.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxix.

Duchoslaw of Prague, a pick-thank of Zachera, wished all the Piccards hanged, and set an example by hanging himself on the 30th November 1525.*

On the 9th December 1526, NICHOLAS WREZETENARS was accused of being a Piccard. On being questioned by Zachera as to his belief on the subject of the sacrament of the altar, he replied, "that which the evangelists and Paul have taught me to believe." He and his wife CLARA, who was now eighty years of age, not having pleased the interrogators on the mass, were condemned together to the fire. From regard to the second commandment, they refused to worship the cross. Nicholas took farewell of his children, cheerfully ascended the wood, repeated the Apostle's Creed, and prayed, "Lord Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, who was born of a pure virgin, and didst vouchsafe to undergo the shameful death of the cross for me a wretched sinner, thee alone do I worship, to thee I recommend my soul. Be merciful unto me, and forgive all my sins." He then repeated the thirty-first psalm in Latin. Clara was placed on the pile along with him, and they and their books were consumed in one fire.†

In 1527, MARTHA PERSIZA, after boldly answering in the common hall, had the crier before her announcing that she had blasphemed. She contradicted him, by declaring that she was condemned because she would not believe Christ in the host in regard to hair, sinews, bones and flesh. She exclaimed, "Give no credit to the priests. They are dissembler, hypocrites and gormandizers. They are adulterers and Sodomites." Turning her back to the crucifix, she lifted her eyes to heaven, and exclaimed, "There is our God: thither we must look." She endured with great constancy on the 4th of December 1527. In 1528, a German potter, and a girdler, accused of Lutheranism, were at Prague consigned to the fire. The girdler thus expressed himself, "Since our Lord Jesus has endured the most grievous sufferings for us, let us also suffer this death, and rejoice that we have found so much grace and favour with him as to be accounted worthy to die for the law of God." The potter

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxiii.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxx.

answered, "But on the day of my marriage, I experienced no such rejoicing of heart as I now feel." When the fire was put to the wood, they prayed aloud, "Lord Jesus Christ, thou in thy sufferings didst pray for thine enemies, therefore we also pray for ours, 'Forgive the king, the men of Prague, and the clergy, for they know not what they do, and their hands are full of blood.'" To the populace he said, "Well beloved people, pray for your king, that God would give him the knowledge of the truth, for he is misled by the bishops and clergy." These martyrs died 29th August 1528.*

Zachera on pretence of inquiring after the Piccardines or Waldenses, raised civil commotions, was proscribed by Ferdinand, and was obliged to fly to Misnia, but the elector of that place having banished him, he died miserably in Franconia. Paschus the chief consul was likewise banished in 1530.†

The Brethren resolved to "seek peace and pursue it," even when it seemed to depart, for with a view to prevent a complete rupture with the German Reformer, they transmitted to him in 1532 their Confession of Faith. Luther was so well satisfied with this document, that in 1533 he sent it to be printed at Wittenberg, with a recommendatory preface from his pen. "When I was a papist," says he, "I truly and from my soul hated these Piccard Brethren. When I fell on the books of John Huss, and I had seen the Scriptures so purely treated, I began to be astonished why the Pope and Council had burnt so great and so excellent a man. Being terrified, I immediately shut the book, suspecting heresy to lie hid, by which my simplicity might be infected,—so violent a counter charm reigned in me in favour of the papal name and council. But afterwards it pleased Him who separated me from my mother's womb, to reveal to me that son of perdition. I held many disputations with flesh and blood, and discoursed with those I reckoned the most excellent men. After considering all sides of the question, I praised for saints and martyrs those whom the Pope had damned and destroyed. Among these I reckoned also the Brethren called Piccards, not now so hateful to me as formerly in my papacy. Finally, I found among them that one remarkable wonder, quite unknown in

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxii.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxiii.

the church of the Pope, namely, that having set aside the doctrines of men, they with all their might meditated in the law of the Lord day and night, and they are experienced and ready in the Scriptures; while in the papacy our masters themselves have entirely neglected the scriptures, with the very title of which they are vexed. Nay, some of them had never seen the Holy Bible, yet the Brethren must necessarily be in the dark regarding some places of the word, because they did not study the Greek and Hebrew, nor even the Latin. That defect remained among them, while they wished to avoid the thorny places and marshes of the sophists and monks. They abstained from all studies of the arts, being compelled by poverty, which they alleviated by the labour of their hands. But now they appear more cultivated and more liberal, yea more elegant, so that I hope they will not be unacceptable nor unamiable to all true Christians. Therefore we ought to give thanks to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to the riches of his glory commanded the light to shine out of darkness, by which he has anew abolished death, and illuminated life in us. Both they and we rejoice together, that we who were far from one another, having removed the internal suspicion by which we beheld each other as heretics, have approached one another, and are together restored into one sheep-fold, under that one shepherd and bishop of our souls, who is blessed for ever. Amen."

On the points of ecclesiastical discipline in which the Brethren differed from Luther, he thus states his judgment: "Whereas if certain differences occur, in which this confession, concerning rites and ceremonies, or concerning celibacy, we shall remember that the rites and observances of all churches never have been nor can be ever all equal or the same. For the consideration and variety of men, countries, and times, do not permit that unity. We reckon the matter sufficient, that the doctrine of faith and manners be preserved. For this doctrine ought to be the same as Paul often teaches, 'that ye all speak the same thing.' Again, 'that with one mouth ye may glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' For as marriage among them is free in the same manner as among us, their state and condi-

tion do not permit them to marry. Meantime, they have sufficient liberty in that they teach and believe marriage to be lawful to every one, and sinful in none, while the faith and conscience of every one is safe. I, therefore, in the Lord, commend to all pious persons this Confession of the Brethren, in which all will clearly see with how much injustice they have been hitherto condemned and vexed by the papists."*

In the same year, 1533, this Confession was printed at Zurich, without the knowledge of the Brethren.† In 1535, the Brethren Baron William Krzinczium and Henry Domausitz corrected and presented this Confession of Faith at Vienna, to Ferdinand Emperor of Germany, and king of Bohemia.‡ It was subscribed by twelve Barons and thirty-three Knights. They complain of the unjust accusations against the Piccardines, whom the priests declare worthy to be slain, and asserting that less sin is committed in killing them than in slaying a dog. Justice is entreated from the king, who disapproved of their boldness, and put off their cause for the present, but promised to give their case a fair consideration, and that in the meantime they should receive no injustice.§

In 1535, PHILIP MELANTHON thus writes to the Brethren: "Seeing we are of one mind respecting the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, let us receive each other in love. No difference or alteration in customs and ceremonies shall alienate or disunite us. The holy Apostle Paul speaks frequently of differences in ceremonies, and strongly forbids Christians to separate from each other on that account, though it is a source of violent contention in the world. The self-denying exercises and strict discipline which prevail in your church, do really not displease me. Would to God that they were more seriously attended to in our churches. Take this then as my opinion concerning you:—I wish from my very heart, that all who love the Gospel, and desire that the name of Christ may be glorified and widely extended, may imbibe and exercise towards each other true Christian charity and meekness,

* Luther's Preface as published in the edition published at Dort, 1617. Allix, *Pied.* pp. 294, 295.

† Regenvols. *ib.* ‡ See Appendix. § Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxiv.

and chiefly aim at promoting the glory of Christ by their doctrine, that they may not ruin themselves by personal malice and baneful discord, especially with regard to those things, which, not being essential, ought never to create dissension."

A good understanding continued between the Brethren and the Germans, which was equally honourable to both parties, for the Bohemians had been long in the furnace of fiery persecution, yet were ready to listen to the more enlightened reformers, and the latter were willing to receive practical lessons from an older church. The Brethren sent five deputations regarding discipline. In one of the last conferences about 1536, Luther, in presence of a number of divines, declared himself thus:—"The errors of popery could not have been extirpated in any other way than by overturning its whole system of superstition, and removing even the very appearance of coercing men's consciences. But as the world was now transgressing by falling into the opposite error, it became necessary to stem the overwhelming torrent, and restore scriptural discipline in the church." He added:—"We will take the subject into our most serious consideration as soon as we shall be able; for at present the pope is exciting fresh commotion, in the hope of convening a new council." At the termination of the interview, Luther, in presence of the other divines and professors, gave the deputies the right hand of fellowship, with these words:—"Labour diligently in the work of Christ, as you have opportunity; we will do the same as far as lies in our power." In this mission, Erasmus Sommerfeld from Tunice, a man of equestrian order, was joined with John Augusta, the principal senior. In a few days after the foregoing conversation, Luther addressed a letter to Augusta, which contained these words:—"Furthermore, I admonish you in the Lord, that as you have begun, so you will maintain to the end the unity of the Spirit with us, and abide in the same doctrine; and together with us, by the word of God and prayer, fight against the gates of hell." *

In 1538, the Brethren's Confession was approved of by Justus Jonas, John Bugenhagenius, Caspar Cruciger, and Philip Melancthon. At this period, Fabricius Capito, and Martin

* Holmes, *ib.* pp. 94—96. Select Nar. pp. 88—91.

Bucer, were making great exertions at Strasburg for advancing the Reformation, and having heard of the Brethren, wrote them for a correct account of their history, doctrine and constitution. To satisfy these inquiries, while John Augusta was again missioned to Luther, Mathias Erythreus was in 1540 deputed to Strasburg. The account by Erythreus of the Brethren's church so powerfully affected BUCER, that with the most pleasing emotion he testified his approbation in presence of the other divines. Soon after, he wrote the Brethren an affectionate epistle:—"From the bottom of my heart," says he, "I wish that you may never lose the precious gift you have received from God, but may rather, by your example, excite us to attain to the same. For you are at present the only people in Christendom, to whom God hath given not only sound doctrine, but also a pure scriptural church discipline, convenient and salutary, not painful but profitable. We pray the Lord to confirm this character of his kingdom, and extend it from day to day." With the same friendly feeling, CAPITO expresses himself:—"Your book containing your Confession of Faith, and a sketch of your ecclesiastical discipline, has afforded us great delight. I have not seen any thing in the present day more complete: it not only exhibits a comprehensive creed, and directions for the profitable use of the sacraments, founded on the words of Christ, and their plain unsophisticated meaning; but likewise presents to view a holy discipline, and the duties of the pastoral office, in active and laborious exercise."

At this period, the celebrated JOHN CALVIN held the pastoral inspection of a congregation of French refugees at Strasburg, and also cultivated a friendly intercourse with the Brethren. He afterwards embodied several of their regulations in the constitution framed by him for the Genevan church.

Thus, although the Reformers and the Brethren did not formally unite in church communion, because the latter were afraid lest their church should be robbed of her scriptural discipline, yet all parties cultivated mutual friendship. The Brethren, however, held church fellowship with the Waldenses, for about this date, the Vaudois of France sent a deputation to their old friends in Bohemia, stating their exter-

nal oppressions, their dissensions, and their need of advice, and proposing a union of the two churches. After due examination of the Waldensian doctrines, the Brethren granted their request, and admitted their deputies to join with them in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, during a six month's residence among them.*

In 1542, John Augusta, and George Israel, ministers, with Joachim Prostbar, a nobleman, were missioned as a new deputation to Luther at Wittenberg. On this occasion, the Reformer said :—"Be ye the apostles of the Slavonic nation, and I, with my friends, will be the apostles of the Germans."† Regarding the ecclesiastical discipline of the Brethren, the champion of the Reformation declares :—"Since the days of the apostles, no church has existed, which in her doctrine and rites has more nearly approximated to the spirit of that age, than the Bohemian Brethren. Although they do not exceed us in purity of doctrine, for all the articles of faith are plainly and clearly taught by us according to the word of God, yet they far excel us in the observance of regular discipline, by which they happily rule their congregations, and in this respect they are more deserving of praise than we. This we must concede to them for the honour of God and sake of truth; for our German people will not bend under the yoke of discipline." Luther doubtless intended the introduction of a purer discipline into the church with which he was connected, but his death in 1546, the subsequent differences among the leaders of the Reformation, and the political convulsions of the German empire, prevented the execution of the scheme.‡

* Holmes, pp. 98—100. Select Nar. pp. 91, 92.

† Regenvols, ib.

‡ Holmes, p. 98.

CHAPTER II.

Renewal of Persecution of the Brethren in BOHEMIA—Their emigration to POLAND and PRUSSIA—Unfriendly conduct of the Lutherans in Prussia—Proposed Union of the Brethren and Calvinists in Poland—Approved of by Calvin and Musculus, in their letters to the Brethren, and by Paul Vergerius—Correspondence between Brethren in Bohemia and Calvin. Union of the Brethren with Lutherans and Calvinists in Poland and Prussia—Paul Vergerius—In Moravia and Bohemia the Brethren flourish—New Translation of the Bible—Sendomir agreement in Poland—Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia unite with the Lutherans and Calvinists—Lutherans leave the union in Poland, but Calvinists and Brethren continue one church—Lollards in BRITAIN.

IN 1546, the emperor Charles V. in obedience to the council of Trent, commenced a determined war against the Protestants, which raged for thirty years. His brother, Ferdinand, king of Bohemia, was his ally, but as the Bohemians refused to support him in this contest against the Elector of Saxony, and the other Protestant princes, this refusal was ascribed to the influence of the Brethren in the country, with a view to place the Elector on the Bohemian throne. Though this allegation was groundless, yet Ferdinand resolved to punish them. He began by banishing the nobility, confiscating the property of some, and imprisoning others. In the last way, the chief senior, JOHN AUGUSTA, and his colleague, JAMES BILECK, were treated. The former was thrice subjected to the rack, frequently scourged and fed on bread and water, in order to extort a confession of his brethren's supposed guilt. His fortitude and fervent prayers are said to have caused his tormentors relent, and even to have been the means of the conversion of some of them. Though nothing was proved against either himself or his associates, he was continued in prison for seventeen years, till the death of Ferdinand. Bileck was also subjected to similar treatment.

GEORGE ISRAEL, pastor of Tournovitz, his successor in the seniority, experienced the like usage. A thousand guilders were demanded as the price of his freedom. Not being possessed of that sum, his friends proposed to raise the money, but he refused to accept of it, saying:—"It is sufficient for me

that I have been once for all completely ransomed by the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ ; I need not now be redeemed a second time with gold or silver. Keep your money ; it will serve for your journey when you yourselves shall be expelled from the country." Having dressed himself like a clerk with a pen behind his ear, and some paper and an inkhorn in his hand, he ventured in broad daylight to quit his confinement in the castle of Prague. He passed the guards unobserved, effected his escape, and travelled into Prussia. *

At this period, the Brethren had five seniorities, namely, Litomislana, Brundusina, Chlumitz, Bydzovitz, and Tournovitz ; but during the persecution, their churches were shut up and their ministers persecuted. Some of them fled to Moravia, where they still enjoyed liberty ; others hid themselves in the day, and at night comforted their suffering Brethren. The common people were commanded by royal authority, either to join in the Romish worship, or to leave the country in six weeks. Such as were faint-hearted connected themselves with the Calixtines, but in 1548, the greater part of them emigrated into Poland, under the leading of a worthy senior, MATHEW SYON. They left Bohemia in different companies. The first division from Litomislana, Bydzovitz, and Chlumitz, consisted of five hundred people, and sixty waggons. They travelled by Clacensis and upper Silesia. Another party consisted of persons from Tournovitz, and some Brundusians. The number of travellers were three hundred, who were conveyed by fifty waggons, and who took the direction of the mountains of Gianter and Lower Silesia. The third company consisted of the rest of the Brundusians, who proceeded in the same rout. Under a kind providence, they all arrived safely in Poland, where they were affectionately received by some of the nobility. Their residence there was only ten weeks, for the popish bishop of Posen influenced the king to banish them. They retired to Prussia, where Duke Albert of Brandenburg cordially welcomed them. On hearing insinuations against their orthodoxy, Albert appointed five divines of Koenigsberg to examine their doctrines. On hear-

* Holmes, pp. 100, 101. Select Nar. pp. 93, 94. Pers. of Church of Boh. chap. xxxvi.

ing the report that they agreed materially with the Augsburg confession, he assigned several places for them to settle as citizens. All godly men rejoiced at this occurrence, which was in a great measure owing to the good offices of the bishop, Paul Speratus, and of John Bodenstein, minister of Marienwerder. By a royal edict, dated 19th March, 1549, the king conferred on the Brethren the same rights as his other subjects, granted them liberty to retain their own ecclesiastical constitution, and allowed them to settle in the towns of Marienswerder, Neidenburg, Gardensee, Kohenstein, Gilgenstein, Soldau, and Koeningsberg.

Concerning the new settlers, John Bodenstein wrote to Dr. Brentius:—"If congregations any where exist, in which truly apostolic zeal and discipline are to be found, and where every thing is regulated according to the pattern of the primitive holy martyrs, they certainly are the congregations of the Brethren. I believe God himself hath sent this holy people to us, that others may be excited seriously and maturely to consider how to correct the many irregularities and failings in our church." Some of the Lutheran divines, however, were displeased with the liberty granted to the Brethren, and by false insinuations tried to render them suspected, that they might be induced to dismiss their ministers, and conform to the Lutheran ritual. Paul Kirmèyes, Calvinist minister at Hunnobrod in Moravia, had been deposed for irregular conduct, had come to Prussia, and had become one of the greatest enemies of the Brethren, who, on his manifesting signs of repentance, received him in the spirit of the gospel as a reconciled enemy, and maintained him till his death. On the demise of Duke Albert, the Brethren were required either to relinquish their church constitution, or to leave Prussia. On this reverse, the majority quitted the country. Multitudes retired to Poland, and the rest proceeded to Moravia.

The short stay which the Brethren had made in Poland, had not been without fruit. Many of the nobility and citizens of that country had received the gospel. The senior Syon had made them several visits to confirm them. Count Ostrorog one day proceeded to the Brethren's church, armed with a whip, in order forcibly to bring away his lady. But he had scarcely entered the place when he was arrested by

the word of the gospel, and not only desisted from his barbarous purpose, but requested a minister to be sent to reside on his estate, with a view to instruct himself and his tenants. George Israel, formerly mentioned, was missioned to him in 1551. By the exertions of this worthy man, assisted by JOHN COCYTANUS another of the Brethren's ministers, as the pope's legate Vergerius testifies, after a visitation in the country, forty congregations in six years were collected in Great Poland. George Israel was elected president of the synod. In Lithuania, Polish Prussia, Cassubia and Silesia, many congregations were formed. The Brethren were frequently petitioned to provide court-chaplains and inspectors of schools. Among their members they numbered several Polish grandees, with many persons of rank and learning.*

The Calvinistic doctrines of the reformation were at this period propagated with considerable success by some Swiss divines in little Poland. Several congregations were formed, and their ecclesiastical discipline was framed on the model of the church of Geneva. Their ministers cultivated cordial friendship with the Brethren, and desired a close alliance with their church. Notice of this proposal was communicated to the reformers in different quarters, and among others to Calvin, who sent a letter of approbation addressed to a Polish knight, in which he mentions the Brethren as Waldenses. The date is at Geneva, 29th December 1554. "That you may constantly go on in this holy design, it would perhaps be superfluous to exhort you in many words. If, however, I could add a spur to one who runs voluntarily, I hoped that this my endeavour would be neither useless nor troublesome to you. See, therefore, generous Sir, since you have so happily begun this endeavour, that no difficulty terrify or detain you, that the bustle of the world do not debilitate your mind, that the length of time do not weary you. And happily the Son of God in heaven does not sit an idle spectator of our conflict, but supplies also invincible strength, which may be able to sustain the weight of labour. From your agreement with the Waldenses I expect the

* Holmes, pp. 100—103. Select Nar, pp. 93—97. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxv, xxxvi.

most excellent consequences: not only because God is always wont to bless the holy unity into which the members of Christ coalesce; but because in these first beginnings I hope the experience of the Waldensian Brethren, which by long use the Lord has exercised, will be to you a very great assistance; wherefore you ought all to give diligence that this pious unanimity may be more and more confirmed. But occasion is given me from your letters privately to exhort you to undertake this business. Farewell, most noble Sir, to be by me esteemed from the heart. May the Lord long preserve you safe, govern you by his Spirit, and by you glorify his own name.”* Accordingly, on the 1st May 1555, a synod met at Pinczof, composed of the evangelical of Poland. And in the month of August that year, another synod met at Cosminiec, composed of delegates from the Moravian Brethren or Waldenses, and also from the Polish Reformed Brethren, who had singularly studied ecclesiastical discipline.† Several Polish Woywods attended, and a deputation from the Duke of Prussia. In this assembly, the Bohemian Brethren’s Confession and Constitution were examined and approved. A union was ratified by all the members of synod giving to each other the right hand of fellowship, and joining in celebrating the Lord’s Supper.‡ In similar terms as Calvin, Wolfgang Musculus, a minister at Berne expressed his approbation of this measure: “We more especially venerate the wonderful counsel of God,” says he, “in causing the Bohemian Brethren, who are here called Waldenses, to come to you, that they might be of use to your congregations in receiving and propagating the knowledge of divine truth.” By a public instrument prepared in 1556, the divines of the Reformed Church in Switzerland sanctioned this union.

One of the most decided testimonies in favour of the Brethren, and of the union of the Reformed in Poland with the Brethren’s church, is derived from Paul Vergerius, who

* *Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa, Opera*, Amsterdam 1667, fol. vol. ix p. 106.

† *Lubieniecus, Hist. Reform. Polonicæ*, p. 56.

‡ *Holmes*, pp. 104.

had been Roman bishop of Capo d'Istria, and had gone as Pope's Legate into Poland, but who, subsequently, was converted to the Reformed Church, and became a zealous witness for evangelical truth. The duke of Wirtemberg appointed him chancellor of the university of Tuebingen, where he caused a new edition of the Brethren's Confession to be printed in 1556.* The following are some of his expressions in his preface to this work: "When God called me from Germany into Prussia, Poland and Lithuania, I burned with the desire to see many and different nations and churches. For this purpose I travelled through the whole extent of Poland, and visited about forty congregations of the Brethren.† These afforded me, in truth, great delight; for they possess the true word of the Gospel, and maintain it in such purity, that I do not discover the least error, either in their doctrine, or teachers, or any thing to excite the least suspicion. Their customs and ceremonies are all so pure, so distinct from popish superstition and puerilities, that not a vestige or trace thereof remains among them. Their discipline is so strict, that when faithfully administered, it produces those fruits of renovation and amendment of life, which prove them to be sincere, and free from hypocrisy, evincing real conversion of heart." He then mentions, that several princes, nobles and others, to whom he related his journey, were either ignorant of the Brethren, or afraid that union with them would tarnish the beauty of the Reformed Church in Poland, and proceeds: "I doubt not, but the republication of this Confession will be acceptable to all who value divine truth; and, moreover, that they will honour and commend the Poles, and all the congregations, which have received this Confession, and supplicate our gracious Father in heaven, that he would preserve to these congregations the reformation so happily begun, increase them according to his immeasurable goodness, and daily bless them more and more." He then exhorts the Reformed congregations not to be satisfied with having eradicated popery, but to be diligent in maintaining pure doctrine, and to introduce holy discipline.‡

* See this Confession in the Appendix, No. ii.

† This journey he had undertaken as Pope's Legate.

‡ Holmes, pp. 104, 105.

On some points, the different parties who entered into this union do not seem to have sufficiently explained themselves to each other: for after the first display of feeling was past, they found a diversity of views among them regarding the Lord's Supper. On this occasion, Calvin wrote the Polish lords and ministers of the churches an epistle dated 23d of November, 1557. Some of the expressions are:—"When among my colleagues, I spoke of your state, and among other things related, that some discord has now arisen among you concerning the Sacred Supper of Christ, they desired me to write you concerning the common sentiment of them all." After stating the evils of division, he proceeds:—"But neither are we ignorant that the sincere doctrine of faith is more precious than that for the sake of recovering peace, we may lawfully in the least degree depart from it: but so far as we understand by probable conjecture, not so much the doctrine itself is called into controversy, as the moderation is desirable, which may produce the least offence. A part of you, we are informed, embrace the Augsburg confession. Others determinately retain the doctrine of the Waldenses. Others desire a pure and lucid explanation of the mystery. And indeed concerning the Augsburg confession, no just reason appears to exist, a just reason why the servants of Christ should contend with one another, provided they agree concerning the genuine sense. We also desire the Waldenses always to remain completely conjoined with you." He dreads that the fear of the cross may prevent agreement, and adds:—"Because on this head of doctrine an unhappy contention has existed in our age, some, while according to the custom of their own dispositions they drive away debates, would wish that we slightly and obscurely touch what is to be clearly taught in the church. But they are far deceived, while they think that contentions can be composed and allayed by this remedy. Neither, however, will this be a departure from the Augsburg confession, if a more clear exposition of your faith be added, even as we would by no means wish you to make a separation from the Waldenses, with whom a brotherly conjunction is to be cultivated even to the end. We have only to desire, that on both sides some accede to the others, that by common endeavours the sacred bond of unity be sought. Nor certainly do we think

that those good brethren are so morose,* but they may willingly receive an explication, which may have been fetched from another quarter, if it only appear to be convenient and fit for the use of the church. We have read that place where they expound their sentiment concerning the Sacred Supper of Christ. They assert shortly, and most concisely, that the bread and wine are the true body of Christ.† They immediately pass over to a confession, which in our judgment obscures, and involves more than illustrates the doctrine. They complain that they are loaded with unjust calumnies, nay, traduced by mockeries and scoffings: but whoever demand them more clearly to define in what way the bread is the body, they seem to resolve, that the first people are adversaries to themselves who thus ask explanation. I only say, since the Waldenses have not spoken with sufficient clearness and plainness concerning this mystery, they will display a haughtiness far removed from Christian modesty, if all interpretation is refused by them. But we shall see whether a Christian man can lawfully embrace the formula of a confession, which involves into one packet of damnation all who do not precisely confess that the bread is most presently the body of Christ. (Here we recite their words.) We certainly do not think so.‡ But what hinders you from all coalescing into a pious, holy, and clear agreement? For neither in this way will the Augsburg confession be violated: and the Waldenses, if they judge rightly, without any loss to themselves, will conveniently allay the offence, which might be able sometimes to be conceived from their short and obscure words, which opportunity is, with very good reason, to be desired by them. First, therefore, where the power and efficacy of the mystery has been

* In the former volume an account was given of the works of the Triad of authors against the Waldenses, namely Ehrard, Bernard and Ermengard. In his preface to these works, Gretzer the Jesuit, Bib. Pat. Paris. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1067, 1068, makes some remarks on Calvin's correspondence with the Waldensian Brethren. On this part of the present letter, Gretzer insinuates that Calvin speaks in this style to conceal his introducing new doctrine on the sacrament. But in fact Calvin's doctrine was old, and he was confident the Waldenses would come to agree with him.

† By this expression Gretzer tries to stimulate the Waldenses against Calvin.

‡ Gretzer says Calvin wished the Poles to reject the Waldensian Confession, and to adopt his ravings. Bib. Pat. coll, 1069, 1070.

clearly expounded, a clear definition has been also delivered concerning the true participation of flesh and blood, from which we see that Christ does not deceive by vain figures, nor promise any thing fallaciously, but performs in reality what he testifies by external symbols, at least the exception should be added, that the flesh of Christ is given to us for food, and his blood for drink ; that this is done by the hidden and incomprehensible virtue of the Holy Spirit ; that therefore neither is immensity to be feigned, which is plainly repugnant to the human nature. We certainly willingly receive the doctrine, that the bread and wine are not only symbols, or earnest, but certain testimonies, with which the true exhibition of the things is conjoined : so we confess, that the bread is the body, and the wine the blood of Christ, because by holding out these symbols to us, Christ really feeds our souls with his flesh and blood. While this is also called a spiritual communication, we willingly allow an interpretation to be added : that by this expression ought not to be understood some imaginary matter, I know not what, as if we were partaking of Christ only in thought ; but rather that we are to understand that heavenly virtue which excludes the gross figments of earthly presence, but diminishes nothing from the reality itself. But where it has been clearly explained, that by the symbols of bread and wine, that the flesh and blood and spiritual nourishment of Christ are in reality proposed and offered to us ; we perceived an expediency, and therefore a necessity to oppose the absurd dreams by which the greater part of the world is fascinated. Therefore lest any feign that the body of Christ is immense, and omnipresent, as if it had put off its nature, the mode of communication is to be explained. Namely, that Christ remaining in heaven in regard to his body, descends to us by the admirable virtue of his Spirit, and at the same time raises us upwards to himself. For this knot being loosed, the carnal and superstitious adoration is at the same time discharged. Moreover, unless we spontaneously wish one of the chief articles of our faith to perish from us, the reality of the human nature of Christ is to be retained. For except we remain fixed in the belief that Christ arose to conform us to himself, where will be the hope of a resurrection ? And because certain preposterous

men confound the earthly signs with the substance or spiritual things, the distinction should not be omitted, without which the world fabricates to itself so many idols from the two Sacraments. Therefore, although the bread is not only a figurative sign, (as they speak) but also an exhibitivè one: yet we are to know that it is metonymically called body according to the common analogy, which in the holy Scriptures every where occurs between the *signus* and the things signified." In the remainder of the letter, the Genevan Reformer shows that his doctrine does not give power to human reason to be preferred to the word of God; that only believers are capable of receiving the sacrament aright, and repeats that the Genevans do not consider themselves as having a right to dictate a formula to bind the Poles, but only proceed in the way of admonition.* The above correspondence appears to have had a happy influence on the Reformers and Waldensian Brethren in Poland, as we hear no more of their differences for sometime.

Andrew Fricius Modrivius, a papist, writes on polical reformation, and regarding the church in 1559 he proceeds:—"A people exist in Bohemia under the name of Brethren, whom some call Picards, others Waldenses. Report states that among them all feasting, drunkenness, dancings, cards, dice, and the like things are forbidden; that offenders of this kind are interdicted; that after the first and second admonition, they are ejected from the church; and that they are deprived of communion in all sacred things. They are not restored to the church unless they publicly give signs of repentance." He states that they diligently labour on working days, that on holy days they meet, and that one reads the sacred books in their own language; and then adds:—"They are both excellent artificers and are much more learned in the Holy Scriptures than many priests are among us. In their own churches individual ministers are created to visit the sick. They appoint him to labour in teaching, in comforting, and in performing other duties. Does any thing like that exist among us? Many men who openly live in impuri-

* Calvini Opera, ib. pp. 115, 116.

ty and wickedness, approach at stated times to the priests, both for the sake of confession and of the Sacred Supper.”*

On the 11th May 1560, the Brethren in Poland sent from Boleslau, John Rokita and Peter Herbert, to several princes and divines in Germany to cultivate friendship. At Goppingen they found the duke Wolfgang Ripontine, Palatine of the Rhine, Christopher, duke of Wurtemberg, the count of Montbelliard, and explained to them the state of the Bohemian and Polish churches. They were hospitably received; and Peter Paul Vergerius, who had been Romish Bishop of Cavo d’ Istria, and was now counsellor to the duke of Wurtemberg, showed a desire to be admitted to the Brethren’s Church. The Duke on the 5th of June 1560, approved of the Brethren’s Confession of Faith, and in letters of the 18th of June recommended them to Duke Nicolas Radzivil, Palatine of Wilna, to Luke, Count of Gorka, and to Stanislaus, Count of Ostrorog. Rokita then returned to Poland, and Herbert proceeded to Switzerland. At Heidelberg and Strasburg he conversed with several learned friends; at Basle, with Sulcer the Pastor; at Zurich, with Bullinger and Peter Martyr; at Berne, with Wolfgang Musculus; and at Geneva, with John Calvin, Peter Viret, Theodore Beza, and their colleagues. With all these eminent Reformers he conversed on the ecclesiastical affairs of the Brethren.† Herbert carried with him a letter from the distressed Brethren still in Bohemia, addressed, “The Waldenses to Calvin, the servant of God. Grace and peace by our Lord Jesus Christ. Since, venerable Sir, about twenty years ago, a holy acquaintance and familiarity were cultivated between your humanity, at that time officiating at Strasburg, and the Brethren who are falsely called Piccards or Waldenses, which Brethren were our most dear fathers in the Lord; we have now thought good, who obtain the places of our fathers, (all of whom the Lord has for the most part snatched from this mortal life), to renew the same acquaintance, nay, that bond of Christian charity, by which all the pious, especially the ministers of

* Quoted in Regenvols, p. 68.

† Regenvols, lib. i. cap. xi. Bib. Pat. ib. where Gretzer quotes Beza’s Life of Calvin, stating that two brethren were sent to Calvin.

the church, are obliged to be most closely bound. For we see the enemies of our Lord, and of the whole church, variously to put hand to mutual operations, and to conspire for the entire suppression of the truth. Whom, since we ought strenuously to resist, we are to be very careful to be all one in the Lord : because, if any dissensions and discords should begin to appear, that these ought to be composed in a spirit of lenity, lest any thing should be done through contention, or they who are without may be able justly to complain. For that reason we send to thy clemency, and to thy colleagues, these two brethren* in the Lord, from whom ye shall be able to understand the state of our affairs, and we shall be able to understand the state of yours. We beg that you condescend to receive them in a friendly manner. Farewell, and go on to remember us and our churches in your most holy prayers. Given from Carmel in Bohemia, 11th May 1560.

The ELDERS of the unity of the BRETHREN who are commonly called WALDENSES.†

Calvin's answer is written in the name of all the Reformers of Geneva, and is addressed "To the Waldenses, servants of God." He states, that what the brother who delivered their letters explained to him in private, he exhorted him to repeat at the public meeting of his brethren in the ministry. He thanks the Bohemians for sending brethren to visit them. "And certainly," says Calvin, "since we are so many countries distant from one another, and are every where surrounded with enemies, who occupy almost the whole world, we feel sweetness and pleasure to enjoy the solace of our dispersion. We testify, therefore, by mutual consent, that we have one Father in heaven, and that we are one body under Christ the head : which we certainly hope ye shall become."—Having spoken of brethren sometimes listening to slanders on one another, he proceeds :—"For we are conscious to ourselves of no fault, as the brother seemed in your name indirectly to

* Only Herbert went forward to Geneva, and is referred to in the beginning of Calvin's answer. Rokita had previously returned to Poland.

† Calvini Opera, ib. p. 145. In Bib. Pat. ib. Gretzer is severe on the Brethren for calling themselves Waldenses, while they say in the letter they were falsely so named.

complain of the letter written to the Poles:* and ye yourselves, after having well considered the reasons according to your equity, have found, when we were consulted on that cause, that a more humane and a more moderate answer was not able to be given. Certainly, we have not spoken impertinently of you: and as far as it was lawful, we were careful to mitigate the offences which had already arisen, to prevent worse dissensions, and to reconcile you on both sides, that ye might be helpers to the Poles at their beginning, in order to erect among them the kingdom of Christ. How much you are to be concerned to stretch out the hand to the Poles, that among them the pure doctrine of the gospel may make progress, do you yourselves consider according to your own prudence, while we are silent. Nor does any doubt exist but your dissension, if enemies animadvert on it, may cause some delay of things happily begun. The brother has indeed related to us the probable causes why ye fear to approach nearer to them: namely, because ye see them to be divided by perverse factions. But this necessity ought to urge you the more, that while evils are raging or rising, your conjunction may contribute a remedy. For the authority of so many churches, if they would help one another, would easily restrain frantic spirits, who, in times of division, take to themselves a liberty of troubling and disturbing all things. Now, the pious brethren being destitute of your suffrage, are more grievously troubled. If Satan converts the turbulent attacks of Stancarus, of George Blandrata, and of others against Poland, is it not your duty to succour? If ye neglect, beware lest perhaps the subsidies of brethren be sometimes wanting to you. For neither will you always have power to shun contentions, from which God has caused you hitherto to be free. The controversy concerning the communion of the flesh and blood of Christ, is a hinderance which prevents some from acceding to others: for the sake of removing

* Gretzer infers that the Waldenses had complained to Calvin of the want of candour in writing to the Poles, particularly on the Eucharist. He thinks Calvin's vindication of himself indicates that if the Poles had spoken as contemptuously of him, he would have made them beg his pardon on their bended knees. The Jesuit judges Protestants by the practice of the Popes. Bib. Pat. ib. coll. 1069, 1070.

which obstacle, we judge that a convenient and clear explanation on both sides is to be sought. Two things perhaps have galled you: what we have written, that in your Confession an obscure and ambiguous brevity exists, which requires a more certain form of teaching: again, that in the Apology, too much vehemence and fervour exists against all those, who, not content with the particular words employed, desire the light of sound explication in these words, where ye assert that the bread is the body of Christ. We know how plausible is the acting of those, who, under the shade of the Augsburg confession, by desiring peace and ease, flee from troubles, hatreds, and, finally, from the cross. And neither are you ignorant what the author himself, Doctor Philip Melancthon, thought on this subject. And perhaps the wickedness of those who endeavour to throw darkness over the clear light, obliges us to expose said wickedness to the whole world. We, indeed, (which is declared for your honourable peace) continue in the sentiment, that the formula of your Confession cannot be simply received without danger: and that the subscription, without the employment of a suitable interpretation, will form the origin and the materials of many contentions to the Poles.”* He concludes, by commenting on the too strong language used in their Apology, and on their messenger reminding him that in some of his writings he becomes too hot. He admits this to be true, but states, that he does not, like them, condemn men in the bulk, and is willing to be admonished.† He closes by ardent expressions of good-will, and on the 30th June 1560, subscribed the letter in name of all the Genevan ministers.‡

The negotiations between the Calvinists and the Brethren

* Gretzer is uncertain whether this refer to the Confession presented to Ladislaus in 1508, or the one prefaced by Luther in 1533, or to the apology laid before George, Marquis of Brandenburg, in 1538; but of one thing he seems confident, that Calvin would be pleased with nobody's interpretation but his own. Bib. Pat. ib. coll. 1069—1072.

† Gretzer states that Calvin complains that the Waldensian messenger did not speak of his hot language at a seasonable time; but thinks no time would be seasonable with the Genevan, and upbraids the Reformers and Waldenses for reproaching one another. Bib. coll. 1069, 1070. Surely such remarks come with an ill grace from Romanists, who consigned to the flames all who opposed them.

‡ Calvini Opera, ib. pp. 145, 146.

in Poland were still continued. John Rokita had been deputed by the Bohemian Brethren to assist in the union. He found the Reformed much divided, and some of them accused of favouring Arianism, while others disapproved of the Brethren's ecclesiastical government. The synod at Xians, in 1560, composed of deputies from both churches, did not require to consume time in discussing doctrine, but adopted the evangelical system. The subject of church government and discipline was more warmly disputed. The Calvinists thought the Brethren's constitution too much assimilated to popery, by giving undue power to the clergy. The Brethren replied, that their system was forty years under deliberation before it was adopted; that it had long stood the test of experience, and had been beneficial in persecution; that the wisest Reformers had approved of it; that it aimed at true conversion, and admitted none to church-fellowship and the Lord's Supper without strict examination; that their ministers had not too much authority, because they allowed no compulsion in matters of conscience; that their clergy possessed no temporal power, but were subject to the civil state, which they obeyed in every thing not contrary to the Word of God; and that they condemned the temporal power of the Pope. The synod, by a plurality of votes, adopted the constitution of the Brethren, with this single modification, that the senior or bishop should be joined by a lay-elder in the superintendence of every district or diocese, of which seven existed in Little Poland, and six in Lithuania. The lay-elder accompanied the senior on his visitations, to attend to the temporal affairs of congregations, and adjusted differences at the provincial synods held annually.*

AMOS COMENIUS, the last senior of the Brethren's church in the seventeenth century, disapproved of the union of the Brethren and Reformed in 1560, by the synod of Xians. He thinks carnal and political wisdom had the chief influence. Indeed no fundamental difference in doctrine existed, but Calvin and his coadjutors framed an ecclesiastical constitution for whole kingdoms, while the rigidity of the Brethren's go-

* Holmes, pp. 106—108, where he dates this synod 1563, but in p. 111, he calls it 1560, which seems to be the true time, because in p. 108. he mentions the Lutherans in 1567 as displeased with their proceedings.

vernment and discipline applied to their own members, without including entire nations, and was intended not merely for nominal Christians, but for such as gave some evidence of renovation of heart.*

The seniors sent to Prussia JOHN LAURENCE to learn how the churches were prospering, and on the 5th of January 1561, the divines of Thorn, especially Benedict Morgenstern, interrogated him, why the Brethren who approved of the Augsburg Confession, and in the church preached the same profession, did not allow their friends to use said Confession? Laurence replied, that the chief cause was, that the adherents to the Augsburg Confession, even in the city of Thorn, neglected legitimate order and ecclesiastical discipline. On Laurence returning home and reporting his proceedings, the Brethren, to wipe off the aspersions of Morgenstern, agreed, that their hearers or disciples, (*auditores*,) at Thorn, might avail themselves of the service of Christ's ministers in that place, and might place themselves under their inspection: for, considering that they had all one gospel, and that they had long ago entered into a holy association with Luther at Wittemberg, they were willing to cultivate peace and friendship with all the followers of pure doctrine, and not to give occasion of scandal in the church. To this, however, they consented, under the provision that as far as possible, all observe the discipline of the Lord, with genuine piety of life. With this resolution Morgenstern and his colleagues were very much pleased, and promised with all their endeavour, the study of ecclesiastical discipline in regard to the hearers of the Brethren.

The Bohemian Brethren settled chiefly in Ducal Prussia, namely, at Neidenburg, Gardœa, Holsten, Koeningsberg, Dambrun or Gilgenburg, Dzasdovia or Salectavia, and Quidzin or Marienwerder. In this last place, a part of the Brethren's house in which they had celebrated divine ordinances according to their own ritual, was still standing in the middle of the seventeenth century, and was denominated the Bohemian Temple.†

Paul Vergerius, in a letter dated March 19, 1561, solicited

* Holmes. pp. 110, 111.

† Regenvols, pp. 65, 66.

admission to the Brethren's Church ; because, ten years ago, the Spirit had led him to leave the Antichristian Church ; because, under the same Spirit, he was seeking the best church in which he might live and die ; because, though the Lutheran Church in which he then was, had pure doctrine, yet he wished to testify his preference of the Brethren's churches, seeing they had better discipline, and because, he had long ago renounced the pleasures of the world, and wished to seek heavenly things in their church, in defence of which he had exerted lately all his powers in endeavouring to lessen the hostility of the king of Bohemia, Maximilian II. against the Brethren. His death, soon after this application, prevented the Brethren from granting his request. The oration pronounced at his funeral, declared :—"That though a mere novice in religious controversy, he had been a perfect man in the life of God, which is in Christ Jesus." *

In the year 1562, in Moravia, at one time, the Brethren created 18 acoluths, whom they call disciples or readers, 14 deacons, and 11 ministers or pastors. At another date, in the synod at Slezanum, the Brethren appointed 77 acoluths, 51 deacons, and 17 ministers. In one year therefore, 95 acoluths, 65 deacons, and 28 ministers, making in all 188 individuals, were invested with an official character, in addition to the church officers formerly existing in Moravia. These proceedings demonstrate that the Moravian Brethren at this period were not generally persecuted.

They revived also in Bohemia, under Maximilian, now king of that country. He read the Confession presented to him, and received all the adherents to it under his royal protection. In 1564, he succeeded to the empire of Germany, and afforded the same protection to the Brethren through all his dominions. †

He rescinded the edicts of his predecessor against the Brethren, and this year, 1564, their churches were restored and re-opened, after having been closed nearly twenty years. Consequently, multitudes who, during the persecution, had been excluded from their native land, to enjoy religious liberty with

* Holmes, pp. 165, 166.

† Regenvols, ib.

their Brethren, who had been living in concealment, joined them.* In his youth, Maximilian had been taught by John Tausser, an evangelical preacher, whom one day, Ferdinand, with a drawn sword in his hand, threatened to kill, for his kind attention to the best interests of the heir apparent to the imperial throne. Maximilian had also received lessons in religion from John Cratis, a physician, who had told him, that he conceived the Piccardines nearest the apostolic purity.† But the Brethren had scarce begun to taste the sweets of liberty, when their enemies concerted new schemes to deprive them of their natural and legal rights, and prevailed on Joachim Von Neuhaus, high chancellor of Bohemia, to proceed in 1565 to Vienna. By his importunity, he prevailed on the emperor, contrary to his inclinations, to sign a decree against the Brethren, but which Divine Providence frustrated; for when Joachim was leaving Vienna, part of the bridge over the Danube gave way, and himself, his carriage and horses, and retinue, were precipitated into the river. Joachim, and the greater part of his attendants, were drowned. The box containing the bloody edict, which doomed so many deserving people to death, was never found, and a young nobleman of the company, who saved himself by swimming, and who, to the day of his death testified the singular providence, was so impressed by the event, that he became a member of the Brethren's church. The emperor was by no means disposed to renew the fatal document, and ever afterward expressed a favourable opinion of the Brethren.‡ In 1566, by advice of Cratis, they dedicated a hymn to the emperor.§

During the season of repose, the Brethren held several synods under the presidency of the worthy seniors, John Augusta, and Mathias Erythreus. One of these assemblies was attended not only by the church officers, but by seventeen Bohemian grandees, and one hundred and forty-six noblemen. This circumstance shews the extent of dissent from the Romish church in a country not very large, and whose government in church and state was popish. These meetings

* Holmes, p. 112.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxix.

‡ Select Nar. pp. 98. 99. Holmes, p. 113. Du Thou, book xxxvi.

§ Hist. Boh. Pers. ib.

were employed in rectifying various irregularities which had arisen during the persecutions, and in making such regulations as their ecclesiastical constitution required to preserve purity of doctrine and spirituality of exercise. Another most important object that occupied the attention of the synods, was the compilation of a new translation of the Bible into the Bohemian tongue from the Hebrew and Greek, in preference to the present version from the vulgate. In order to have men properly qualified for the task, some students were sent to Wittemberg and Basle to study the originals. They were accompanied by Albert Nicolas, and Lucas Helitz, a baptized Jew, and minister from Posen. Having finished their studies, they commenced their labours at the castle of Kraliz, in Moravia, the residence of Baron John Scherotin, who, to facilitate the work, erected a printing office at his own expence. The translators were joined by Esaias Caeppolla and George Stregie or Vetter, conseniors. Three ministers, John Æneas, John Ephraim, and Paul Jessen, superintended the work, which was completed in fourteen years.*

The union between the Brethren and Reformed in little Poland, displeased the Lutherans in great Poland. Accordingly Erasmus Gliezner, the Lutheran superintendant, invited George Israel the senior of the Brethren to attend a synod at Posen in 1567. Gliezner insisted on the Brethren to set aside their own Confession of Faith, and to adopt the Augsburg. Not coming to an amicable agreement, the question was referred to the theological faculty at Wittemberg, who decided in favour of the Brethren. At two subsequent synods this subject was discussed between the Lutherans and Brethren, and the way paved for the famous synod of Sendomir, which met in April 1570, and which was attended by deputies from the three protestant communities in Poland. The principal individuals were John Laurence, senior, from the Brethren, Erasmus Gliezner, superintendent of the Lutherans, and Paul Gilovius, senior of the Reformed. Many of the Polish nobility were also present, and Sborowsky, Woywod of Sendomir, was elected president. The attempts to form a new Confession of Faith for all the parties failed, yet as they

* Holmes, pp. 113, 114. Select Nar. p. 84.

found no difference in regard to fundamental doctrines, they acknowledged the orthodoxy of the respective confessions, and agreed to terminate dissensions, and to avoid controversies. Further, they consented to cultivate Christian love; to assist each other in the performance of divine service, conforming to the ritual of the church in which they officiated; and to send deputies to the general synods of each distinct body. These resolutions were embodied in the document called the SENDOMIR AGREEMENT, which was unanimously received and subscribed by all the members of synod, who gave each other the right hand as a pledge of a loving resolution to observe the articles.—Prayer, and singing *Te Deum*, concluded the meeting. When the people heard of the concord, many of them wept for joy. A Lutheran minister, and one of the Brethren's pastors, exchanged pulpits, each conforming to the ritual of the other. A copy of the agreement was sent to the university of Heidelberg, whose opinion was, that it was sufficient, without a general Confession of Faith, for Poland. The Electors of Brandenburg, of the Palatinate, and of Saxony, approved of it, and expressed a wish that other protestants would imitate the example of the Poles. Subsequent synods confirmed the document, and added new clauses for preserving peace, maintaining discipline, and establishing schools that should be open to all the children of the three confessions. These synods were attended by all the ministers, and by lay-elders from the three denominations of protestants, and their deliberations were conducted with candour and love.* In 1573 they renewed amity also with the university of Wittemberg. About 1574, few of the Brethren remained in Prussia.†

In 1575, the diet at Prague, by an edict, allowed all the protestants in Bohemia and Moravia to form a union, and adopt a Confession agreeable to them all. Delegates both from the ministers and laity of the Lutherans, Brethren and Reformed, met in a Christian spirit, and framed a Confession embracing the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. It was written by Dr PAUL PRESS, who had been called from Leipsic to the academy of Prague, and by GEORGE STREGIC or VETTER, one

* Holmes, pp. 103—110. Select Nar. p. 97.

† Regenvols ib.

of the Brethren's ministers. These two divines were appointed to draw up the Confession in the Bohemian tongue, and executed their task to the satisfaction of all the delegates. The Emperor Maximilian received it favourably, and promised protection to all who adhered to it. He also expressed his approbation of the Brethren's, and of the Augsburg Confessions. A German version of the new Confession was soon transmitted to the faculty of Wittenberg, whose approbation is expressed in the following terms:—"Although this Confession is very concise, and in compiling the same, great care has been taken to avoid all needless prolixity and every point of doubtful interpretation tending to strife, and to express the fundamental articles of faith with brevity, precision, and plainness; and though this will probably displease some captious spirits in Germany, yet on our part we commend your Christian prudence. We therefore publicly admonish you, notwithstanding others may judge differently, not by any thing to be diverted from your pure and holy faith. For it is certain that the edification, amendment and unity of the churches are best promoted, when the pure doctrines of the gospel are in simplicity preached to the people, without engaging in subtle controversies, which only gender strife."*

During the reign of Maximilian, the Brethren enjoyed peace. Rudolph II. who succeeded him in 1576 as emperor of Germany and king of Bohemia, showed himself favourably inclined towards them for the remainder of the sixteenth century.† On the 29th May 1579, the Brethren's translators of the Bible published the five Books of Moses in the common tongue. A popish bishop having inspected it, exclaimed:—"Truly this is not the work of unlearned men, nor of little human ability."‡ For four years ERASMUS RUDIGER from Wittenberg had been teaching at Prerow, and had been delivering to the Brethren paraphrases, notes and doctrines on the Psalms, and at this period he was greatly applauded. In the course of this year 1579, he published a narrative of the churches of the Brethren, which is found in Camerar's work on the same subject. In 1580 the second

* Holmes, pp. 114, 115. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xxxix.

† Holmes, p. 116. ‡ Select Nar. p. 84. Regenvols ib.

part of the translation of the Bible appeared, and in 1581, Rudiger published his paraphrase of the Psalms, which, along with Ambrose Lubwosser, was given to the world in German with French metre.* John Lasitz in his history of the Brethren of Bohemia describes them in these words:—"In the year 1531, returning home from Strasburg, I stopped a little in my journey with the Brethren at Boleslaw and Prague. Their senior at that time was JOHN CALEPH, a grave and serious man, as all of them are. By diligently and correctly surveying each individual, and by making inquiry concerning all their proceedings, I conceived myself to be present in an Ephesian or Thessalonian, or some other Apostolic church, beholding with my eyes and hearing with my ears those things which we read in the Apostolic writings, in the epistles of Ignatius the martyr, and of Martial, in the apologies of Justin, and in the apologetic writing of Tertullian."†

The unanimity that followed the coalescence of the Brethren with the Calvinists and Lutherans, was interrupted at the synod of Posen in 1582, in consequence of some members being dissatisfied with the Scondmir Agreement. The leaders of the opposite parties were John Enoch, one of the Brethren's ministers, and Paul Gerike, Lutheran minister at Posen.‡ In this year the third part of the Bohemian Bible appeared.§ Though every congregation had an elementary school for common education, yet such as were pointing to the learned professions were under the necessity of attending foreign universities, in order to complete their studies. The Brethren found also, that the youths imbibed in Germany some opinions, which, if propagated, would be injurious to purity of doctrine and of morals; consequently, a synod at Boleslaw resolved, that the Brethren should establish colleges and academies of their own. This resolution, however, they could not carry into effect without the permission of government. All the protestants therefore joined in a memorial and petition for leave to have seminaries and a consistory to direct ecclesiastical affairs. The emperor refused their request, but

* Regenvols ib.

† Regenvols, pp. 68, 69.

‡ Holmes, p. 110.

§ Regenvols, about p. 67.

promised to attend to it at a more convenient season.* In 1587 the fifth, and in 1588 the sixth part of the translation of the Bible were exhibited to the public. In 1593 the sixth division, containing the New Testament, which was the work of JOHN NIEMCHAN, a senior, followed, and completed the sacred canon in the Bohemian language. Eight years afterwards the New Testament was re-published with notes by the senior ZACHARIAH ASTON. Indeed the number of editions through which the whole Bible passed, as then rendered, are proofs of the esteem in which the work was held.†

With a view to allay the religious ferment which for some time had been agitating all parties, a synod was convened at Thorn in 1595, which was more numerously attended than any preceding one, by ministers and delegates from the three denominations. Eleven commissioners were also present from the most illustrious Polish and Lithuanian princes, and from the reigning family of the house of Reuss, who adhered to the Greek Church. The friends of union, however, were sadly dissatisfied. The Lutherans would listen to no accommodation, and by degrees abandoned all connection with the other two churches. On the contrary, however, the union between the Calvinists and the Brethren was more firmly cemented, and in a few years the two bodies formed only one church in Poland.‡ Indeed, this was almost to be expected, because, on the sacraments, discipline, and church government, the Reformed and Brethren were nearer one another than either of these churches was to the Lutherans, who were admitted to the union at Sendomir in 1570.

The history of the LOLLARDS or WALDENSES in ENGLAND and SCOTLAND might be continued as a distinct chapter in this place, but it is deferred, chiefly because the details of these people are identified with the history of the Reformation in South and North Britain in the sixteenth century because the English reader has access to multitudes of books on this subject, and because the limits of this work could not admit of any outline which would be at all satisfactory.

* Holmes, pp. 115, 116. Select Nar. p. 100. † Regenvols, ib. Select Nar. p. 84. ‡ Holmes, p. 110. Select Nar. p. 97.

CHAPTER III.

Waldenses in FRANCE—Those in Frassiniere still defrauded of their goods—Favourable report of Louis XII's commissioners regarding the Waldenses, or Albigenses in Cabriere and Merindol—Their correspondence with Œcolampadius and other Reformers—Happy effects of this intercourse in promoting more stedfastness among the Waldenses—Solemn covenanting—Persecution prevented in a curious way—Two new Confessions of Faith, and Persecution partly commenced, but suspended.

IN 1498, Louis XII. mounted the throne of France. To him the Waldenses of Frassiniere, in the French dominions, applied to have their goods restored, which had been confiscated by the predecessors of Rostain, archbishop of Embrun, and which were still retained by that prelate. The king committed the affair to the chancellor and his council, who, being influenced by Rostain, refused to make any change. The king wrote also to the Pope, who appointed a confessor of Louis, the official of Orleans, and the archbishop himself, his commissioners, to make a final arrangement. These arrived at Embrun on the 4th July, 1501. Rostain, now one of the judges in his own cause, still manifested a disposition to keep what he possessed; but the confessor sent to Louis a favourable report of the Waldenses, and wished himself as good a Christian as the worst in Frassiniere. In a letter dated 12th October, 1501, the monarch ordered the effects unjustly detained to be returned, and no further prosecutions to be instituted; but in defiance of the royal mandate, Rostain kept his hold, alleging that the property belonged to his church, and promising to quit it, provided the Waldenses were absolved by the Pope. An absolution was procured from George, the pope's legate in France, but Rostain still refused obedience to the orders of Louis, because the absolution was not granted by the pope himself. The avaricious prelate still refused to deliver up the vineyards; and the lords and masters through Dauphiny, who held Waldensian property, followed his example. Thus the poor people were deprived of their just rights. Though application had been made for absolution to

the visible head of the Roman Catholic church, the rich would have had influence to prevent justice. Accordingly, at this period, there were Latin verses to this purpose written on Pope Alexander VI.

Alexander sells crosses, altars and Christ :

He bought them at first, he can sell them by right.

And again, "Temples, priests, and altars; sacred things, crowns and fire; frankincense, prayers, heaven and God himself, are to be sold."—The last expression alludes to the broaden God in the Mass.*

The genuine remains of the Waldenses and Albigenses still subsisted in *Provence*, especially at Merindol and Cabriere.† These people laid the foundation of the Reformation in France twenty years before Calvin was settled at Geneva. Du Moulin‡ remarks, that "the Reformation was in France long before it existed in Germany, ever since the errors and tyranny of the court of Rome began to be opposed by the Waldenses, whose relics, after long persecution by fire and sword, remained in the Vale of Cabriere and Merindol in Provence. From thence the Reformation was propagated, having been encouraged by the happy progress of Luther and Zuinglius."

About the year 1506, the pope, by his legate Julian, and some bishops, incessantly urged Louis XII. to clear from the face of the earth the remainders of the Waldenses or Albigenses of Languedoc and Provence. The Cardinal and Bishops to enforce their petition, urged on Louis, that these people who lived in Cabriere and Merindol did not observe the ordinances of the Church of Rome, but were sorcerers, incestuous, and heretical; that they were guilty of such wickedness as would horrify any Christian heart; and that the king would acquire great merit both in the presence of God and of the Roman chair, by expelling the heretics from his dominions. The Albigenses having secretly learned the plot that was ripening against them, sent legates to the king to defend their own innocence. The Roman Catholic dignitaries endeavoured to prevent these commissioners being per-

* Perrin, Hist. Wald. b. i. chap. v. b. ii. chap. iii.

† Boxhorn, p. 715.

‡ Vindication of Protestants. chap. i.

mitted to approach Louis, reminding him that duty forbade him to grant them liberty to vindicate themselves in his presence, and that in the canon law every one is prohibited from having any communication with heretics. To these entreaties, the king boldly replied :—" Though I were to undertake war against the Turk or the devil, I should yet be willing to hear what he had to urge for himself." The deputies were therefore admitted to the royal presence, and thus spoke :—" Sire, Your own disposition did not move you to make war on us, but you were instigated by the pope, who brought false accusations against us, because we will by no means acknowledge him to be such as he pretends, and because we do not listen to him when he endeavours to seduce us by his errors. But we believe the gospel, the word of God written in the Bible, and the apostle's creed, as your majesty and his people profess to believe. In confirmation of which, we baptise our infants, and we admit and observe the commandments of God. If we are found to believe, or to act otherwise, we by no means refuse to die; and we most humbly supplicate your majesty, before depriving us of life, diligently to inquire if we are declaring the truth." The king appointed the parliament of Provence to take cognisance of these matters, and to punish according to the demerit. The parliament was not slow in exercising its power, but his majesty having been informed that several innocent persons had been put to death, he gave orders to sist procedure till he should make more particular inquiry into the manners of these people. In order to make the necessary investigation, he commissioned Lord Adam Fumee, master of the bills of requests, and Mr Parvie, a doctor of Sarbone, a jacobin monk, and confessor to the king. These men accordingly executed their commission, and returned to Louis with their report, " that they had visited all the parishes and temples of the places mentioned; that they found neither images, nor the smallest appearance of any ornaments of the masses and ceremonies of the Church of Rome; that the people were not guilty either of sorcery or uncleanness, nor of any of the horrible crimes related of them, but lived like honest men without injuring any one; that they observed their Sabbaths with punctuality; that they caused their infants to be baptised according

to the order of the primitive church; that they taught their children the articles of the Christian faith, and of the ten commandments of God; and that the word of God was purely expounded among them." The king having listened to these statements, did he condemn his subjects by a rash judgment, or raise armies to exterminate them? By no means:—but having uttered an oath, exclaimed, "These men are better than I and the rest of my Catholic people." At the close of the affair, Louis confirmed to the Albigenes their privileges, established their immunities, and discharged the army which he had raised to destroy them.*

On the information given by Claude Scissel, archbishop of Turin, Louis XII. passed into Italy in the year 1507. As he approached the Valley in Frassiniera, which in hatred of the Waldenses is called Putain-Val, or Harlot-Vale, he believed the common report, and made a general carnage; but when he had obtained better information, he was much grieved, and as a testimony of his sorrow, he declared his wish that this Valley had been called from his own name, denominated *Louison-Val*, or *Val-Louise*.†

When people are long under persecution, they became dispirited, and we can hardly expect but they may sometimes yield too far to avoid suffering. In some instances this appears in the conduct of the Waldenses. Yet in various countries they displayed a modesty which sets their character in an advantageous light. They frequently sent deputations to the reformers, to ask counsel regarding the propriety of their compliances, and other dubious matters. When the Waldenses in France heard of not a few reformed churches in Germany and Switzerland, they, in the year 1530, appointed

* Charles Du Moulin's History of the French Monarchy, pp. 56, 57, in Leger, part i. chap. xxx. and in Gerdes's History of the Reformation, vol. i. chap. xii. Perrin's History of Waldenses b. i. chap. v. and b. ii. chap. viii. Boxhorn pp. 715, 716, who gives the same words as Moulin in the commissioner's report to the king, except that for *infantes*, he writes, by error, *homines*, men. Mr Jones in his History of the Christian church, professes to follow Perrin, whose words are "causing their children to be baptized according to the order of the Primitive church." Mr Jones writes the passage, "observing the ordinance of baptism according to the Primitive church." He alters his document and conceals the fact of the Waldenses baptising infants.

† James Cappel in Leger, part ii. p. 330.

two pastors or barbes, namely, GEORGE MAUREL, of Frassin-
iere in Dauphiny, and PETER MASSON, or LATOM, of Bur-
gundy, or Bourgoyne, to confer regarding doctrine, with John
Æcolampadius, at Basil; with Berthold Haller, at Bern; with
Bucer and Capito at Strasburg; with George Farrell at Como;
and with the brethren of Murat and Neufchatel.* The zeal of
the Vaudois will appear further, when we consider that in
travelling through France, the deputies were in danger of
being arrested and burnt as Lutherans.

The deputies having proceeded to Basle, they saluted ÆCO-
LAMPADIUS, and delivered to him an address, which, if not
remarkable for classical elegance and rhetoric, displayed some-
thing much more excellent in perspicuity, simple piety, and an
anxiety to be better instructed by the reformers, whom they
considered as more enlightened than themselves. This letter
declares that they have subsisted for many centuries, that they
are careful to train their students of divinity to piety and
learning the Scriptures, that ministers are ordained by the
laying on of hands and preaching, that two and two are sent
together to preach, who are commonly batchelors, that ali-
ment and clothes are given them by their people, and that they
are often obliged to labour with their hands. The epistle de-
clares also their private attention to religion, the annual meet-
ing of their synod of presbyters and majores, the heads of their
doctrine, their viewing the sacrament as only signs of spiritual
good things, their belief of no intercessor but Christ, and their
denial of purgatory. They enforce love, deny set-feasts and
masses. They practise confession, when consolation or ad-
vice was needed. They attend to the temporal and spiritual
wants of the poor. They urge their people to settle differen-
ces among themselves, and not to go before popish magis-
trates. Their people are sometimes forced to receive the
Anti-Christian sacrament. They prohibit their people from
swearing, dancing, lascivious songs and improper gaudiness of
clothing. Their members extend over an extent of eight
hundred miles, and have seldom been subjected to civil pun-
ishments.

* Leger, part i. chap xxxii. inserts also the names of Luther and Melan-
thon.

In this letter they ask advice also regarding some things in which they are in doubt. They do not distinguish bishops and presbyters, but are willing to be instructed. They wish instruction regarding the lawfulness of magistrates inflicting death on offenders; also respecting the authority of human laws. Likewise, if it be lawful for the Waldenses themselves to punish traitors, who for gain deliver up their brethren to the members of antichrist in the night; if it be allowable for the Waldenses to take by stealth the goods of which they have been robbed; if a man's inheritance belong to his wife when he dies without a testament; if the law on this point be still binding; if usury and every kind of swearing are prohibited; if we ought to make a distinction between mortal and venial sin; if we may weep for the dead; if all children dying in infancy are saved; if women may make vows of virginity; and if marriage may take place in all degrees except those mentioned, Levit. xviii. They wish instruction regarding free-will and predestination, the obligation of ceremonial and judicial laws, the allegorical sense of scripture, and the canonical books of the Bible. They conclude by wishing circumstances were such as they could unite with the Reformers into one body.

On the 13th of October, Œcolampadius wrote an excellent answer, admiring the grace of God towards the Waldenses, in granting them an extensive knowledge of the truth, and enabling them to confess it, but deprecating the practice of occasional visits to the antichristian masses, which are viewed as a sacrifice for sin, and thus the satisfaction of Christ is blasphemed as incomplete. Much better suffer the most awful deaths than thus deny Christ, and by saying Amen, become one body with the wicked, and be dissemblers. He appeals to the Confession presented to Ladislaus king of Hungary, and shows the agreement of Waldenses and Reformers in the leading doctrines and the sacraments. He shows the lawfulness of magistracy, of swearing on proper occasions, of punishing evil doers, and of defensive war. He thinks the ceremonial law abolished, and the judicial binding, so far as it is applicable. He advises that ministers if possible keep to reading and study, as we cannot expect miraculous instruction, and that they be allowed to marry. He discourages vows of sin-

gle life, and the popish distinctions among clergy, yet thinks there may be visitors. He gives a list of the inspired Scriptures, but views the Apocrypha as only human. He prescribes no rules regarding the mode of teaching, provided the analogy of faith is observed, and urges caution in the use of allegories. Free-will, opposite to the grace of Christ, he discards, yet when we sin voluntarily the guilt is ours. He believes predestination, adores the divine sovereignty, and directs to use the means of salvation prescribed in the word, but does not choose to enter further on the controversy between Erasmus and Luther. He urges perseverance, and concludes by asking an interest in the prayers of the Waldenses.

The Waldensian legates proceeded to visit the other reformers, and on the 17th of October, Œcolampadius wrote regarding the strangers to BUCER at Strasburg: "These Waldenses, who are very pious men, will pay you a visit to hear also your advice regarding some things. They will show you what I have answered to them. Do not waste time in many conversations with them. Read what I have written: and either give them things more approved, or approve by some short commendation: that thus having been dismissed by thee in peace they may begin to correct their own writings. You will treat them according to your kindness. If your engagements do not leave you leisure for what I now ask, you will lay this business on CAPITO."*

Martin Bucer wrote the Waldenses a short epistle: "Blessed be the Lord God our loving Father, who has preserved you to this present time in so great knowledge of the truth, and who has now excited you to search after it, having made you capable and fit to do so. Now the nature of true faith is this; that as soon as it discovers in part any glimpse of the divine light, it carefully preserves what God has already given. We have St Paul for an example, who through all his epistles shows his care to promote the glory of God. And doubtless, if with a good heart we pray that the name of God may be hallowed and his kingdom come, we shall prosecute nothing with so much diligence as the establishment of the truth

* Daniel Gerde's Hist. Ref. Tom. ii. pp. 402—418. where the letters are inserted at large. Perrin and Jones give only part of the correspondence.

where it is not, and the advancement of it where it is already planted. One thing especially grieves us that our employments regarding other affairs are so many, that we have not leisure to answer you so fully as we desire.”*

The deputation proceeded also to consult FARELL at Como. When the two individuals were endeavouring to return to their own country, they were in various ways miserably harassed by the papists, who infested their journies. Ruchat affirms that both Peter Latom or Masson, and George Maurell got home in safety, but Scultetus says this was attained only by Maurell. Perrin† also relates that Peter Masson was apprehended at Dijon, and condemned to death as a Lutheran, but this might be at some future time. All writers admit, however, that George Maurell returned to Merindol with the papers and letters which he had brought from the reformers. He publicly expounded all the articles of his legation, and declared into how many and how great errors they had been cast by their old ministers. On hearing these things, the people were moved with great concern for rectifying the church, and accordingly sent to Apulia and Calabria for such of their associates as were most dignified by birth, and had the greatest experience in devising plans, to consult with them on reformation. When the president of the province, the bishops, priests, and monks heard of these proceedings, they did not fail by every species of torments to vex and afflict the Waldenses.

In consequence of this consultation, the Waldenses invited some foreign ministers to meet with them in a synod to be appointed in the Valley of Angrogna, with a view to attain uniformity in religion. To this synod, G. Farrel and Anthony Seluer, among others, were asked. They attended the meeting, and afterwards returned to Geneva‡ This synod drew up an admirable Confession of Faith, which was solemnly sworn 12th September 1532, by those of Merindol and of Piedmont, and which we shall insert in the Appendix.§ This

* Perrin, b. i. chap. vi.

† Ib. b. ii. chap. viii.

‡ Gerdes, ib. Denina, the historian of Western Italy, gives an account of certain Vaudois corresponding with Ecolampadius at this period. See Jackson's Remarks, p. 213.

§ See Appendix, No. iii.

confession declares the necessity of serving God with the heart; the eternal election of God's people; predestination and grace as inconsistent with free-will; the nature of good works; the lawfulness of swearing; the confession of sin to God, and what sins are to be confessed to the church and to our brother; the duty of resting on the Lord's day; the evil of private revenge, yet the lawfulness of magistracy; the want of scriptural authority for certain stated fasts; the evil of prohibiting marriage; the injury of changing ministers, except in particular cases; the propriety of ministers being able to support their families; and the sacraments are only two, baptism and the Lord's Supper; the latter of which shows perseverance in the profession, made at the baptism of children, and minds us of redemption by Christ's blood.*

At this period, a revival of religion appeared both in France and the Valleys. In 1536, Francis I. of France conquered Piedmont, and retained it for twenty-three years, and during that period, we relate the history of the Waldenses of the Valleys, along with those of France. Francis, under the influence of Pope Paul III. induced the parliament of Turin to burn many Vaudois of the Valleys. He was deaf to their humble petitions, and ordered them to live according to the laws of the Roman church, adding, that he "did not burn the Lutherans in all parts of France, to suffer a reserve of heretics in the Alps." The parliament commanded them on pain of death to send away their ministers, and to receive in their stead priests to sing masses. The Waldenses replied, that they could by no means observe commands contrary to the laws of God, whom they must obey in divine service, rather than follow the fancies of men, and that they would render to Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's.† About 1539, or perhaps a year or two later, Celio Secundo Curio, native of Turin, a refugee from Piedmont, retired to Ferrard, and imbued the mind of Professor Morata with the knowledge of evangelical truth, and a deep sense of religion. Esteemed as Morata was for learning and integrity, he became still more celebrated as the father of

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv. Morland, pp. 39—41. Leger, part i. pp. 95, 96.

† Morland, pp. 223, 224. Leger, part ii. pp. 27, 28. Boyer, chap. vi. pp. 45—47. chap. vii. pp. 47, 48.

Olympia Morata, one of the most learned females of the age, whom he educated with a zeal prompted by parental fondness and professional enthusiasm. Olympia was chosen by the Dutchess of Ferrara, to be a companion to one of her daughters, and then learned that acquaintance with the gospel, which afterwards supported her mind when called to suffer hardships for the cause of Christ. Curio was afterwards closely connected with the progress of the reformation in Italy, but his history does not lie in my way.*

Some doubt whether the history of the transactions in France, with the remains of the ancient Waldenses in the year 1540, render that year famous or infamous.† The progress of the reformation tended to encourage and collect the scattered Waldenses, especially among the Alps and the neighbouring provinces of France. When those of Merindol and Cabriere had taken courage, and had obtained instructions from Germany, they became more public in their profession. At the instance of the king's procurator, they were summoned to appear before the parliament of Aix in twenty-seven days, but having declined to appear, they were by the parliament under President Bartholomew Cassan, on the 19th of November, condemned as contumacious, by a sentence, most horrid and atrocious. The fathers of families are to be consigned to the flames. Their wives, children, and goods, are given over in bond to the king's revenue. And because Merindol had afforded a refuge to former sufferers, the edict enjoins that all the houses be overturned from the foundation; that the caves, caverns, and subterraneous vaults in which the people may be able to conceal themselves, be destroyed or stopped; that the woods be cut round, and the trees of the very gardens be eradicated; and that the possessions of those who dwelt at Merindol be left for cultivation to no man, either of the same kindred or the same name as the former occupants. The execution of this barbarous decree was committed to the ordinary judges at Aix, Tours, Maximin and Apte. The greater number of people were of the mind that this decree ought to be suspended, because they expected that if such a severe sentence

* M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy.

† Gerdes, tom. iv. § xlii.

against the contumacious should be usually executed, the custom would pass into a law. On the other hand, others judged that the execution of the sentence ought to be accelerated from hatred of the people's crime, and fear that delay would cause the contagion to extend. The bishops of Aix and Arles especially, urged Cassan to attack the Waldenses with an armed band, and ultroneously promised in their own name, and in name of the other ecclesiastics, abundance of money to defray the expenses of the war. After much altercation on both sides, the matter was delayed in a curious manner. At the city Aix, was Nicolas Alienis, an upright nobleman from Arles, of considerable learning, and an intimate friend of Cassan, who, with difficulty, endured the iniquitous sentence, and with all his might, pled for delay. Having been admitted to a private conversation with Cassan, he accosted the wavering president in this manner: "The reports which are every where circulated with respect to the sentence lately published against the Merindolans, thou knowest, nor is it my disposition or province to make remarks concerning them, because I know how much the interest of a well constituted republic consists in its authority being founded on decisions which are not rashly to be called in question. But the importance of the affair having been considered, we may ask whether the execution ought to be deferred, and a delay interposed to mitigate the grievousness of the judgment? For which thing, since various momentous reasons may be adduced, I have determined, on account of the familiarity and genuine friendship that cements us, to treat with you familiarly, and with your own arguments. Thou rememberest, when long ago you sat on the lower benches at Autun, among those of Burgundy, you thought on the cause of the mice. On that you have written in books which you have published,* and I wish you would willingly recal the remembrance of these times, which show the modesty and candour of your mind. You thus relate the matter: 'When in the prefecture of the Autun, swarms of mice did every where great damage to the corroded crops, the people could by no means find another

* Cassan published a book here referred to. The title is, "A Catalogue of the Glory of the World."

remedy for the calamity which had just happened, than for the bishop and his vicar to condemn the direful mice. The affair having been communicated to the bishop's vicar, he thought they ought to be summoned to the court by three men as criers in the courts. Which thing having been done, he was unwilling that judgment be given in a sentence of the council, unless a patron be first granted for the mice to plead cause for the absent.' Therefore you undertook the patronage of the mice, and in that cause from the character you sustained, you persuaded the judges by many reasons, that the mice were not regularly and orderly summoned to the court, and obtained that the criers should anew declare to them the day in each of their habitations, that by this judgment, provision would be made for the safety of the mice. This having been obtained, you demonstrated that the judgment be still adjourned, because the mice had not sufficient time to appear, for which it seems that snares were placed by the cats through all the villages. From the sacred books, you drew many things tending to defend the mice, and you at last procured from the judges a delay to a future day. On this account you acquired great praise for equity and experience of the law. Now, I appeal to your own book and to your own arguments. The ears and minds of men have never become acquainted with any details such as these, that you who reckoned that regularity of judgment be preserved in the cause of the mice, think to pervert order in pleading for the life, the safety, and the fortunes of men. Beware therefore lest you fall into the fault of weak fencing-masters, or gladiators, who, in fighting with those who have not learned the art of fencing, observe the gladiatory precepts, and often become victors. But when, with drawn swords, they contend with an enemy, they being incensed by rage or perturbation, forget the art, and for the most part allow themselves to be stabbed. What you preserved in sportive judgment, when a youth in private life, will you not preserve in so serious a matter at that age and dignity, in which you have raised a universal opinion of your greatness? Are the lives of miserable men of so little value in your estimation, that they may experience a harder lot than the mice did long ago when you were their patron? I shall not speak of the men's innocence, for you yourself know how many things are calum-

niously affixed to them, who are diligent worshippers of God, and who always cheerfully perform to masters their right, and to prince and magistrates tribute and obedience. Wherefore, on account of that intimate friendship which subsists between us, I repeatedly urge you maturely to consider these reasons, and to persuade yourself that delay is never long, when the safety, the goods, and lives of men are concerned." By this speech, Allens prevailed with Cassan to put off the affair, and to dismiss the great multitude of assembled forces till the king's pleasure should be asked. When Francis, by means of William Bellay, of Langeai, governor of the subalpine province of Piedmont, became acquainted with the act of parliament, he laid on Bellay the business of taking cognizance of the cause, and having made the necessary inquiries, to report the matter to the king himself.

After the requisite investigation, Bellay found, that they who are called Waldenses, are men, who about 300 years hence received from the proprietors for tribute, a rough and uncultivated soil, which they have by great labour, and assiduous cultivation, rendered fertile in grain, and fit for pasturing cattle; that they are most patient under labour and hunger; that they are averse from contentions, and kind towards the needy; that they diligently and faithfully pay tribute to the prince, and do duty to their masters; that with continued prayer, and a blameless behaviour, they profess the worship of God; that they seldom go to the temples of the saints, except occasionally for the sake of trade or merchandise, they take lodgings in the towns nearest their own boundaries; that if they sometimes enter the temples, they do not turn to the statues of God or of the saints; that they do not place wax or any gifts on the statues; that neither do these people ask the priests to perform divine service for themselves, or for the souls of their departed friends; that they do not, like other people, mark the forehead with the cross; that when the thunder is rolling in the heavens, they do not sprinkle themselves with holy-water, but lift their eyes to heaven to implore the help of God; that therefore when we journey abroad, religion does not require us on the roads to uncover the head before the figures of the cross; that they celebrate sacred things in another form, and in the popular tongue;

and finally, that they do not honour the pope nor the bishops, but have some certain individuals chosen out of their own number for chief men and teachers.

When on the 8th of February 1541, these things were related to Francis, he sent an edict to the parliament of Aix, in which he forgave their crimes, and granted the Waldenses three months, within which time they are bound publicly to revoke their sentiments. That they may be known who wish a benefit, he conferred on the parliament power to bring to Aix, delegates out of the towns and villages, in the name of the rest of the multitude, publicly to refuse the errors. If the people persist in their sentiments, then, after the manner of the king's ancestors, punishment be inflicted on them, and the parliament, if necessary, shall implore the help of the military prefects. The edict having been recited in the parliament, Francis Chai and William Ormand came to Aix, in name of the people of Merindol, presented a petition, regulating the parliament anew to cognosce the cause, and to call the divines, that the matter may be brought to a disputation, because it is unjust, that before conviction, they confess themselves heretics, or be condemned unheard. Cassan, whose mind was still deeply impressed with the admonitions of his friend, took aside the Waldensian deputies, and with the aid of the king's attornies, admonished them to acknowledge their error, and not by too great contumacy, to impose on the judges the necessity of deciding more severely than they themselves would wish. When, however, they demanded from Cassan, that cognizance be taken of their errors, he at last obtained from them an agreement to make an exhibition of the heads of their doctrine to the parliament, which should be careful to convey these to the king. The Cabrierians in the country of Venaisin were at the same time attacked in war by those of Avignon. The Waldenses, in common danger, wrote a common profession of religion,* agreeing, for the most part, with the doctrine of Luther. From the parliament, it was sent to Francis, who delivered it to be examined by Castillan, from whom it was transmitted to James Sadolet, the cardinal bishop of Carpentras, a city of Provence.†

* A copy of this Confession of Faith is inserted in the Appendix, No. iv.

† Du Thou Hist. Sui Temporis, Lib. vi. coll. 119—121. Francf. ed. 1610.

This threatened persecution was reported to the orders of protestants at Ratisbon in Germany, who, on the third of May 1541, wrote letters to the King of France. The Germans intercede for those who are suffering in France, for their religion, in chains, in exile, and in dens and caves of the earth; who suffer for pious doctrine, are falsely charged with other crimes, and called seditious. The Germans state they had seen the Confession of the people, and the evidence of their innocence, which were laid before the parliament of Grenoble or Aquitain, and they reckoned they had the greater call, and the greater freedom to petition in behalf of the Waldenses, considering their doctrine as pious, and as expressing the pure sentiment of the Catholic Church of Christ. Melancthon was the writer of the petition and letters. This document is noticed by Sleidan near the close of the thirteenth book, who states that the occasion of it was a sentence in the foregoing year, pronounced by the parliament of Aix, against the inhabitants of Merindol, a village of Provence.*

Voltaire† relates that “the Waldenses, terrified at the sentence, sent a deputation to Cardinal Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, who was at that time in his diocese. This illustrious scholar, this true philosopher, this humane and compassionate prelate, received them with great goodness, and interceded on their behalf.” Du Thou says, “James Sadolet, who, as he was of a pious and gentle disposition, kindly received the supplicants, and the things which, besides these heads of doctrine contained in the book, are spread abroad concerning them, are forged according to envy, and are mere lies: for that certainly appears to him by the inquiries he had made: but that in the little book presented, many things appear, part of which in one sentence can be changed to the better, and part of the things keenly said against the pope and priests can be mitigated in a more temperate style; that he nevertheless wished them well; that the sentiment of his mind is that they be by no means hostilely dealt with; and that as soon as possible he will come to Cabriere to their Temples, and will

* Lib. iii. ep. 2. fol. 488, 489, in Gerdes ib. Documents, No. xvi.

† Univ. Hist. ch. cxvi. in Jones, vol. ii, pp, 47, 48.

there more fully make inquiry concerning the whole affair. Besides these sentiments, he displayed a well inclined and downright disposition towards them, stopped the Lieutenant of Avignon who was approaching with an armed force, and admonished him to fall back.”* Henry Pentaleon, in his Martyrology, relates that Sadolet, the consuls and bishops having approached the king, the Waldensian Confession was “publicly read in the presence of his Majesty, by the Lord Anagnoston; and his said Majesty who had attentively listened, exclaimed,—‘Eh, how now! What evil is in this? What do you find amiss in that Confession regarding which such a noise has been made?’ Of all those who were present, not so much as one had courage to make the smallest opposition.”†

The Confession of the Merindolans having been exhibited, the parliament of Aix decreed that John Durant, the bishop of Cavaillon in Provence, and some other doctors proceed to Merindol, who charge the poor innocent peasants, and bestow pardon and impunity on such as reject the error. If they refuse to recant, the matter is referred to the parliament. Although the people resolved to act contrary to the mind of their prosecutors, yet while Cassan survived, force and injury were avoided, because the king had recalled to himself the examination of the whole affair.‡ The people enjoyed peace for a few years.

While Francis I. of France held possession of Piedmont, he kept parliaments at Turin as well as in his French dominions, and the Waldenses. In the year 1544, the Waldenses of Piedmont, Dauphiny, and Provence, united in presenting to the king, in writing, ‘another Confession of Faith,’ with the design of clearing their innocence and stating their heads of doctrine. A copy is inserted in the Appendix No. V. The king was then engaged in war; and the matter rested for the present.§ The divines of Paris in a violent manner urged Francis respecting the persecution of the heretics, and the King having entered into an agreement of peace with the

* Du Thou. ib. coll. 121, 122.

† Henry Pantaleon's Martyrology b. v. fol. 130, in Leger, pt. i. p. 107.

‡ Du Thou, ib. p. 121. A. § Sleidan, b. xvi. pp. 347, 348.

Emperor, engaged that with conjoined forces he will paronize what he reckons the ancient religion, and extirpate the heretics. Consequently the parliamentary decree of 19th November 1540, was now to be executed against the Waldenses.*

CHAPTER IV.

By authority of the parliament of Aix, John Miner Oppeda dreadfully butchers the Waldenses in Pertuis, Merindol, Mus, Cabrieres, Coste, and twenty-two villages—He obtains a sanction from Francis I. of France—On inquiry by the parliament of Paris under Henry II. great injustice is discovered, but only Guerin suffers capital punishment—Parliament of Turin at this time under France, burns BARTHOLOMEW HECTOR, and prohibits the Waldensian Assemblies in the Valleys—Waldenses present a Confession to the Parliament—Several Martyrs in the Valleys—The Valleys, but not Saluzzo, restored to Philibert Duke of Savoy, whose successor Charles invades Saluzzo, and the King of France seizes the Valleys—Analysis of the agreement of Henry IV. of France granting religious liberty to the Waldenses of the Valleys—The King grants the Edict of Nantes in behalf of all the Reformers and Waldenses in France—At a general peace those Valleys usually under Savoy, with Saluzzo, are restored to the Duke—Description by Du Thou, of the Waldenses, and of the Valleys under France.

CASSAN having been carried off by a sudden death, John Miner Oppeda, a most troublesome and violent man, succeeded him, and on account of certain injuries received from the people of Cabrieres, in whose vicinity he held farms, he renewed his enmity against the Waldenses. For when he arrogated to himself the government of Provence, through the absence of Louis of Emar, Count of Grignan, who had been sent by the king to the diet at Worms, he informed Francis, by letters, that the Waldenses had collected about sixteen thousand men, were forming a design to occupy Marseilles, and were attempting new disturbances in Provence.† He deputed, as commissioners, the president, Francis de la Fon, Honoré de Tributis, Bernard Badet, counsellor, and the advocate Guerin, in absence of the procurator-general.‡ He

* Gerdes vol. iv. p. 157.

† Du Thou, Lib. vi. p. 121, A.

‡ Perrin, part i. b. ii. chap. viii. p. 115.

sent to the king also Philip Curtin, summoner of the Court, to demand, in name of the king's attorney, that the judgment against the contumacious people should be put in execution. The king being exasperated by this intelligence, the cardinal of Tournon, a relation of Grignan, and a most violent enemy of the dissenters from Rome, instigated his hatred. In the month of January 1545, the king wrote to the parliament, letters, in which he permitted the Merindolans, and the rest of the Waldenses, to be treated according to the laws. And when the orders of the empire, in letters sent from Ratisbon, and the cantons of the Swiss protestants, urged, that not only the punishment, but also the condition of acknowledging error should be remitted, and stated, that by that favour, violation of constancy and of conscience are removed, he constantly refused. And when afterwards he was entreated by the foreigners to have mercy on the refugees, he obstinately replied, that they ought not to be more solicitous what he did in his own territories, or in what way he animadverted on the guilty, more than he himself is concerning their affairs. Miner therefore for some time suppressed the letters he received, waiting for an occasion of carrying the matter into execution. For in the meantime, levies of men were every where made under the pretext of an English war, nor did he wish the secret to be published, that he might the more easily oppress the Waldenses when unprepared.* He proclaimed the war by sound of trumpet, both at Aix and Marseilles.† When all things were ready, he enjoined under a grievous punishment, all who were able to bear arms at Aix, Arles, Marseilles, and other populous places, to join the army. And now six regiments of foot, with a wing of cavalry, commanded by Polin, auxiliary forces from Piemont and Avignon, then under the popes, had assembled. The king's letters hitherto suppressed, are recited in the parliament, which having been read, the senators on the 12th of April, pronounced, that the sentence given against the people of Merindol be executed: and the affair is committed to the president, Francis de la Fon, and

* Du Thou, Lib. vi. p. 121, A, B. Compare Gerdes, vol. iv. § li.

† Perrin, part i. b. ii chap. viii. p. 115, 116.

to the counsellors Honoré de Tributiis and Bernard Badet; N. Guerin the king's advocate, the principal incendiary of the war, being joined to them.* To these, Miner professed himself assistant.† Next day, Oppeda himself, attended by a great band of gentlemen, had four hundred pioneers under his command. The first attack was made in the country adjacent to the town of Pertuis. The villages of Pepin, la Mothe, and St Martini, on the Durance, were taken, plundered, and burnt.‡ This destruction of these three villages of Cabrieres, belonging to Lord Sental, then under age, happened on the 16th of April. The poor labourers, without resistance, were slain, women and their daughters were abused, and pregnant females were murdered without mercy. Mothers breasts were cut off, and they and their infants left to perish, as every one was prohibited under pain of death from granting any one of them relief or provision. None were saved, except such as were reserved for the galleys. On the 17th, Oppeda commanded the old bands of Piemont to approach, and the day following, he burnt the villages of Lormarin, Ville-Laure, and Trezemines. At the same time, on the other side of the Durance, Le Bieus de la Roque was taken. Others of the town of Arles burnt Gensson, and La Roque.§ The multitude fled from these places which were cruelly burnt, after all the cattle had been driven away. Oppeda immediately consulted concerning an attack on Merindol; but when the peasants beheld all things around burning, they, in order to avoid the danger, fled into the neighbouring woods with their wives and children, displaying a most lamentable spectacle; since every where in the by-paths, old men walked in company with boys, and women were seen carrying weeping infants in cradles, between their arms, and, finally, in their bosoms.

The shelter of the first night was at the village of Saufalaise, in which place the inhabitants were preparing for flight, because they knew that the bishop of Cavillon, the pope's legate, had commanded his men to murder them. Next, they proceeded farther, being safe by the density of the woods, being exposed in every other quarter; because Oppeda had inter-

* Du Thou, *ib.* B.

† Du Thou, *ib.*

‡ Gerdes, *ib.*

§ Perrin, *ib.* p. 116.

dicted fire and water to the Waldenses, and had made it a capital crime for any one to assist them in any respect, but, on the contrary, in whatever place found, they should all be butchered without distinction of sex or age. They had now arrived at the appointed place of shelter, by a journey attended with uncommon difficulties, which the women, in the most delicate conditions, and carrying children, could hardly endure:—Many having left their habitations, who had sought safety in flight, had now also come together in the same place, when they learned a little before night, that Miner was approaching with all his forces. At this juncture, they were obliged instantly to form a resolution, and leaving in that place their wives, and the rest of the feeble multitude, whom they supposed the enemy would spare, they commenced their march. At this interesting moment, groanings assailed the ear, and all quarters resounded with lamentations, and the screeching of the weaker sex. While the woods and mountains repeated the re-echoed voice, tumult and perturbation dreadfully prevailed. They had travelled the whole night. They at last passed Mount Leberon, having every where beheld the villages burning, and the farms deserted, and bent their course to the town of Mus. Here Oppeda divided his forces into two parts, and sent a party to pursue such as fled; for by spies he had learned their rout, and a party he led with him to Merindol. At that moment, one of the followers of Oppeda, touched with compassion, ran before, and from the highest point of the rock, at which he supposed the Merindolans had stopped, cast down two stones, and in the interval between them, called out, in a pitiful voice, to escape the danger by flight. Without delay, some persons also proceeded from Mus, who urged the guides and the pastor left with the unarmed multitude, to flee, showing them a by-path among the briars. Not long after, the followers of Oppeda presented themselves, and breathing slaughter, they, with drawn swords, threatened the murder of them all, being about to assail the women, in a manner still more degrading. All which deeds they would have perpetrated, unless they had been prohibited by a captain, who threatened death, unless they should desist. Having robbed them, therefore, and driven away their cattle, they departed. Oppeda entered

Merindol, which was now destitute of inhabitants.* He found there only a young lad, named Morisi Blanc, a great simpleton, who yielded himself prisoner to a soldier, with promise of two crowns for his ransom. Oppeda finding no other person on whom to satisfy his rage, paid the two crowns to the soldier, commanded him to be bound to a tree, and caused him to be shot. He afterwards ordered this town to be pillaged, sacked, and laid level with the ground. In this place, there were about two hundred houses, which were razed to the foundation.

The town of *Cabrières* remained surrounded with walls, which were beaten with the cannon. In this place were left about sixty men and thirty women, who, being sick, called to their besiegers not to spend so much labour and ammunition to batter the walls, because, on condition of a free passage, they were ready to open the gates, to leave the country for Geneva or Germany, with their wives and children, and to leave their goods to the captors. The lord of *Cabrières* treated for them, that without force or violence, their cause might be determined by justice.† This lord of the place agreed with Polon, that their lives should be spared; but when the soldiery were admitted, they were all captured. Even those who lay concealed in the cellar of the castle, or who, from the sacredness of the church, believed themselves safe, having been dragged out, and led to an adjacent meadow, without any respect to age or solemn promises, were all butchered. Within and without the town, the slain amounted to upwards of eight hundred. Oppeda being in the town, commanded the men to be brought into the field, and to be cut in pieces with swords. The brave executioners rivalled each other to show the best specimens of valour, in cutting off heads, arms, and limbs. Forty women he caused to be locked into a barn full of straw, and the building fired. Many were far advanced in pregnancy. Having pulled off their clothes, they endeavoured to extinguish the rising flame, but were unable. They ran to the greater window by which the hay is wont to be thrown into the loft, that they might cast themselves down. A soldier, being moved with compassion, made an overture to them,

* Du Thou, ib. p. 121, 122.

† Perrin, ib. p. 117.

but having been by the others beaten back into the fire with pipes, spears, and halberds, the whole were consumed in the flames. These cruelties at Cabrieres were committed on the twentieth of April.*

After these transactions, Miner ordered part of his forces to go to besiege the town of Coste. While these are just entering on their march, the rest of the men who, as we said, fled to the wine cellar of the castle, are found hidden in caves. Therefore a noise is raised as if concealed ambushments were used. The soldiers are recalled, the men are conducted into the hall of the castle, where they are horribly massacred in one universal slaughter in the presence of Oppeda. The women and children found in the temple, were exposed to the chief bands and ruffians of Avignon. The number of the slain in the town, and in the fields, amounted to upwards of eight hundred.† “The infants,” says Gerdes, “who survived that fury, were mostly re-baptised by the enemy.”

Matters having been finished at Cabrieres, the forces are sent to Coste. The lord of that town had previously treated with the citizens, that they should carry their arms into the castle, and cut the wall in four different places, promising, that if they should do so, he would, from his influence with Miner, easily persuade him to abstain from injury. This lord of Coste, a kinsman of Miner, had also gone to him at Cabrieres, entreating him to send him some warriors, offering to bring all his soldiers into Aix, and to make as many breaches in the wall as he pleased. The proposals of the lord of La Coste were agreed to by Oppeda, but not observed. Four ensigns of foot were sent to La Coste, the walls of which had been already cut in four places by the credulous people. At the first attack, the soldiers did no execution. Next morning, they laid siege with greater fury, and having burnt all the suburban buildings, they take with an easy hand the passes themselves of the town, because during the preceding night, many had deserted the station, and descended by ropes over the walls. After a public slaughter of all the men found in the place, the town plundered, and partly burnt; the victors

* Perrin, ib. Gerdes, ib. Du Thou, ib.

† Ibid.

retired into a garden in the neighbourhood of the castle, and promiscuously ravished the women and girls, who, with trembling, had fled to that retreat. When they had detained them shut up a day and a night, they treated them with such inhumanity, that those who were with child, and girls of more tender age, died of grief, of hunger, or of torments. The men who had betaken themselves to Mus, being at last detected, were subjected to the same lot with the rest. The remainder of those of Merindol and other places, being mostly deprived of their wives and children, were reduced to great extremities, and wandered among the mountains, woods and rocks. They were hunted and persecuted by Oppeda and his followers. They entreated him to permit them to leave their property, and retire to Geneva, with such of their wives and children as were alive. He replied, that he would send them, their wives and children, to live in hell with all the devils, and that in such a manner as to extirpate every memorial of them from the face of the earth. Such of them as were not put to death, were either sent to the galleys, or perished with hunger. Not far from the town of Mus, twenty-five men having entered into a cave, lay hid under a rock. They were betrayed, and either perished with smoke, or were burnt to death. Thus no species of cruelty was omitted. Some few, however, who had escaped the butchery, arrived at Geneva, in the Swiss cantons, and neighbouring places.* In all, twenty-two villages are numbered, on which the highest punishment was taken by Oppeda. Persons were solicited by his orders from among the judges, who should make inquiry concerning heretics; these condemned to the galleys a part of those that remained, and they fined a part in a heavy sum. Some indeed were absolved, among these were the tenants of Cental, who, in a solemn manner, publicly abjured their error.

These things having been finished, Oppeda, and the select judges being struck in their conscience, when they deservedly feared, that from that cause, they would be afterwards in danger of capital punishment, delegate the president of La Fons to the king, grievously to load with atrocious crimes, those

* Perrin, *ib.* Gerdes, *ib.* Du Thou, *ib.*

who had been partly slain, and partly tormented; and declare, that, considering the guilt of thus acting, they were very gently treated. By the suggestion of Tournon, as is believed, he obtained from the king an instrument, dated on the 17th of August, in which Francis seemed to approve of the punishment inflicted on the guilty.* In the violent and bloody scenes on the mountains that verge towards Provence and Languedoc, the soldiers murdered upwards of four thousand unresisting individuals. Leger describes these proceedings as “the massacre of the Albigenes of Merindol in 1545,” thus indicating, that the Albigenes had not then become extinct.† Boxhorn also calls them Albigenes.‡

The Germans were much offended, and the Swiss reformers interceded with the French monarch to exercise mercy towards those who had fled. But he replied, that he had reason to justify his conduct, and they ought not to be solicitous regarding his proceedings in his own confines, or his animadversions on the guilty, any more than he is anxious concerning their affairs.§

King Francis, however, being informed of those cruelties that were executed in pursuit of the above arrest, was wounded in his conscience, and grieved because it had all passed under his authority; because he had been induced in September to issue a declaration which appeared to approve of the proceedings; and because he had not power to inflict punishment on the offenders before his death. || To such a degree did this conviction rise, that most writers have related that among the last commands which on his death-bed he gave to his son Henry, he enjoined him to order an inquiry to be made concerning the injuries in that cause inflicted by the parliament of Aix on the people of Provence, Languedoc, and Dauphiny. Even before his death he had commanded John Romanus, a monk, to be apprehended, and had enjoined the parliament of Aix to punish him. The reason was, when he was making inquiry concerning heretics, he had discovered a new kind of torment:—namely, such as were subjected to

* Du Thou, *ib.* † Leger, part i. p. 157. Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* p. 530. ‡ P. 711.
§ Gerdes, *ib.* p. 161. || Du Thou, and Perrin.

the torture were commanded to put on boots full of boiling tallow, at whom he laughed while he looked on them; and adding spurs, he asked whether or not they were elegantly furnished for a march? But having been informed of the decree of the parliament, he fled to Avignon; where, as he thought himself secure from men, he did not fly from the Divine vengeance, being, by his domestics, deprived of all his possessions, and reduced to extreme poverty, with a body bursting out with the most abominable ulcers; he often wished for death, which only after a long period and the most horrible torments heard his petition.*

The demise of Cardinal James Sadolet, and of Francis I. happened in 1547. The cardinal of Tonrnon, and the count of Grignan, who had long enjoyed the royal favour, were most grievously detested by the courtiers of the new king Henry II. The Merindolans, and other Waldenses, who knew that these men had fallen under the king's displeasure, collected their surviving numbers, entered a complaint regarding the injustice and cruelty of the parliament of Aix, and, owing to the general hatred of these men, they easily obtained a new consideration of the cause. The Duke of Guise was their chief encourager, who obtained the countship of Grignan, by a title of gift or purchase from Louis Des Emar, that he might exempt Louis from danger. For although, as above detailed, all the proceedings had been transacted during his absence, yet because they were carried on by Oppeda, as his legate, and by his injunction, he himself was also partly responsible. The matter was first agitated in what is called the Great Council. Afterwards, when Oppeda, De La Fons, De Tributis, Badet and Guerin, were cited to answer cause, they defended themselves against the accusers by the exception of the matter being already judged, since the king's advocate had not appealed from the decisions.† At last, by a new edict on the 17th of March, 1549, the king took the matter into his own hand.‡ Since the question regarded the authority of the parliament of Aix, Henry committed the cognizance of the cause, and of the appeals to the chamber of the grand parliament of Paris, where the cause

• Perrin, *ib.*† Du Thou, *ib.*

‡ Du Thou, and Perrin.

was keenly pleaded for two days in a public assembly of people, by James Aubery for the Merindolans, Peter Robert for the parliament of Aix, and Denis Riant, for the king's advocate. After the auditors had heard the cruel deeds of which the guilty were accused, the judgment pronounced disappointed the hopes of the public. The advocate Guerin alone, because destitute of favour with the courtiers, was doomed to be hanged, and the rest escaped.* The ground of the sentence was, his giving false information to the king, by keeping back the revocation of the first retention of the cause of those of Merindol, on which the execution of the orders of the parliament of Aix had followed. The rest of the guilty escaped, because no good purpose was to be served by any farther severities against the Lutherans.† Along with Grignan, Oppeda was screened from danger by the commendation of the Duke of Guise. With his colleagues, he was restored to his former dignity; but in a short time he was seized with severe and protracted pains in the bowels, and in the most cruel torment, breathed out his bloody soul. He thus paid to God deserved punishment, later indeed, but much more grievous, than if the judges had exacted it.‡

Early in the spring of 1555, when the Valleys were under France, the preaching of the gospel had commenced according to the Waldensian custom, a decree immediately emanated from the parliament of Turin, in which public assemblies of this kind were interdicted, under pain of death, and indeed a remarkable example of divine vengeance is related by those who have written in favour of those of the Valleys; for when a certain one, John Mortin Trombasiz, in the village of Briqueras, had sometimes threatened a pastor of Angrogna that he would cut his nostrils, he was not long after attacked by a wolf, enraged with madness, which tore the nose from the man with its teeth, and devoured it. From which contagious bite, he himself was immediately seized with madness, and died miserably. To shew the wonderfulness of this occurrence, the people add, that from that time they never heard that that wolf had injured any one. But not only were the inhabitants of Angrogna nothing terrified by that decree, and

* Du Thou.

† Perrin, *ib.*

‡ Du Thou, *ib.* b.

by these threatenings, but by their example, those of Lucerna, at the same time publicly used the liberty of preaching.*

This year the monks and inquisitors condemned to the fire BARTHOLOMEW HECTOR, a Stationer. He was executed at Turin, and died with admirable constancy. The spectators were confirmed in their faith and much affected. Tears gushed from their eyes, and words of compassion from their lips. They justified and applauded him, because of his excellent conversation and prayers to God. Even multitudes of papists were melted into pity, gave way to extensive murmurings, and uttered sharp invectives against the authors of such cruelties.†

In the following year, public assemblies for the sake of religion began to be held likewise, in the beginning of March among the people of San Martino. Which contumacy and pertinacity of theirs the parliament not being able to endure, send one of their number, Amat, president of St Julian, with an assessor named by the church, diligently to inquire into these meetings, and to endeavour in every way to recall them from their undertaking.‡ The parliament wished to destroy this profession; and employed the authority of the king to compel this people either to live according to the laws of the church of Rome, or miserably to perish. To this end, St Julian and his collateral, were deputed to proceed to the places mentioned, under the promise of necessary assistance.§

The Edict of the parliament, dated 23rd March 1556, published against the poor people, was to this purpose:—"That on the part of the king and the illustrious court of parliament, express prohibitions were made to the syndics, communities, men, and inhabitants of Lucerna, La Torre, Villaro, Bobbio, Villenouovo, Roras, San Giovanni, Angrogna, Lucernetto, Bubbiana, Fenil, Campiglion, Garcillano, Mombron, otherwise called San Martino, and others of the valley of Lucerna, and to all other persons of whatsoever quality or condition they may be, neither to receive nor admit into their

* Du Thou, Lib. xxvii p. 519, 520.
chap. vii. p. 49. Morland, p. 225.

† Perrin, B. ii chap. iv. Boyer,
‡ Du Thou, ib. p. 520. a.

§ Perrin, ib.

countries, houses, or edifices, nor for the time to come to hear any preacher coming from Geneva or from other places, still less those who are of the said places, if they are not commissioned to that effect by the most reverend the archbishop of Turin, his vicar, or other superior prelate of the said places, and approved by the court of parliament, and this under pain of confiscation of body and goods. Likewise, that under the same penalty, and without dispute, they should have to confess themselves,—to communicate,—to transact their marriages,—to bury their dead,—to hear mass, and fully to observe all the constitutions of the holy mother church: and besides, that they should have power to apprehend, to detain, to reveal such as come from the said preachers, and to publish those who concealed them, with the promise to the revealers, of the third part of the goods of those that are guilty, and to be kept secret, with the pardon of all the past, and likewise of favour and pardon of the past to all others who shall be willing to go over to the obedience of the Roman church, and to live in peace, and to cause such as come to this resolution to be enrolled in the hands of the said commissioners, or of the inquisitor, &c. enjoining on all to give their answer and a declaration of their willingness by a writing signed and well authorised, under all the particulars contained in the published order.”*

The president of St Julian, and his collateral from the Romish church, proceeded to PEROUSE, and caused the above proclamation to be publicly made in the king's name. Afterwards they came to PIGNEROL, where they cited many people to appear before them. Among others, a poor ploughman appeared. The president commanded him to cause his child to be re-baptized, which had been lately baptized by the minister of San Giovanni near Angrogna. The plain man requested so much respite as to pray to God before giving an answer. This being granted with a degree of ridicule, he fell down on his knees in view of all that were present. His prayer having been finished, he told the president that he would be contented to cause his child to be re-baptized, on condition that the

* Leger part i. p. 106.

said president would, by a bill signed with his own hand, discharge him of the sin he should commit in the second baptism, and take this iniquity on him and his posterity to bear one day before God the condemnation and punishment that should overtake him. When the president heard this, he thought he had a sufficient number of his own sins for which he must answer, without taking on him the iniquities of other men. He therefore ordered the man out of his presence without further pressing him.

The president having framed various indictments against several individual persons inhabiting the said valleys, and collected whatever he could imagine to injure this people, he perceived the effects to be suitable to his expectations. He endeavoured to allure them by the preaching of the monks, whom for that purpose he had brought with him into the valley of Angrogna. Having approached the place where their temple stood, he caused one of the monks preach in the presence of the populace, and exhort his auditors at great length to return to the church of Rome, respecting which he advanced many assertions which the protestants did not believe. After the monk had exhausted his subject and was silent, a great majority of his hearers required that the pastors present, or some one selected for the purpose, might be permitted in love and meekness to reply to the discourse just delivered by the preacher: but the president would by no means agree to this reasonable proposal. On this, certain rumours and mutterings followed among the multitude, which astonished the president and his monks to such a degree, that they would have been content to be in another place. They however dissembled their fear, and the president, without any more addresses, retired to Turin.*

The Waldenses were not allowed to reply to the monks at the time they preached, but by way of response to the above edict published against them, they presented to the parliament of Turin a short confession of their belief, in which they declare, *first*, That they believe, and wish to follow all that is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, summarily comprehended in the apostles' creed; *second*,

* Perrin, book ii. chap. iv. p. 64, 65. Morland, p. 225.

That they confessed and held the holy sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ, according to the true use of their institution, in which sacraments, Christ has abundantly explained and bestowed his gifts, benefits, riches, and celestial treasures on all those who should approach to them with a true and living faith; *third*, That they approve all that is contained in the creeds of the first four general councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon, and likewise in the creed of Athanasius; *fourth*, Likewise, that they held the ten commandments of God, contained in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, and in the fifth of Deuteronomy; and that, according to these, they studied to live, with all their endeavours, not to suffer among them any wickedness or works contrary to the said commandments, in which is delivered the rule of a holy and pious life. Besides that, they banish from themselves, and their assemblies, all iniquity, unlawful oaths, perjuries, horrible imprecations, railings, fightings, seditions, surfitings, drunkenness, whoredoms, divinations, lotteries, enchantments, thefts, usuries, slights of hand; and that they are averse from, and detest, with their whole heart, things of that kind; *fifth*, That they acknowledged also the superior powers to be given of God, were willing to submit to them, and obedient in every thing which is not repugnant to the said commandments of God, who is the Sovereign Lord, the Master of all; that it is necessary that such as fear God obey them, and that whoever shall detract from their authority, undertakes war with God. That in this religion, their fathers and mothers have continued for a great many hundreds of years, yet, that if by that word it was still to be shown them, that they, or their fathers had been, or might have been in error, they should be ready to retract it; that they desire to be taught and confuted from the word of God, they will reject from their track wicked opinions on religion; they will instantly adhere to that which is right, and that for so great a benefit, they will give thanks to him who shall have taught them.*

That in regard to the articles contained in the order published, they answered:—

1st, Respecting the *Mass*,—that they hold the truth, viz.

* Leger, part i. p. 106. Du Thou, ib. The latter half of articles 2, 4, 5. and the latter part of the concluding sentence, are entirely from Du Thou.

the Holy Supper, which our Lord has instituted, and the Apostles have celebrated. But in regard to that which the priests now celebrate in the papacy, if it can be proved to them that it is conformed to the word of God, they will receive it, and not otherwise.

2d, Respecting *Auricular Confession*,—that every day they confess their sins to God, and in public ask pardon of him, and in particular, of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his commandments, contained in a great many passages of his word. That if by the same word, the priests are able to prove their auricular confession, they will not at all receive it.

3d, On *Baptism*,—that they receive the ordinance with all humility on the deed of the Son of God, and administer it as Christ has instituted it, without addition, diminution, or changing of any thing, doing the whole in language understood by all, as St Paul has commanded us; that if they can show that the addition of conjurations, salt, oil, and other like things, are according to the word of God, they are ready to receive them.

4th, In regard to *Sepulture*,—that they bury the dead in an honourable manner, and in a handsome company, with holy exhortations to comfort the parents, and to admonish all to live in such a manner, that they may be able to die the death of the just; but in regard to the candles, to the sound of the bells, and to the other ceremonies which are observed in the papacy, if proof is shown that God is not offended, they will receive them.

5th, With regard to *Traditions and human constitutions*,—they cheerfully receive those which are subservient to order, to honour, and to the reverence due to the holy ministry; but in regard to those which are proposed under the intention of merit, to bind and oblige consciences contrary to the word of God, they cannot receive them. And with regard to that which has been proposed to them, that the councils have ordained them; they answer, that there are a great many which have not been ordained by the councils. But although it were true that the councils have ordained them all, no one ought to be heard, not even an angel from heaven, ordaining what is contrary to the word of God. That the councils have made many excellent and holy constitutions to regulate pastors and people; ordaining, that “all lascivious, drunken and scanda-

lous pastors, be deposed; and that he who attends the mass of a lascivious priest, be excommunicated," and the like. But no mention at all is made of this, but rather only of that which turns to the profit and pleasure of the clergy; that they offer to prove all this in a disputation properly regulated in presence of their lordships, desiring that this may be speedily done, &c.*

In these articles, the Waldenses of the Valleys, honourably and perspicuously state to the parliament, how far they could go in obedience to their mandates, after having given a general confession of their faith. Du Thou states very shortly this reply contained in these five points, and adds, "respecting which things when Saint Julian after his return to Turin had given a relation to the parliament, the matter having been discussed, it was judged proper to write concerning it to the king and request his decision."† But more particularly, when the president Saint Julian returned to Turin, he related to the parliament what he had done, and stated the difficulties that opposed winning these people by extremities. He signified that in case of violence being offered, they were resolved to defend themselves; that the places of their abode were favourable to them; that therefore it would cost much labour and blood before they could be brought to the church of Rome, or killed; that a king and only a king of France was able to extirpate them; and, consequently, that it was necessary to send to him the reports, and to commit to his pleasure the issue of so troublesome an enterprise. This advice was followed, and the statements were sent to the king. But as the affairs of courts are usually much protracted, a whole year elapsed before the adoption against them of any other course than that of the inquisitors, who always delivered some one or other of them to the secular power. But the year being expired, the express commands of the king arrived from the court, to compel them by force, to do what words or friendly usage could not induce them to perform.‡ Which message having been received, the parliament of Turin again sent the said president of St Julian. On his arrival at Pignerol, he summoned together the people of Angrogna, and neighbouring villagers,

* Leger, part i. p. 106, 107.

† Du Thou, *ib.* col. 2.

‡ Perrin, *ib.* p. 66. Morland, p. 225.

and affirmed to the two syndics together, that their confession presented the foregoing year, had been sent by the parliament to the king, and that by the command of the king, it had been diligently examined by orthodox divines, and that by unanimous suffrages, it has been condemned as erroneous, and foreign to the true religion : that therefore the king proclaims, that having renounced that confession, they submit themselves to his sacred majesty, that unless they go to mass, their bodies and goods shall be confiscated. The deputies asked the aid of a copy of the commands he was commissioned to deliver, and of his speech, promising to answer them to his satisfaction, which was granted, not without the indignation of the president roaring out, that faith is not to be held with them. Three days are allowed, during which time they should obey them. Nothing would please the president except the change of religion, which he still pressed in vain on these persons : for they answered that they were not bound by such injunctions in opposition to the commandments of God.* From that place Saint Julian proceeds to Lucerna, and having compelled a consultation, while he urged the king's mandates, they, with unanimous consent, adhering to the confession formerly proposed, required that it may be examined, and if in it they commit any mistake, that they be sincerely and kindly admonished. When the president accomplished nothing by threats or flatteries, he proclaimed, under a capital punishment, that they should sist their pastors and schoolmasters before the parliament.† He commanded that twelve of the principal men amongst them, with all the ministers and schoolmasters, presently yield their bodies to the prisons of Turin, to wait such a sentence as reason shall require. He enjoined the syndics of the said valleys, presently to dismiss, and suffer to depart all strangers, and from that time, not to receive any preachers or schoolmasters, except from the diocesan.‡ They answered by the deputies and elders of these evangelical churches, that they were not bound to obey such commands, because they proceeded from men, and not from God ;§ that they were not at

* Du Thou, ib. Morland, ib. Perrin, ib. † Du Thou, ib.

‡ Perin, ib.

§ Morland, p. 226.

liberty, and were unwilling to obey injunctions against God; that they had no design to appear at Turin, because they would be molested for their belief, and be in danger of their lives;* that they all worshipped one God and Saviour, Jesus Christ; that they all held the same law and the same hopes with them; and that since Jews and Mahommedans, who were blasphemers and enemies to the name of Christ, were permitted to live among them in peace, and in the quiet enjoyment of their separate religion, the concession was far more reasonable, that the worshippers of the true God in Christ be suffered to live in peace among their hills and mountains, particularly, since they were ready to embrace any thing proved to be agreeable to the will of God, and to yield, while they lived, all due obedience to superiors and magistrates.†

When even by these measures, St Julian could not reduce these people, to what he viewed to be their duty, the parliament interposed its authority. A decree was issued, and an apparitor sent, who should promulgate it through these regions. The sum of it was, that the people should receive no pastor, unless sent by the archbishop of Turin, or approved by the parliament; that they should live after the manner of their ancestors: and that if any preacher proceeding from Geneva, or any other foreign place, should privately approach them, they should be bound to discover, or even to apprehend him. Rewards are offered to informers: capital punishments, and confiscation of goods, are published against such as would not obey.‡

The boldness of the people's answers, and the inefficacy of all the edicts against them, so incensed the parliament, that they apprehended as many as they were able in Piemont, and in the frontiers of the Valleys, and committed them to the flames at Turin. Among others, Mr JEFFERY VARNIGLE, or VAVAILLE, minister of Angrogna, was burnt this year, 1557. By his death in the place of the castle, a great multitude of spectators were much edified and strengthened, while they saw him persist to his last breath, in the invocation of the name of God.§ NICHOLAS SARTORIS, of Quieras in Piemont,

* Perrin, *ib.*

† Morland, p. 226.

‡ Du Thou, *ib.*§ Morland, *ib.* Perrin, *ib.*

studied divinity at Geneva, and was entertained by the lords of Berne. Going on a visit to his own country, he was seized by the persecutors at Auste, and accused of heresy. Neither threats nor flatteries could induce him to recant, but he valiantly overcame all temptations. On the 4th day of May, 1557, he was burnt alive, and died a glorious death.*

From that time, says Du Thou, "whether the parliament thought it had done its duty, by the decree apparently severe, and was unwilling to irritate men otherwise peaceful, or whether that was granted as a favour to the Swiss, and to the Protestant princes of Germany, who assiduously pleaded for them with the king, the Waldenses were troubled with no molestation for three years, till after the peace, when the Duke of Savoy obtained possession of these regions." Here Du Thou does not record the effects of the decree of the parliament, in burning the Waldenses, but only calls it "a decree apparently severe." This is no doubt partial, but when we consider his general regard to truth, and how many of the cruelties of his own church he has detailed, we can almost excuse him, though at times he feels reluctance to swell the list of their inhuman murders. The truth is, that during these grievous persecutions, the protestant princes of Germany did intercede for the Waldenses with Henry II. of France, urging him to suffer them to live in the peaceable profession of that religion which they had enjoyed from father to son for a number of ages past. The king promised, and indeed, actually displayed so much regard to their request, that the people continued in quietness, till, at the peace between France and Spain, the duke of Savoy was restored to his estates, that is, in 1560.†

At this period, the Valleys of Piemont, which had been anciently under the Duke of Savoy, were restored to him, and the Waldenses of Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, Cluson, and San Martino, came under his sovereignty. Wherefore, in the remainder of this Chapter, we treat of these places, only in so far as they fell occasionally under France. The marquisite of Saluzzo continued at this time under the king, and the synods held in this district on the 2d of June, and the 14th October 1567, show in their acts, that for the sake of

* Morland, *ib.* Boyer, p. 49, 50.

† Perrin, *ib.* p. 67, 68.

concealment, one minister frequently officiated in several churches. The Romish clergy were their greatest enemies. Under their influence, an edict, dated 19th October 1567, was published against them, and under its operation, two ministers were imprisoned.* In the marquise, were a great number of the churches of the Waldenses, whose supplications, aided by the intercessions of the queen of Navarre, and of several other dignified personages, obtained from the king of France, on the 14th October 1571, an order for the release of the two pastors. Some time elapsed before the proper instruments were subscribed, and the deputies arrived at their homes. The pastors were liberated after an imprisonment of four years, four months, and several days. The Waldenses were glad of their liberty, and in May 1572, felt much gratified with the marriage of a sister of Charles IX. of France, with the king of Navarre, a professed Protestant. But their joy was soon converted into sorrow, for on the 24th of August, 30,000 Protestants were massacred at Paris, and in a few days, 20,000 more through France. The news of this dreadful butchery reached Saluzzo in September, and filled the timid flock of Christ with consternation. Their liberties were in some measure curtailed, but they were not violently persecuted during the time the marquise continued under France, which extended sixteen years longer.†

The Duke of Savoy, Philibert Emanuel, died on the 13th, or as others say, the 30th of August 1580, and his son, Charles Emanuel, invaded Saluzzo. The French under De l'Esduiguiers, in revenge, seized the Valleys of Piemont, and compelled some of the people to swear allegiance to the king. On the French retiring, the Duke found that the Waldenses of the Valleys had not taken an oath to Henry III. of France. Having re-taken Mirebouc, he met the Waldensian representatives of Lucerna at Villaro, and considering their stedfastness to him, and their presently repeating the declaration of loyalty, he promised them liberty of religion. "Be but faithful to me," says he, "and I shall be sure to protect you." This liberty they enjoyed for several years.

In this place, the wonderful providence of God may be no-

* Morland, p. 260. 263.

† Morland, p. 255.

ticed, in preserving from destruction the records of the processes against the Waldenses in the diocese of Embrun. The archbishops, John Rostain, and others, had these papers laid in their libraries, till the year 1585, when the forces of Henry, under De l'Esdiguiers recovered the city to France. The archbishop's house was on fire, and the documents, containing a statement of the prosecutions for religion during several centuries, were cast into the street by the besieged, when they retired for safety to the Tour Brune, demolishing a gallery of wood which formed a passage between the episcopal residence and the tower. Two French lords observing these indictments exposed to destruction, caused them to be carefully collected. From these papers thus rescued by enemies, Perrin gathered his account of the cruelties of the inquisitors towards the Waldenses of Dauphiny, and of the persecutions of the churches of Pragela, by the commissaries of the archbishops of Turin.*

In 1588, Charles Emanuel of Savoy, an ambitious and enterprising prince, took advantage of the divisions in France, and seized Saluzzo, from which he expatriated the Vaudois. He was obliged, however, to grant the French king possession of Gex, near Geneva, and of La Bresse, a chief district in the department of Aix.† The duke was unable to make inroads into France, and at the same time, to sustain his ground against the arms of Henry. He was defeated in several battles, which he fought with De l'Ediguiers, who seized a large portion of Charles' dominions,‡ and in particular, most of the Valleys in which the Waldenses dwelt. On the first day of November 1592, the French general just mentioned, entered into an agreement with the evangelical churches in said Valleys, which had yielded themselves under his conquering power. An authentic copy of the original is found in the library of the University of Cambridge, and is inserted in the histories of Morland, and Leger. The general states, that he had been sent by Henry to recover Saluzzo, and other dominions of France, from the Duke of Savoy; that he had succeeded in reducing the castles of Perosa, Brigueras, La Torre, Mire-

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. iii.

† Acland, p. lx. Morland, p. 263.

‡ Puffendorf, p. 639.

bouc, Olasc, Missello, and Pradelene; that he had summoned the ministers and syndics of the Valleys of Bobbio, Villaro, Tagliaret; of two places, named La Torre, San Giovanni; of five places in Angrogna, of three in San Secondo, of four in Perosa, of nine in San Martino, of two in Susa, and M. Claude Perron, minister of the word in Pragela, to treat of the means of bringing the people from subjection to the Duke of Savoy, under the king of France, as they had been before the wars of 1585; that the said ministers, syndics, and inhabitants of the Valleys, alleged, they could not lawfully withdraw from the duke, who was their legitimate prince, and the present war was not an undertaking of the duke by himself, but of many combined princes to ruin France, and especially the reformed religion in that country; that he reminded these ministers and syndics of the propriety of acting like their brethren in Pragela, who supported the King of France against Charles Emanuel, who, by uniting himself with popish princes, sought the destruction of the reformed churches in his own dominions, as well as in France, England, Germany, and other kingdoms of Christendom; that these reasonings, along with the suggestions of M. Claude Perron, connected with a view of the strength of the French army, persuaded the deputies, many of whom are named in the treaty, to agree, and make oath to the articles in name of the different commonalties, and of the inhabitants, their heirs and successors; that if the deputies had not agreed to peace, the war would have been very protracted, on account of the natural strength of the country, and the narrow passes which the late duke could never subdue, though aided by the pope; that these deputies shall be freed from their sworn obedience to the duke, and shall swear subjection to Henry IV. of France and Navarre, before Francis de Bonne, Lord De l'Ediguers; that in all places of the said Valleys, the said people and their pastors shall be maintained, and preserved in the free, public, and general exercise of the Christian religion, and of the reformed church discipline, with all that depends on it, where it is at present, without any modification or restriction whatsoever; that they shall be allowed, as they have done from time out of mind, to extend the preaching of the word through all the Valleys, and to administer sacraments wherever the body of a church of the reformed religion shall

call their ministers and pastors for this purpose; that they be permitted to hold consistories, colloquies, and synods, to treat of church affairs, as occasion shall require, without trouble or molestation; that his majesty be petitioned to erect and maintain a college to educate the youths of the Valleys; that the churches and pastors of the Vaudois enjoy the same wages, estates, pensions, and privileges, as the pastors of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphiny in France; that as the Romanists are not one in a hundred in the Valleys, his majesty shall grant them the right of electing their own judges and officers, in the way of the people choosing three, and the prince selecting one of them; that all their franchises, liberties, and immunities in Piemont, Saluzzo, and Dauphiny, and other parts of France, shall be maintained; that all reformers shall have power to retire to the Valleys, if they judge proper for the enjoyment of their religion; that the Valleys be incorporated with France, and if ever his majesty, or his successors, shall be constrained to transfer them to any other power, their ancient privileges, and those granted by this treaty, shall remain untouched; and that in consideration of the deputies having, on the 1st November 1592, sworn an oath of fidelity to his majesty, the Lord De l'Esduigiers engages to produce in three months, a declaration of his majesty's satisfaction with this treaty.*

Girard, the notary, gives a statement of the deputies and syndics having taken the oath of fidelity to the king on the 1st November 1592, according to the resolution of the counts, gentlemen and deputies of Lucerna, at the general assembly of the valleys at San Giovanni on the 28th of October. Having produced to the notary, on their knees, the letters of authority from the gentlemen and counts of the fiefs, and from the inhabitants of the commonalties, and acting for themselves, their heirs and successors, they "have confessed and acknowledged, and do confess and acknowledge themselves to be vassals and liege subjects of the most Christian and most serene Henry IV., by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, Dauphin of Viennois, Marquis of Saluzzo, their true and sovereign Lord, of whom they are willing to hold in

* Leger, part ii. pp. 154—157. Morland, pp. 429—437.

homage liege the said fiefs and jurisdictions, lordships and estates, with their appurtenances and dependencies, according to the lists or rolls which they shall respectively give in, swearing and promising by their faith and oath taken by touching the holy gospel of God, lifting up their right hands to heaven, according to the accustomed manner, and according to the ordinances of the king, both hereafter and at present to be and remain perpetually vassals and liege subjects to his majesty, and to yield to him for ever all obedience, fidelity, submission, and service, as they were wont heretofore to render to their sovereign prince." In what follows, they mentioned as having bound themselves to avoid assisting or counselling any one who would hurt his majesty, his officers or subjects; to hinder them if able, and to give information if unable; to aid in recovering what his majesty may lose, and to defend what is left; to conceal every secret of his majesty that shall be entrusted to them; and to give their best counsel, and never to say, plot, or do any thing against his majesty or princes, but to perform all the duties of vassals and subjects to their absolute lord and prince, beseeching him to protect them in their fiefs, counties, jurisdictions, lordships and properties, conformable to former establishments. The lord De l'Esduiguiers accepted the promised fidelity of all the counts and gentlemen present, and proposed to proceed by way of reduction against such as had been summoned and did not appear, and their statutes and privileges put into the hand of M. Calignan that they may be inspected. The lords and gentlemen who took the oaths had the sword given them for an investiture. The other inhabitants pledged their faith by touching the holy scriptures, and lifting up their right hand to heaven, and this was published by the notary according to the command of the king.*

The above agreement was made at Briqueiras, and in January 1593, Henry IV. in ratification of it, issued his letters patent, which are found at large in Leger and Morland. He explains that the people possess their ancient rights, and give the usual obedience to the lords of the place. The parliament of Dauphiny is enjoined to publish, register, and

* Leger, part ii. pp. 157—159. Morland, pp. 429—443.

maintain the said articles. The oath of fidelity is also to be recorded, that reference may be had to it in all time coming. On the 25th March 1593, the king's ratification was read and registered in the parliament at Grenoble.*

The pope being about to marry his niece, Mary de Medicis, to the king of France, now master of Savoy, the emperor and the king of Spain requested his holiness to make peace between Henry and the duke. This object pope Clement accomplished at Vervain in 1598. The duke refused to give up Saluzzo, and the decision was left to Clement; who, being unwilling to disoblige either party, trifled so long that Henry resolved to force the duke to compliance. Charles Emanuel held an interview with the king, and promised to satisfy him for retaining the marquisite, but, hoping that Spain would aid him, and that Biron would raise a commotion of such a nature as to enable him to take possession of part of France, he refused to fulfil his pledge. Consequently, Henry proclaimed war against him a second time, and compelled him, in the peace of Lyons in 1601, ultimately to relinquish the province of Bressa, since he wished to retain Saluzzo.† Thus, at the close of the sixteenth century, the duke was in possession, held the dominion over Saluzzo, and of the valleys usually under Savoy.

This chapter may be concluded by a description of the valleys of the Waldenses, which, at the close of the sixteenth century, remained under France. It is given by the candid Roman catholic DU THOU, in his history of his own times published about this period. "At Embrun," says he, "which is the metropolis of the maritime Alps, which extend towards the east, after you have proceeded about five leucæ, on the right hand is stretched the valley of Queiras, on the left hand downward lies Frassiniera, between which places the remains of the illustrious ancient city Rame are visible. Thence having travelled over the back of the mountain, a very narrow path is opened through places untrod and arduous. This way

* Leger, part ii. pp. 159—161. Morland, pp. 444—448, in which places an attestation of the correctness of the three is inserted, subscribed by M. Balcet, keeper of the records in Pragela, and by another witness, May 31st 1656.

† Puffendorf, pp. 639, 640. Boyer, chap. ix. pp. 60, 61.

has been cut in the rock by human industry, and this is by the inhabitants denominated Hannibal's road." After expressing his conviction of the correctness of this opinion, Du Thou proceeds: "By this way one goes to Briançon, on the left side of which again lies the valley of Loise, so called from Louis XII, who, when passing thence into Italy, had published a great butchery of the Waldenses. Being induced to repent of the deed, he changed the name of the place, which had been formerly by way of reproach called by the neighbours Val-Pute, because of the adulterated religion; he willed that it henceforth be called by his name Loise.* Having passed Genevre, Exilles and places farther down Suza are on the left hand. After surmounting the opposite ridge, the Val-Cluson beyond the Alps is opened, and which receives its name from the river Cluson, which flows between Pignerol and the village Briquerates. The Cluson falls into the Po. In the Val-Cluson is the village of Pragelas, which is very populous." After mentioning Perosa, San Martino, and San Giovanni as belonging to Savoy, he speaks also of Bobbio as under the duke, and "connected with Queiras, which belongs to the dominion of the king."

"The most rough and rural of all these is *Frassiniere*, because its soil is sterile and uncultivated, on which account the inhabitants are very poor. Their clothing is of sheep skins, which having been dried and pickled, with the wool smoothed down, both men and women are clothed with them. Clasps are fastened to the skin of the fore-feet, which skin forms a course round the person's neck. Clasps to the hind feet fasten the skin below the belly. The person's arms are left at liberty. The only difference between the sexes, in regard to clothing, is, that the men cover the lower parts of the body with a cheap trewse, and the women clothe the inferior parts with a gown, which extends only a little below the knees. The females wear also a linen cover on their heads by way of ornament. They make no other use of linen for clothing or bedding. They sleep for the most part in their day clothes, stretched on straw, and sheep skins above them.

* See page 217 of this vol.

They inhabit seven villages, and their houses are built of flint stones, with a level roof, formed of compacted clay, which being loosened or corrupted by the rains, they again smooth with a roller. In these houses, men and cattle are promiscuously lodged, being separated only by a fence. Two caves are allotted for accidental occurrences. In the one, they hide their flocks and cattle, when threatened with incursions; and to the other, they betake themselves. In these caves, arches flowing from the fountains by the congealed dropping, express innumerable figures of animals and other objects, by the incredible artifice of sportive nature. Light being admitted at the entrance of the cave, two lakes are seen formed at the very spot, by the water gushing out of the cavern, and absorbed into these receptacles. The inverted figures produced pleasure and amazement in all who beheld them. The population subsist on milk and meal, while they exercise the occupation of feeding cattle. They are remarkable for strength in the breath, and by certain strokes, most expert in pitting bucks, wild goats and bears, whose impure flesh they eat. From the constant use of this kind of food, and from slovenliness, a rank smell is contracted, which from a distance, strikes the nostrils, and is almost insufferable by strangers. Happy with these riches, they have no beggars, owing to the equal poverty of all the people. Content among themselves, they cultivate the friendship of few, and no affinities with others."

"In persons who live in such abject poverty, many in misery and filth, which are evident by both a rough and unsightly appearance, we find great reason for astonishment that they are so cultivated in their morals: for every one of them is able to read, and they are excellent writers. They are so well acquainted with the French language, that they are able in it to understand the Bible, and to sing Psalms. Nor will you easily find among them a single boy, who, on being interrogated concerning the faith which they profess, will not readily, and from his memory, render a reason, which circumstance is common to them with the rest of the Waldenses. They conscientiously pay tribute, which, according to the service of God, is a principle of their confession of faith. If by civil wars they are hindered from payment, they lay aside the sum which they

have gathered, and when peace arrives, they studiously pay it to the king's collectors.*

We may just further add, regarding the Waldenses under France, in the sixteenth century, that the Barbes, THOMAS BERMONDE, and PAUL BERMONDE of Pragela, and GIOVANNETTO of Frassiniera, exercised their ministry, though the years are not mentioned.† And about the year 1587, and sometime later, PHILIPPO, HUGO, PETER BERNARDELLO, and DANIEL BERMONDO, were all pastors of Pragela; and ANDREW RIPERTO, of the Valley of Frassiniera.‡

CHAPTER V.

Martyrs in ITALY—Large account of the book against the Waldenses of the VALLEYS, by Claude Seissel, Archbishop of Turin, who candidly states their principles, different from the assertions of the bishop of Meaux—Waldenses very numerous just before the Reformation—Happy effects of the Solemn League in Angrogna—Duke's persecution has little effect—Printing of the Bible—Duke deprived of most of his dominions for a time—The Vaudois in vain petition the young Duke for respite—Some of them courageously and successfully resist—Several martyrs burnt, and other cruelties—La Trinita, and the two Truchis cruelly butcher the brave people of the Valleys—Candid account by Du Thou of these barbarous proceedings.

JEROM SAVANAROLA, a monk of the order of preachers at Ferrara, three miles from the Po, for speaking boldly against Alexander VI. was beheaded at Florence.§

Four monks of the order of preachers at Bern in Switzerland, with the greatest prudence inculcated the marks of sanctity on a very young brother. These proceedings having been detected by deceit, the four monks, to the disgrace of the Franciscans, were burnt in the year 1509.¶ In the following year, Samuel de Cassini published his book, entitled, "Triumphal Victory" against the Waldenses.||

* Du Thou, tom. ii. Lib. xxvii. pp. 87, 88.

† Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. p. 204.

‡ Morland, b. i. chap. viii.

§ Sab. En. 10. Lib. 9.

¶ Stumpff, 10 in Panteleon's Chronographia Ecclesiastica, p. 122.

|| Morland, p. 11.

But of all the writers of this period with whom we have to do, Claude Seissel, archbishop of Turin, during the first half of the sixteenth century, was notable. He wrote a book "against the error sand sect of the Waldenses," which, according to Usher, quoted by Gerdes, was published at Paris in 1520.* In this work, doctrines similar to those of the Protestants are ascribed to the Waldenses. Yet the bishop of Meaux maintains that the Waldenses never espoused the opinions of the protestants till about the year 1532, when they united themselves with the Reformers against the Church of Rome. "Was there ever a more obstinate piece of illusion?" says Alex. Claude Seissel, archbishop of Turin, who wrote against the Waldenses before the year 1518. He began his priesthood, by persecuting them according to the edicts of Francis I. and Charles, Duke of Savoy. His book was printed at Paris in 1520. In the first parts of this book, he states their continued persecutions and perseverance in their faith, which was quite conformable to their confession of faith in 1532, after intercourse with the protestants.† "All sorts of people," says he, "have frequently endeavoured to root them out, and yet contrary to the opinion of all men, they have still continued conquerors, or at least wholly invincible." Seissel gives it as his opinion, that before the Reformation, the Waldenses held the same sentiments, as since that event.‡ As the archbishop had the Waldenses of Piemont in his diocese, and observed their profession and practice with considerable attention and candour, a short account of the contents of his work may be here exhibited.§

According to Seissel, the Waldenses hold, that the pastors of the Romish church have lost all that lawful authority which they once received from God; that Christ chose Peter and the rest of the Apostles, because he knew their faith and charity, because he meant by them to convert the world, and because he wished to show no respect of persons; that the apostles having received the Spirit, abode in Christ as branches in the vine, and retained their authority as the foundation of the church; that so long as their successors continued to imi-

* Gerdes Hist. Ref. tom. iii. pp. 4, 5, note.

† Allix, Pied. pp. 195, 196. ‡ Allix, ib p. 280.

§ Leger, part i. p. 121.

tate the apostles, they were pillars in the church, but as soon as they deviated from the doctrine and precepts of the apostles, they left the mystical body of Christ; that thus they are become corrupt trees, and bring forth corrupt fruit; and that he who is a slave of the devil, cannot be related to Christ, for Jesus teaches, "No man can serve two masters," and "Ye are of your father the devil, and the works of your father ye will do." The Waldenses maintain, that believers ought to separate themselves from the communion of the church of Rome, because by the crimes of her ministers, and her errors in faith, she has lost all just authority, as our Saviour warns us, "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly, are ravening wolves." "By their fruits ye shall know them." Now the fruits are the works, which, if evil, show we are to be avoided, though clothed like sheep. Surely a bishop or priest, who is an enemy to God, cannot have power to prevail with God, to be propitious to others. He who is banished from the kingdom of heaven, can neither have the keys of it, confer orders, nor administer sacraments by the Spirit. A king will not clothe with his authority a man, whom he would not place among the meanest of his servants, and who deserves the severest punishment. A shepherd would not trust the wolf with his sheep. No man would commit his chaste spouse to a filthy libertine. The wicked before God are nothing, and can do nothing. The Waldenses are mentioned as quoting several passages of Scripture, to show that God abhors wicked ministers,* and that God's covenant with Levi was confirmed only so long as the Levites kept God's way.† Such priests and bishops therefore as transgress the ordinances of Christ, are to be avoided.‡ When Saul transgressed God's commandments, the spirit of the Lord departed. Such as do not deny themselves cannot be Christ's disciples, and cannot have his authority. Popes, who instead of forsaking all that they have, will forsake nothing, can neither be his disciples, nor have power to ordain bishops, nor can these bishops confer orders on others. When to this we add the impurity of their lives, such priests cannot administer a true sacrament. Therefore

* Is. i. 11—15.

† Mal. i. 10. ii. 2, 5, 8, 9.

‡ Psal. xxvi.

the priests and bishops of the church of Rome do not belong to the church of God.

Claud Seissel is a candid witness, for he goes on more particularly to state the criminations which the Waldenses utter against the church of Rome, and they are just such as themselves avow, namely, that the pope, prelates, and priests, openly condemn the precepts of the apostles, not living in poverty, humility, and charity, but in pomp, luxury, and dissoluteness; that the priests are not pleased with sacerdotal sanctity, but aspire after royal dignity; that their studies are directed to earthly glory, riches, and equipage, and not to the acquisition of virtue, holiness, and learning; that instead of forsaking all, they lay schemes for other peoples goods, and instigate wars; that instead of a holy life, diligence in preaching the gospel, and charity to the poor, they resist such as do these things; that the Waldenses are ordained with modesty and reluctance, to promote the salvation of others; while the Romanists buy, procure by favour, or take by force, their benefices to satiate their lusts, enrich relations, and promote worldly glory; that the Waldenses spend their time in fastings, watchings, and labours, in the face of trouble and danger, to exhibit the way of salvation, but the popish clergy live in idleness, pleasure, and immorality; that the Waldenses despise gold and silver, and seek divine grace to dispense to others, while the Romish clergy set holy things for sale, barter with heavenly treasures, and confound all things human and divine; and that therefore the church of Rome is not the holy, pure, and lovely spouse of Christ, adorned with all virtues, as described by the Holy Spirit in the Song of Solomon; but the common prostitute, the loathsome harlot, described by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and by John in the Revelation.

Seissel informs us that the Waldenses allowed that God alone searches the heart, and exactly knows what works please him, but still observes that God has given us certain marks to distinguish good from evil men, namely, by the good or bad fruits. Good works are such by the intention of the worker, which is known only to God, but wicked works discover themselves, and the intention cannot make them good. When we see bishops and priests living in luxury, robbing others, striking their neighbours, persecuting good men, blaspheming

God, and wasting the church's patrimony in voluptuousness and damnable crimes, these cannot be God's ministers, but his public enemies, though they were created or confirmed by a universal synod of Christians, by the pope, or by Peter himself. The popes buy the papacy, sell sacerdotal functions, and appoint those to the charges, who are not only secretly, but openly unworthy of them, and during their whole lives, never performed an action worthy of a priest, or even of a Christian. Such are not to be followed, because neither their words nor their works lead us to salvation, but drag us with themselves to the pit of destruction. When the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. Such are cut off from Christ and cast into the fire. The man who is to be avoided as a heathen and a publican, cannot be Christ's vicegerent. The apostolic authority is to be formed only with such as imitate the apostles, and observe their institutions, namely, with the Waldenses, as Paul teaches the Corinthians.*

The bishop of Meaux, thinks there is nothing in all this, but a schismatical temper, operating in regard to the corruptions of the clergy; and that the Waldenses did not hold the same principles with the Reformers. But, in the same work, Seissel shows that they held materially the same opinions. They receive only the Old and New Testament. They assert, that the popes and other priests have depraved the Scriptures; that they owe neither tithes nor first fruits to the clergy; that the consecration of churches, indulgences, and such benedictions, are inventions of the priests; that the festivals of saints are not to be celebrated; that men do not need the suffrages of the saints, since Christ is abundantly sufficient; that marriage may be contracted in any degrees except a few, and the popes have no power to prohibit any other; that whatever is done to deliver souls from purgatory, is lost; that popish priests have no power to forgive sin; and that the Waldenses alone, observe the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, and assume the name of the catholic church.

Seissel advances the following Waldensian doctrines, to prove that the Barbes are not sent by God, but by the devil. The Barbes teach, that all Christians who follow the aposto-

* 1 Cor. i. 19, 26—28. 2 Cor. x. 5.

lie precepts may hear confession, for James says, "confess your faults one to another;" that we are not to use any kind of prayer, except one approved of God, and the services of the virgin and the saints are not to be used; that the angelical salutation to the Virgin Mary is not to be addressed to her, because it is not a prayer, and her worship, and that of the saints, is not lawful; that the blessing of the priests is of no virtue; that holy water is not to be used in churches, because neither Christ nor his apostles used it; that indulgences are despicable; that the souls of the dead pass immediately either to joy or torment, and purgatory is an invention of the covetous clergy; that the saints in heaven cannot take notice of what is done below; that images, and the sign of the cross, are to be detested; that no distinction is to be made between the worship of Latria, which is due to God only, and that of Dulia, which belong to the saints; that the fasts instituted by the Roman Catholic Church to honour God and the saints, are not to be observed; and that a lie is always a mortal sin, because, David says, God "will destroy them that speak leasing." Surely the last article shows how slender a foundation the enemies of the Waldenses have to accuse them of equivocation, and also proves the toleration of falsification in the Romish church, when strict adherence to truth is mentioned by the papists as an error of the Waldenses.

But the bishop of Meaux maintains, that as in the above details no mention is made of transubstantiation, therefore the Waldenses, in the time of Seissel, believed that doctrine. But we learn even from Seissel, that they rejected that sentiment as an extravagance, for he adds, "They made a mock of all the artifices used to make it (transubstantiation) appear more plausible to them. I think those took pains to little purpose, who, writing against this sect, made their chief business to insist on the difficulties regarding the sacrament of the eucharist, and, in order to remove them, have spoken so keenly and subtilely, not to say confusedly, that I very much doubt whether ever they themselves understood the subject. Yet I will not say that because I do not, as I frankly confess, comprehend the doctrine myself, that I view it to surpass the capacity of others; but because it has always appeared to me to be a point of such difficulty, that the most able have been

ready to confess, that the strength of the human understanding must in this case be subject to faith." Seissel then uses every endeavour to persuade the Waldenses to embrace an opinion, from which they have been always averse. *

Such is the account given by Seissel of the faith of the Waldenses. The same writer gives an equally honourable testimony to the purity of their deportment and conversation. "They say that they desire to overcome only by the simplicity of faith, purity of conscience, and integrity of life; not by philosophical niceties and theological subtilties. Something also tends to confirmation and toleration of the sect of these Waldenses, that besides these things stated, which they hold in opposition to our faith and religion, they in most other things pass a life purer than other Christians. They do not swear at all unless they are compelled to it, and seldom take the name of God in vain. With good faith they fulfil their promises; and a great part of them living in poverty, they protest that they alone preserve the apostolic life and doctrine; and for that reason affirm, that the power of the church resides with them as the harmless and true disciples of Christ, for whose faith and religion they reckon it honourable and glorious to live in poverty, and to suffer persecution from us." †

Another edition of Seissel's treatise seems to have been published in 1547, unless Leger mistakes the date. ‡ He speaks of Seissel as now eighty years of age, and gives a letter of CLAUDE COUSSARD, a divine of the university of Paris, who thus addressed Seissel on the subject of his book against the Waldenses: "Sir," says he to that archbishop, "in regard to the book which you have written against the Vaudois, with the privilege of the king, dated 27th February 1547, you begin thus 'I have primarily proposed to myself to state anew the heresies of the Waldenses collected into one view, as they have been condemned by the Roman council held 1211, and by the brother Reinier formerly inquisitor of the faith, 296

* Allix, Pied. pp. 280—291. Leger, part i. pp. 118—121.

† Seissel's Tract "against the errors and sect of the Waldenses" at Paris 1520, quoted in Gerde's Hist. Reform. Tom. iii. pp. 4, 5, Note. Allix, Pied. p. 291.

‡ Leger, part i. pp. 121, 122. Allix, Pied. p. 195, speaks of Coussard in 1548, writing a summa against the Catharists and Leonists.

years ago.’” Coussard then proceeds to state from Seissel the leading errors of the Waldenses. The following are specified by Coussard from Seissel, that they condemn ecclesiastical power; that the Waldenses are the only church of Christ; that all her clergy, since the time of Sylvester, are to be condemned; that the miracles of the church of Rome are false; that instead of confirmation, they think the hands of their masters are to be laid on the disciples; that the bishops, clergy, and religionists, are scribes and pharisees, persecutors of the apostles; ‘that the body and blood of Christ is not a true sacrament, but some blessed bread which is called the body of Christ by a certain figure, as it is said that “the rock was Christ;” that the priest being himself a sinner, and bound, can neither bind nor loose; that extreme unction is more a malediction than a sacrament, and marriage a sworn whoredom, unless the parties live in continence; that there is no sin in working on feast days; that they do not fast on lent, nor on the fasts of the church, but eat flesh as often as they please; that they teach their accomplices by the words of the evangelists, apostles, and other saints, in the vulgar tongue, to form their hearts, inform others, allure the faithful, and adorn their sect with the fine words of the saints, to the end they may believe in a solitary way what they persuade them; that it is sufficient to salvation, to confess to God, and not to men; that the Waldenses mock those who offer lights to the saints to illuminate the churches; that under pretence of there being no purgatory, they conclude that there are no indulgences, and that the pope has no power to confer any; that they say “a man is under no necessity to mortify the flesh by satisfactory works, Christ having abundantly satisfied for us;” that people ought not to make vows, but having made them they are not to violate them; and that all have a right to contract marriage without interdiction by any one; and that the mass is not a commemoration of Christ’s sufferings, the canon being composed of a great many rags, a mixture of things newly forged, not having existed from the days of the apostles; and that images ought to be destroyed, because of idolatry, since all veneration given to them, and to the saints, displeases God.*

* Leger, part i, pp. 121, 122.

In 1530, George Morel one of the Waldensian pastors of Piemont, wrote memoirs of their churches, and confesses that "at that very time, above *eight hundred thousand* persons professed the religion of the Waldenses."* He must mean through all the countries of Europe, but evidently does not include the Reformers. From this statement, the common supposition of the almost total extinction of the true church, for several centuries, immediately before the Reformation, is shown to be an immense mistake.

The persecution mentioned in the foregoing century, was still continued in the sixteenth, till the year 1532, when the Waldenses of the valleys, in consequence of the solemn vows at the synod of Angrogna, in union with the Waldenses of France, proceeded to order their churches in such a manner, that those exercises of religion which had been formerly in a great measure private, might be more publicly known; and that pastors should openly preach the gospel without fear of suffering. The priests were astonished at the progress of reformation sworn to in 1532, and losing all hopes of recovering the people, began to collect their revenues, but soon desisted also from searching after this gain. At this time the mass almost disappeared from the valleys.† On hearing of these extraordinary changes, Charles III. Duke of Savoy, in 1534, influenced by the archbishop and inquisitor of Turin, employed Don Pantaleon Bersor, Bressour or Berfour, lord of Roccapiatta, and some troops, to persecute the Waldenses. In 1535, he secretly conveyed into the valleys 500 men, cavalry and infantry, who instantly commenced ransacking, pillaging, and wasting the country. The people placed themselves in the passages, and, with slings and stones, so successfully attacked the duke's men, that they either abandoned their prey and fled, or remained dead on the ground. His highness, considering that this corresponded with former experience, resolved to attempt no more the subjugation of these persons by arms, because they were so well acquainted with the passages of the country, that the loss of one of the Waldensian lives was usually revenged by the destruction of a

* Morland, p. 224. Leger, part ii. p. 27.

† Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv. See the League, Appendix No. III.

dozen on the opposite side. He therefore determined to seize and punish them one by one, when they descended into Piedmont, vainly expecting by this plan to terrify the inhabitants of the valleys.* MARTIN GONINO, of Angrogna, in returning from a consultation with the German reformers, and with Mr Farel, of Geneva, suffered martyrdom at Geneva, 26th of April 1536. †

Having only the New Testament, and part of the Old, printed in their own tongue, the remaining books of the Old Testament being in manuscript, they collected the whole, and paid 1500 crowns of gold to a printer in Neufchastel in Switzerland, to publish an entire edition of the French Bible. This has been erroneously asserted to be the first edition of the whole Scriptures in the French tongue. It was however the second. They commissioned also Martin Gonin to Geneva, to purchase a supply of books to instruct the people, but on the hill of Gap he was seized by George Martin, lord of Champolion, sent to Grenoble, and in the night cast into the river Lyzere, lest he should teach publicly any of his opinions. ‡

The Waldenses, however, still persisted in their plans of reformation, though many of them were by Bressour sent to the Inquisition. About this time, however, an open rupture happened between Charles III. of Savoy, and Francis I. The valleys of Piedmont passed under the dominion of France, to which they were subjected for the space of twenty-three years,§ during which period the history of the Waldenses in these parts has been already given, along with those of France, till 1559, when the duke of Savoy had his dominions in Piedmont restored to him. In 1559, Emmanuel Philibert, successor to Charles III. duke of Savoy, having recovered his estates by the general peace between himself, the king of France, and the king of Spain, was urged by the monks and regulars of Pignerol to condemn the Waldenses to be burnt, to confiscate their estates, and, in short, to deliver them over to the instruments of their ruin. The poor people perceiving themselves

* Morland, pp. 223, 224. Leger, part ii. p. 27. Boyer, chap. vi. Perrin.

† Leger, part i. p. 204. Morland, b. i. chap. viii. ib. Pyran, introduction, p. 37.

‡ Perrin, ib.

§ Jackson, pp. 164, 165.

on the brink of desolation, had recourse to Him who has the hearts of princes and of all men in his hand. They prayed, they fasted, and they humbled themselves before God. In the due use of all lawful means of safety, they presented a humble petition to Emmanuel Philibert for the free exercise of their religion.* They intimated to him, that they had learned that their enemies had accused them to his highness; that Festus, having been urged by the priests to kill Paul, refused to proceed till he should have the accusers face to face, and Nicodemus testifies, that the law condemns no man till it hear him; that the matter on which they petitioned concerned the glory of God, and the salvation of souls; that they protest, before Almighty God, their determination to live and die in the holy faith, piety, and religion of Jesus Christ, and abhor all heresies condemned by the word of God; that they embrace the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, the four councils, and the ancient fathers, in all things not repugnant to the analogy of faith; that they obey their superiors, live peaceably with their neighbours, have wronged no man though provoked, and none can with reason complain against them; that they are not obstinate, but willing to be admonished; that they are willing to dispute, or that a free counsel be held, in which all things may be established by the word of God; that this religion has not been invented of late years, but is the religion of their fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and others yet more ancient, yea of the martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles, and if any man can prove the contrary, they are willing to submit; that as this is the religion of God's word it cannot be extinguished, and his highness knows that hitherto it has rather been extended than diminished by persecution; that it is dangerous for his highness to embrue his hands in the blood of God's saints; that they will obey his edicts as far as conscience will permit, always remembering that obedience is due to God rather than to men; that such as stimulate his highness to persecute them, are influenced not with zeal for God's glory, but with anxiety to preserve their own worldly dignity; that the Turks, Jews, and Saracens, are allowed to enjoy their re-

* Boyer, chap. viii, pp. 50, 51.

ligion and their modes of worship, and surely such as worshi the one true God, and Jesus Christ, and confess one God, one baptism, ought to enjoy the same privileges; and that his highness will allow them the most holy gospel of their Lord and God, and not force them to act contrary to their consciences. They conclude with prayers for his highness' prosperity.* Another petition of the same tenor they presented to the Dutchess, who possessed a considerable knowledge of the truth, and who had always displayed great tenderness for the poor flock of Christ's sheep. These supplications however were unsuccessful, because the duke, having been under obligations to the pope and the king of Spain for procuring the restoration of his dominions from France, these personages, along with the monks, solicited Emanuel to destroy the Waldenses, contrary to his true interests.†

In the following year, 1560, after the restitution of the country, the pope's Nuncio reproved the Duke of Savoy for not being so zealous as the King of France, in persecuting the Waldenses and Lutherans in the Valley of Angrogna and neighbourhood. The Nuncio stated, that if he did not join his forces to those of the king, either to convert that people to the bosom of the church, or to destroy them, his holiness would have reason to suspect him as a favourer of the Waldenses. The prince of Piemont engaged to use all means in his power to please the Nuncio.‡ In the beginning of March, the indications of an approaching storm appeared by some animadversions against the dissenters from the Romish church.§ While the Waldenses were endeavouring, by requests, to soften the prince, and avert the tempest that threatened them, four hundred of the Duke's soldiers seized San Germano in the night. The protestants, in their shirts, all hastily retired to the neighbouring mountains, with the exception of twenty-five, who lived farthest from the retreat. These, not being able to command time to flee, fell on their knees, and in the sight of their enemies, addressed to God a short and ardent prayer. They attacked their foes with such courage that they killed great numbers, whose companions being struck

* Morland, pp. 227, 228.

† Boyer, *ib.* p. 51.

‡ Perrin, part i. b. ii. chap. iv.

§ Du Thou, tom. ii. lib. xxvii. p. 36. Bulkley's edition, Lond. 1733.

with a panic, betook themselves to flight, and many of them, in their confusion, tumbled into the river Clesson, and perished.* In pursuance of his engagement to please the pope, the duke ordered the Vaudois to attend Mass, on pain of their lives, and devastation of the Valleys by fire and sword. The inhabitants did not obey this injunction, and the duke, with the assistance of the pope, and the kings of France and Spain, raised an army. Open force was thus employed against the church of God.†

All the petitions of the people to the duke were unavailing, and in four edicts, he declared, that all who shall be present at the sermons of the ministers of the Valleys, shall be, for the first offence, fined of one hundred crowns, and for the second, shall be doomed to the galleys for life. A judge was appointed to proceed in circuit to punish the transgressors, and the lords and magistrates of the different places had the same power conferred on them. To Carignan, the duke appointed also a certain collateral judge, who caused to be apprehended, MARCELLEN, a Frenchman, and JOAN, his wife, a woman of Carignan. Four days after, they were both burnt alive, and in this female, God was pleased to manifest an admirable example of constancy, for as she was led to execution, she thus exhorted her husband: "Well done, my brother, be of good courage, this day we shall doubtless enter together into the joys of heaven."‡ JOHN of Carthignan Marthoven, an honest, plain, and genuinely pious man, and his wife, were apprehended. They forwarded their confession to the duke, but it was never presented to him. Three days after, when they wished to defend it, they were both cast into the fire and burnt to death. Great cruelty was exercised against the Waldenses of Meana, of Arc or Meron, and of Snza, who were also pillaged of their property. A number of the accused suffered capital punishment, upwards of sixty were condemned to the galleys, but others avoided the danger by rejecting that religion which they had hitherto professed. Three individuals were selected by the duke to conduct the war, the chief of whom was the lord of Trinita, who was assisted by Thomas Jacomell, a dominician inquisitor; and by

* Boyer, *ib.* p. 51, 52. Morland, pp. 228, 229.

† Perrin, *ib.* Du Thou, *ib.*

‡ Scipio Lentulus in Morland, *ib.*

de Corbis, the assessor, a violent man, and provost of justice. The two last named came to Carignan to make strict and diligent inquisition after suspected persons.*

By the intercession and recommendation of some nobles in the courts of Charles, count of Lucerna, and in Angrogna, the persecutors proceeded a little more remissly with the people in these departments. Nor did the brethren of the monastery of Pignerol, near the town, cease to vex the inhabitants, for since the Waldenses, in small parties going and returning, necessarily passed before the habitation of the monks, situate at the entrance of the Alps, the devoted brothers intercepted, and cruelly harassed the travellers, by means of an armed band which they maintained for that purpose. Most of the noblemen of these valleys, to increase their own riches, by plundering and proscribing the miserable creatures, and to achieve what was agreeable to their prince, took occasion to rage against his subjects. Among these cruel men, the two brothers, Charles and Boniface Truchi, excelled all others in savageness. In the foregoing year, Charles had endeavoured, by suborned men, to apprehend a preacher, and as the subjects from this cause raised a rebellious movement, the prince was in danger of his life. Though the insurgents declared this injury to their lord to have originated in another contest of far greater importance, yet they were obliged to repair it by payment of 1600 pieces of gold. Being more irritated with his brother, he, with standards displayed, and drums beating, on the 2d of April 1560, attacked the village of Reuclaret, in his own dominions. This being perceived by the Waldenses, they, with their wives and children, ascended with difficulty through the by-ways to the neighbouring mountains, then covered with snow. They were almost naked, and being obliged to remain in that situation three successive nights, were nearly dead with cold. Their pastors who had lately returned from Calabria, and an inhabitant of San Martino, were committed to the flames. The houses of the villagers were plundered, nor did the invaders promise departure before the miserable men should engage to be obedient for the future to the

* Perrin, *ib.* Scipio Lent. in Morland, p. 231. Du Thou, tom. ii. lib. xxvii. p. 86. Lond. 1733.

holy Romish church. But an unexpected occurrence delivered them from obligation to the promise which they were giving. The Valley-men who adhered to the Waldensian doctrine in Pragela, which belonged to the king of France, feeling indignant at the calamity of their friends of Reuclaret, sent to that place four hundred men to drive away the plundering soldiery, and to restore to their homes such as had fled. These auxiliaries, meeting the forces of the brothers Truchi, in an inclement night, fought a sharp conflict, and defeated them. Not one of the Waldenses was lost, and Charles Truchi, with difficulty, saved himself by flight.*

The Truchis being provoked on account of the slaughter of their men, by the warriors from Pragela, complained to the Duke of Savoy, who commanded them to fortify the tower of San Martino, which had been twenty years ago demolished by the French. In this fort, a guard was stationed, to the great annoyance of the villagers. While the fort was in course of repair, the Truchis proceeded to Nice on their journey to the duke, and having one day for pastime sallied along the seashore, they were circumvented by a small Turkish barge, and with others of their company, forced into a miserable servitude, during which they concealed their nobility, and after a variety of contumelious torments, they with difficulty redeemed themselves. About the same time, the Duke of Savoy himself fell very sick, which afforded a little breathing for the Waldenses. Not long after, Philip of Savoy, count of Racon, an excellent man, and studious of the peace of his country, went down to Lower Angrogna. By a speech which he accidentally used, he interfered, and was much admired of all present. Having been kindly heard, he called aside the pastors, to whom he mentioned the sickness of the prince, and disapproved of the persecution carried on by his command. Philip begged them to use means to mitigate the anger of the duke. They replied that they saw no other means than to represent the innocence of the villagers, and with that view they had sent him a small memorandum by Charles, count of Lucerna, in which paper the heads of their confession were contained. They therefore beg Philip to condescend to inter-

* Du Thou, pp. 86, 87.

cede also with the prince. They wrote three copies, one for the duke, one for Margaret, his spouse, in whose equity they confided, and one for the parliament. These were received, and the matter agitated by the council of the Count of Raconis in the end of June, * but no good effect followed, and Trinita soon renewed the persecution, as will be detailed in the following chapter.

In the first part of the sixteenth century, the following Barbes flourished in the Valleys of Piemont:—PETER BENI-LAQUE, of the Valley of San Martino: PETER BORELLO, of Villaretto, in the Vale of Cluson, who was imprisoned in a place named Poccopaglia, in Italy, on his journey to Calabria, and was liberated, on paying a heavy ransom: MATHEW GAUTERO, of the community of Faet, in the Valley of Cluson: ANTONIO GIANONE, and MARTIN ARNOL, of Angrogna: LAURENZO PIGNALES, of Fenestrelles, in the Val Cluson: FRANCISCO VALLO, of La Comba, in Lucerna: GILLIO DI GILLI, of Perosa: FRANCISCO LAURENZO of San Martino.†

* Du Thou, *ib.* p. 88.

† Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. p. 204.. Morland, b. i. chap. viii.

CHAPTER VI.

Waldenses refuse to admit the Mass, and to send away their Pastors—Pastor of San Germano and others burnt—People plundered—Men of Angrogna conquer the plundering soldiers from San Germano, many of whom are drowned in the Cluson—Waldenses take the abbey of Pignerol, yet do no harm to it—Pastors dissuade the people from arms—They fast, receive the Lord's Supper, and agree to leave all for their religion—La Trinita, a persecutor, encamps at La Torre—Vaudois have recourse to prayer—He persuades some in Angrogna, and Lucerna, to submit to him, and to petition the Duke—Commits cruelties in Tigliaretto and Villaro, and plunders Angrogna—Solemn covenanting between the Waldenses under France and Savoy—Waldenses resist by force at Bobbio and Villaro—Great cruelties in Rora and Lucerna—La Trinita besieges the Meadow of La Torre, but is frequently repulsed with loss—The Duke obliged to make peace with the Waldenses—New persecuting Edict—Interesting letter for the Vaudois from the Elector Palatine, and the Dutchess of Savoy pleads for them, yet they are much harassed—Castrocaro, Governor of the Valleys, a great persecutor—Charles IX. of France interposes in behalf of the Waldenses with the Duke, who is softened—Solemn League among the Waldenses, 1571—News of the Bartholomew Massacre injurious to them, and they lose a friend in the death of the Dutchess—Persecution of the Waldenses in the NEW LANDS, and many of them in flight to Frassiniera perish with cold—Death of the Duke, and Vaudois tolerably easy under Charles Emanuel, till the end of the century—List of Pastors.

THE statement which the Waldenses had sent to the Parliament of Turin, having been agitated under the Count of Raconis, in the end of June 1560, La Trinita returned to the Waldenses, and declared that their profession had been really transmitted to Rome, and that an answer was fully expected. After a slight disputation with the pastors, he asked the synodics whether they will refuse the sacred solemnity of the eucharist among them, according to the appointment of the Duke of Savoy? Whether they would admit, and hear the divines, who should be missioned by the duke to instruct them? And if their own teachers, in the meantime, would leave off the exercise of their functions? To the first proposal, the synodics gave a denial.—To the second, they added this condition, provided they would purely expound the word of God. To the third question, they were entirely opposed. La Trinita, and his associates, then produced a command from the duke,*

* Scipio Lentulo, in a letter to Geneva, speaks of the Duke, as now at Nice, Leger, part ii. p. 34. Morland, p. 230, in both of which places, the epistle is

in which the villagers were commanded, with all possible expedition, to expel their pastors from his dominion, under this pretence, that they were suspected of a hostile disposition towards the prince. No advantage having been gained in the way of negotiation, the edicts against the Waldenses were renewed, and severe punishments recommenced with fresh vigour. Thence a band of men were ordered to San Germano, which is a village in the Valley of Perosa. The pastor,* and many others, were seized, and burnt with a slow fire. The villagers having been spoiled of their goods, were forced to desert their homes, and for a time to retire to the neighbouring mountains. Being at last compelled by the daily injuries of the Monks of Pignerol, they consulted, and asked liberty of their pastors to prepare themselves to repel violence, and were admonished, as much as possible, to abstain from bloodshed. But arms having been once grasped by men who have been attacked, and whose patience is exhausted, in vain require moderation. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Angrogna on the mount, opposite San Germano, were diligently employed in reaping the corn, they heard the noise of the plunderers, who came from the latter named place. On a signal given, the men of Angrogna hastened to arms, and collected from every quarter, from the highest and lowest parts of the mountains. About fifty of them, well acquainted with the localities, attacked with a sudden shock, and vanquished the soldiers loaded with booty, to the number of a hundred. The pursuers stuck close to the backs of the fugitives, till they arrived at the bridge across the Cluson. On approaching this situation, their passage was stopped. A part precipitated themselves into the river below, a part perished by the sword, and a very few escaped.† At the clashing of the swords, upwards of four hundred men convened. By assault, the victors took the abbey of Pignerol,

recorded. This Scipio, was a native of Naples, and a learned man. He became a Waldensian pastor in Angrogna, and Lucerna. After the persecution of 1560, 1561, he was useful to the Reformers at Sondrio, and Chiavenna, in the Valteline. M'Crie's Italy, p. 344.

* His name was JOHN, a Frenchman, whom the barbarians carried to the abbey, near Pignerol, where he was devoured by the fire, and afforded an admirable example of patience. Scipio Lentulus, in Morland, ib.

† Compare Boyer, pp. 51, 52.

which is only a mile from the town. They forced the doors, and demanded the liberation of their companions, who had been cruelly detained captives in that place. They adjourned the matter, however, till next day, and in the meantime, the pastors approached, by whose exhortations, they were recalled from their design. On the 21st of September, the prefect of Fossano, with some of the nobility, arrived at Angrogna, declaring that he was commissioned by the prince, and the syndics having been convened, he represented, that the short statement of their principles had been presented to the duke. When this became known, a disputation was appointed, at which the envy of the suspended vexations was frequently repeated, and which ultimately ended in scolding. In the latter end of October, the report of a rescript against the Waldenses was talked of in the army as to arrive on an early day, in which edict, pardon for their crimes was to be granted to such as were wandering from their homes, or were contumacious, provided they should enlist themselves as soldiers to route the Waldenses. On occasion of this proposed military service, the pastors of Lucerna and Angrogna, with the syndics, assembled, consulted, and unanimously agreed, that their life is not to be defended by taking arms against the duke,* but, that they should convey away as large a portion of their property as they were able, that they should retire to the neighbouring mountains, and that they should trust for protection to their gracious God, who never deserts his own, and who softens the hearts of princes. Meantime, they appointed fasting, and in order to fortify themselves against the hostile attacks of their foes, they received the Lord's Supper, administered in the manner usual with them. Among all the multitude of their people, not an individual was found who murmured at the seemingly hard appointment to desert their homes and endearing associations, and with equanimity they complied with the resolution that was published. Some pastors, however, defended the opposite sentiment, that, in such hazardous and desperate circumstances, men may lawfully

* This shows the Waldenses were by no means a revengeful or blood-thirsty people, but would live in the woods, in dens and caves of the earth, rather than take arms against the unjust attacks of their prince, though they soon after defended themselves by force.

repel by arms the assaults of enemies, especially, since the warlike attitude is assumed, not against the duke, but in opposition to the pope, who abuses the power of the prince; and that the carnal weapons are not grasped in the cause of religion, but for the safety of their wives and children. The suffering populace, however, did not assent to this proposal, but adhered to the previous resolution. Though Charles, Count of Lucerna,* anxious for their welfare, admonished them to obey their prince, and prevent in time, imminent dangers, they persisted with constancy in their resolutions.

On the second of November, the duke's forces approached the confines of Lucerna.† They were led by La Trinita, who was an instigator of these proceedings, and a commander of great celebrity in these parts. He had always followed the standard of the emperor, of Philip, and of the Duke of Savoy, while his brother, the count of Bena, adhered to the French. The warfare commenced by slight skirmishes. The Waldenses glided along the mountains, and the approaches to San Giovanni having been blocked up by them, the enemy came into Angrogna, and drew up the army in La Torre, intercepting some of the villagers who had not yet joined their own party. When a soldier hasted through the vineyards to occupy the passages from behind, the villagers were under necessity of coming to arms, which, however, they declined, being for the most part furnished with slings and cross bows. Their number was very small, and perceiving that in some places, they were not only opposed, but surrounded, in attacking the enemy, they always endeavoured gradually to ascend the highest places, and when a commodious situation for fighting presented itself, they stood firm, and bravely encountered their foes. In this way, they prolonged the battle till the evening, without sustaining any serious loss‡. The army of Trinita was encamped at La Torre, which extensive village is

* Scipio states, that in the previous conflicts, about sixty of the duke's men had been slain, and that Raconis and Trinita were engaged in this attempt at peace. Leger, *ib.* p. 35.

† Scipio informs us, that the duke was then at Versello, and this army consisted of 4000 infantry, and 200 cavalry. Leger and Morl. *ib.*

‡ In this battle, La Trinita had 1200 men, and the Waldenses only 200, yet the former lost 70, and the latter only three. Scipio, *ib.*

situate in the Valley of Lucerna, at the foot of the mountains, between the inhabitants of Angrogna, and the other indwellers of the district. It is inhabited by men who were very troublesome to the Waldenses, and though they were very desirous for war to be made in the Vaudois, yet by being in their immediate vicinity, the calamities which these envious inhabitants rejoiced to see prepared for the protestants, alighted on themselves, and they were reduced from competence to abject poverty. By the command of La Trinita, a fortification in that village, long ago demolished by the French, was quickly rebuilt, and strengthened by a garrison. The forts of Villaro, Perosa, and San Martino, were occupied by the soldiers.*

Against so many storms of impending evils, when the population of Angrogna saw slender guardianship in human strength, one resource remained. They turned in prayer to God. They implored and waited for assistance from him. They were confirmed in the resolution to persevere with constancy to the very last breath in that religion which they professed, unless they should be convinced of error by the manifest testimony of the divine word. Meantime, their brethren of Perosa, San Martino,† and of Pragela, belonging to France, anxiously joined in the common cause,—prayers, help, and counsels. When La Trinita perceived these circumstances, he was afraid lest despair should add new strength to those who were nearly conquer'd, and, in order to divide their exertions, he sent a boy to Angrogna, offering hopes of pardon, provided petitioners deprecating punishment should ask remission from the duke. La Trinita testified also in presence of the messengers from Angrogna, that, although his highness knew that the pope, princes, and cities of Italy, had determined to extinguish the nation of the Waldenses by a massacre, and was by every means incited to that transaction by the Romish dignitaries, yet, that by divine admonition he had determined to treat them more mildly. La Trinita added, that

* On the 3d of November, a party of the duke's men, from a place near Villaro, and Tigliaretto, attacked the Waldenses, who slew about 30 of them. Scipio.

† Scipio Lentulo estimates 18,000 faithful souls of the Waldenses of Angrogna, Perosa, and San Martino. Leger, part ii. p. 34.

they might calculate on favour from the dutchess, to whom his highness hardly refuses any request; and that she was wont publicly to declare that the customs of the Waldenses ought to be preserved, for they maintained a religion not of yesterday, nor of short duration, but delivered through many ages from their ancestors. In addition to these announcements uttered with all the appearance of humanity, La Trinita ordered a sacred solemnity to be celebrated at St Laurent, at which he and his friends were present. In this way the men of Angrogna were persuaded to receive the condition, and to write to the duke a petition to this purpose; that they had sent a deputation to pledge such prompt and humble obedience as became subjects, and to beg pardon for such as had been driven by deplorable necessity and desperation to take arms; that they deprecated force to their consciences, and begged none to be compelled to bend himself to the traditions of the church of Rome; and, that by his highness' favour they shall be allowed to preserve the religion received from their fathers, and liberty of conscience. This short declaration was subscribed by the men present, from San Giovanni, Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, and Perosa. After the pastors and syndies had pondered the matter, the inhabitants of Lucerna, as well as those of Villaro assented to the petition.

La Trinita treated in a different manner the people of Tigliaretto, because they more lately gave their consent, which was procured by the influence of their friends of Angrogna, because the two places had held frequent intercourse with one another, and because they had improperly punished some of their own party. They were enjoined to deliver up their arms, and on their knees to deprecate punishment and supplicate remission. After this compliance the army was led to Bonnetsi, that the names of the petitioners might be marked. But the soldiers remembering the damage formerly received,* made an unexpected attack, and for three days continued their depredation. Turning from Tigliaretto, they furiously assailed the inhabitants of Villaro, and led away some prisoners.†

* Du Thou seems here to refer to the victory over the Duke's men, and killing thirty of them, on the 3rd of November, mentioned by Scipio.

† Compare Boyer, pp. 53 54.

La Trinita professed to be heartily grieved for these proceedings, contrary to the faith of agreements. He felt peculiarly indignant at the case of a girl, who, after having extricated herself from the soldiers, who were preparing to violate her modesty, was pursued by them, and ultimately threw herself headlong from a craggy rock, "that by a generous death," says Du Thou, "she might elude the lust of the infuriated aggressors. For among the Waldenses, chastity was a chief care and honour, so that their neighbours, who in other respects were alienated from their religion, being afraid of violence from a licentious soldiery, and wishing to protect the chastity of their daughters, they committed them to the keeping and fidelity of the Waldenses."

La Trinita then demanded 20,000 pieces of gold to maintain the army: and when the poor men were unable to pay such a sum, the duke, in his benignity, exacted only 8000, but La Trinita first commanded the villagers to carry their arms to the castles, which had been fortified by the injunction of the prince. He then demanded the 8000 pieces, or crowns of gold, which the duke of Savoy had granted, and compelled the people to bind themselves for the payment, which they effected by borrowing the money at an exorbitant interest from the traders, who sometimes sold the people's cows, or took them in pledge when they could not in any other way realize the per centage. This happened when the crops were bad, and the corn scanty, so that a sack of wheat sold for six, and sometimes even for eight pieces of gold. Though the money was thus paid, yet the soldiers were not removed as the Waldenses had persuaded themselves, for La Trinita added a new condition to be satisfied previous to his removing from their confines, namely, that they should expel their pastors. By common consent and judgment they resolved, that, in the meantime the ministers should depart, till the military forces be withdrawn. Not without shedding tears among the Waldenses, their spiritual guides were sent away to the wonted mountain of the Col de San Martino, through the narrow passages, being stopped as usual by the deep snows.* In this way the inhabitants thought to shun the fury of the soldiers.

* Compare Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv. p. 70.

La Trinita, however, pretended to doubt whether they had with good fidelity fulfilled the condition, and granted his men liberty to search and ransack all the houses of private persons. Having thus an opportunity of entering all parts of the habitations, they embraced the new occasion to plunder. Since, according to agreement, they acted at first more mildly with those of Angrogna, whom they permitted to retain one pastor, who, however, was ultimately compelled to flee by the by-ways, and the soldiers pillaged his house and most of the habitations of Angrogna, at the same time urging the syndics to represent him as a fugitive, else they might be assured that Angrogna will be laid waste with fire and sword. The greater part of the habitations were burnt, the proprietors robbed, and innumerable acts of wickedness perpetrated by the army. Among other acts of wickedness committed by the soldiers of La Torre, they laid hold of a man sixty years of age, tied his hands behind him, and bound him to a bench. They then applied to his belly a beetle covered with an earthen pot. The creature pierced and gnawed the man's body till he died by a cruel and uncommon death. During these barbarous transactions, messengers proceeded to the duke at Vercello; and, lest the mind of the prince should be irritated, the business of the legation disturbed, or pretext given to the lascivious soldiery to injure the defenceless, the gospel was preached only in secret. The Angrognans however resolved that, whether the present deputation to the duke should be able to adjust their affairs according to their wish or not, they would meet publicly to hear sermon, they would refuse supply for the aliment of the army, and they would deny lodging for even a single soldier for the future. After quarrelling forty days at Vercello, the messengers were compelled to admit of mass being said.* Though at first they refused, yet they were obliged to ask by a popish advocate, pardon for having had recourse to arms, which was granted, and the duke's men removed from Angrogna. These proceedings occupied till the end of December 1560.

* Scipio informs us that during two months these deputies were confined in a cloister at Vercello, and were compelled to petition both the duke and pope's legate.

In the beginning of 1561, the messengers of the Waldenses returned. On learning the transactions, their friends in Lucerna and Bobbio, being stimulated by grief and indignation, wrote their brethren in Pragela and other places in the dominions of the king of France, and begged their help and advice in the common cause. After mature consideration by all the parties, they agreed that the Waldenses under the king of France, and under the duke of Savoy, enter into a covenant of the following tenor:—that they constantly retain the doctrine which they have hitherto professed as agreeable to the word of God; that they preserve obedience and fidelity to their princes according to the command of God; and that no individual of the Waldenses promise, conclude, or covenant any thing in the affair of religion for the future, without the consent of the whole body. In consequence of this resolution, deputies from the Waldenses of the French dominions proceeded to Bobbio, on whose advent a council was immediately assembled. The villagers having become more bold by numbers, not only refused the conditions proposed by the duke and promised by the deputies, but unanimously consent to make a covenant with those of Pragela. Armed with bows and slings as if about to hear preaching, they in the morning entered the Romish church at Bobbio, where they overturned and broke the images and altars. After a sermon, they marched toward Villaro with a similar disposition. On their journey they stationed guards for defence, who also attacked Guichard, a village near Bobbio, where they drove away the people, and took some booty. When arrived at Villaro, they demolished the statues and altars in the temples.* Meanwhile, the prefect of Lucerna and the greater part of the nobility had arrived at Bobbio, to execute the conditions of the duke of Savoy, and to make up a list of the names of such as were to embrace the mass, or who were to refuse. When these visitors perceived present appearances, they were terrified and fled to the fort, in which they were besieged for ten days. In the course of this time the governor of La Torre, when attempting to carry supplies to his friends enclosed in the fort at Bobbio, was killed and thrown down by the Wal-

* Compare Perrin, *ib.* p. 72. The pastors were now called home.

denses. At last the besieged personages laboured under the want of water, and seeing no prospect of help from La Trinita, they surrendered on condition of their lives and goods being safe. They dared not, however, to move without a warrant from those very pastors whom they had so cruelly persecuted.

On the second of February, La Trinita arrived at Lucerna with an army, and fortified by a guard the church of San Giovanni. By that time, the sentiment of the pastors of Angrogna had been changed, and common consent determined, that, for the future, religion should be defended and maintained by arms. The covenant made between the Waldenses of Pragela and Angrogna was confirmed. While the army of La Trinita was marching near Sommeillette, on the confines of Angrogna, and passing a work of the villagers, raised with flint-stones for their defence, a conflict happened between the hostile parties, which continued till the evening, and some were amissing on both sides. On the 7th of February, La Trinita proceeded to Angrogna, and lost most of his followers. Consequently, the prior ordered to sound a retreat, which was opened for them in the houses deserted by the villagers, who had taken refuge in the Meadow of La Torre. These uninhabited houses, to the number of upwards of a thousand, the military adventurers burnt with great fury. The Meadow is a very narrow valley, on the borders of Angrogna, about two thousand paces in extent, and contained about two hundred small cottages. On the south and north, it is enclosed by steep mountains. On the east and west, approaches are opened through very narrow and fearful by-paths, in which approaches, the Meadow is open by a shallow river, skirted by banks cut around, and is enclosed, so as to form a place, in other respects convenient for pastures, and having wholesome fountains. By the restoration of the ancient track for necessary uses, the villagers,* with a slender stock of provisions fled, as to a most safe asylum. La Trinita and his followers made the first attack on Rosa. Having been several times repulsed, he at last obtained possession of that place, and by fire and sword routed and slaughtered the Waldenses found in it. Such of them as avoided the danger,

* Boyer calls them three hundred, pp. 54, 55.

betook themselves to the Valley of Lucerna, where the women, after having journeyed the whole night, leading young children by the hand, in the morning presented to the Lucernese a most appalling spectacle. Leaving Rosa, La Trinita descended into the Valley of Lucerna. At first, the people who guarded the passes, stoutly resisted. In course of time, however, when they saw themselves surrounded on every quarter, they continued the fight, and gradually retired to Villaro. They arrived at a very large village, which was destitute of a wall, and which they were obliged immediately to desert, because the cavalry had passed into the plain. The invalids, and those of the weaker sex, had also previously moved along the tops of the neighbouring mountains. The houses were afterwards burnt by the enemy, and such as still remained in them were cruelly murdered. Sometime after, the Meadow of La Torre was invaded on three points, by one of which it verges towards the east. On that spot, a protracted and keen battle was fought, and the followers of La Trinita were put to the disadvantage, because the villagers defended themselves within their fortifications, and sallied out more cautiously on the enemy. They afterwards contended with great exertion in besieging the Meadow. From the east and north, the men of La Trinita made the attack, but were repulsed with loss, and unless a rumour had spread among the Waldenses that the enemy were invading them on another side, the fugitives would have been all killed to a man. But the other band, whose leaders were Louis Monteil, master of the camps, and Charles Truchi, formerly named, and lately liberated from the hands of the Turks, marched* towards the north through the opposite Straits, and was besieged by the guards, who obliged their enemies to turn their march, and they seized the highest top of the adjacent mountain, which spot was believed by the villagers themselves to be inaccessible on account of the snows and the ice. Thence the Romanists descended through uneven places, impassable rocks and brambles. A keen contest followed, the country people fighting for safety, and the others for prey. By the unexpected arrival of friends from Lucerna, the Wal-

* Scipio, says this Truchi, Lord of Runclaretto, led 600 men.

denses of Angrogna urged the dubious victory, by a renewed onset, and compelled their enemies to yield.* Monteil himself, at eighteen years of age, and unprotected by his men, was slain in sight of all the contenders. Charles Truchi, was, by a poor man, struck with a rock, and thrown to the ground, while another Waldensian coming up, grasped Truchi's own sword, and deprived him of his head. But the villagers having been recalled by the pastors, or by the horror of shedding blood, as they themselves assert, or from fear of danger, if they should proceed to further extremities, ceased from the slaughter.

While this victory raised the spirits of the Waldenses, La Trinita, after four days, in order to revenge the slaughter of his men caused by the rashness of their leaders, made a new attack by his men in three divisions. One party entered by Rosa, a second by the plain, and a third by Tigliaretto. The first and second united at the plain which intervenes between Villaro and Bobbio, on which many cavalry had already arrived. From thence they attempted the top of Mount La Combe, where were few, if any, watch-towers. The villagers, nothing terrified, rushed from their fortifications, attacked their foes when rushing in, and bravely repelled them.

At this juncture, La Trinita had privately received 1500 soldiers as a subsidy to his receding, and one hundred were, in like manner, sent down to the annoyed Waldenses by their friends. After the renewal of the contest, the Vaudois were ultimately obliged to fall backwards, and to desert their fortifications, which they did, however, without any serious loss. By this occurrence, the followers of La Trinita were much inflated, and pursued the success. In such circumstances, however, courage sometimes returns to the hearts of the conquered, and this was verified in the present instance: for the boys and women so encouraged the men, that the conflict was renewed, with great desperation, and victory at last declared for the Vaudois. The next transaction was, that by the charge of the pastors, all the Waldenses returned to solemn prayer and thanksgiving to God, for the present success

* Scipio asserts, that 200 on the Duke's side were slain at this time, and not one of the Waldenses. Leger, *ib.* p. 36.

vouchsafed to them, feeling equally anxious regarding the event of the detrimental war undertaken against them. The enemies who had been ordered to assail the inhabitants of Tigliaretto, were repulsed with equal courage, while their brethren of Angrogna promptly brought them supplies, and set them an example of zeal. By the strenuous exertions of such as lived at Tigliaretto, and the aid of those of Villaro, the enemy was so completely, and with so great loss, expelled from their confines, that La Trinita never afterwards descended into the Valley of Lucerna.

These losses touched the pride and military reputation of La Trinita, who had so frequently conquered hostile armies, but was now vanquished by rustics, though he had seven thousand men in his camps. He resolved, therefore, to fatigue and provoke the country people, as often as he could do so without danger. Accordingly, on the 16th of April 1561, he descended with two bands to Angrogna, which was now deserted by the villagers. Thence with all possible expedition, he marched through craggy rocks, till he approached the Meadow of La Torre, and made an attack from the east in three places, about one hundred and twenty paces distant from each other. In order to obstruct the passes, the villagers constructed three fortresses, one on the most elevated top, another in the middle, and a third in the lowest valley, at the bottom of the mountains. The defenders of the last beholding La Trinita making an attempt on the highest, instantly deserted that post, and hastened to their friends, who were exerting themselves on the top of the mountains, and just proceeding against the enemy. On a different quarter, they were joined by auxiliaries from Lucerna, by whose help they cast down, and caused loss to the enemy who were attempting to seize the summits of the mountains. Sebastian de Virgel, the chief hostile captain, was transfixed with swords through both thighs. The foe then attacked the middle fortification, which the rustics deserted, because they conceived themselves unequal to defend it. Five defenders, however, remained, and resisted with the greatest bravery, till they saw the enemy driven from the siege of the higher fortification, by blowings (*scloppetis*,) by poles, and by the rolling of great stones. Having their spirits revived, they more boldly and

conjoinedly engaged in the conflict. Every one viewed his own interest in danger, and having his courage confirmed, contributed his share to compel the enemy to turn his back. The wooden defences were collected to cover the soldiery, but these were taken, as well as the defences built of turf by the labour of ditchers. That day, La Trinita himself is said to have been in great danger of his life. Only two of the Waldenses were lost, but a very large and uncertain number of the followers of La Trinita. Many of the survivors were conveyed away in waggons, and a part remained in the power of the Waldenses, who immediately committed to the earth the bodies of the dead. La Trinita was much affected with this adventure, and publicly declared that he never felt himself a weaker soldier than in these last encounters with the rustic multitude. In so many preceding battles and skirmishes, only fourteen of the Waldenses are mentioned as killed. Their adversaries reckoned the transactions almost miraculous, for the adherents to the Duke of Savoy openly published in his camps, that the fact was now manifest, that the war which was conducted against the Waldenses, had been undertaken contrary to the will of God. They write, that when Sebastian Virgel was commencing his march for the battle with awful threats, his hostess predicted that he should that day learn by experience, whether the cause of Savoy or that of the Waldenses were the more just: for if the duke had justice on his side, victory should also be his. When therefore, wounded, and almost lifeless, Virgel was brought back to his lodging-house, the same hostess exclaimed, that "the cause of the Waldenses is the more powerful one," since with a small number, they had remained superior against so potent an army. Some to undervalue the deeds of valour, ascribed the issue to the almost inaccessible situations on which the Waldenses were posted, from which they could easily confound men ignorant of the localities, but the victors would not fight so strenuously on the plain. They also add a remarkable fact, that almost none of those who were wounded by the Waldenses escaped death.*

* Doubtless the knowledge of the mountainous situations, and of the passes, gave the Waldenses a special advantage over their enemies, but a special interposition of Providence was evidently exercised in their favour. Du Thou states,

From that time, La Trinita left his men, with equal ferocity, as when he lost hopes of passing Angrogna. By men interposed among the Waldenses, he endeavoured to discover whether they were disposed for peace. While they were discussing this point among themselves, they agitated another question,—if they might lawfully, in a tempestuous night, apprehend La Trinita among the people of Lucerna, which they might easily accomplish, as the soldiers seldom stood sentry. However, they resolved not to make the attempt, lest the begun conciliation should be disturbed, which affair, was almost overturned by an unworthy cause. For when the count of Raconis, who was displeased with the war, and whom the Waldenses reckoned one of their friends, had sent to them a certain man of Briqueiras, named Francisco Gilley, a good man, he, contrary to the sentiment of the syndics and pastors, resolved to return that evening to his friends, because he had been told, that he must that day give an account of his journey to the count of Raconis. When he arrived at the extreme part of Angrogna, he met two villagers enraged by former injuries, and who, disregarding the league between them, cruelly murdered him. When the count of Raconis recollected this deed, he omitted the business of the peace, and in justice, commissioned one to demand the guilty persons to be produced. The Waldenses agreed to deliver up the perpetrators of the bloody deed, on these conditions, that they should be forced to do nothing contrary to their conscience; that nothing be proposed to them foreign from the worship received among them; that the individuals charged,

that a third class of Catholics accounted for the success of the Vaudois, by asserting, that they stained their swords, darts, spears, arrows, leaden-balls, and other missiles, with the sap of the herb *fora* or *thora*, which is found in those places, and which is instant poison. Bulkley, in a note, calls it *aconite*, and refers to *De le Camp's Herbarium* for an account of the *thora* of the Waldenses. Du Thou, however, mentions a difficulty, that he is creditably informed, that the inhabitants bleed fowls with knives besmeared with the liquid of the *thora*, that the creatures instantly die, and that the flesh is in this way more tender than it would otherwise be. The historian wonders, and justly, how the flesh of an animal, killed by this poison, could be safely used for human food, but leaves the discussion to others who are better acquainted with natural history. The whole of this theory seems invented to deny any peculiar providence of God regarding the Waldenses, and to represent that people as barbarians who fight with poisoned weapons.

should be very soon tried, and if condemned, should suffer punishment as an example, on the confines of Angrogna; and that nothing in this transaction shall prejudice the liberty of the people of Angrogna. This agreement was ascribed to integrity, and the Duke of Savoy, who had not spontaneously undertaken the war, was moved in an extraordinary degree by this behaviour of the people of Angrogna. The parliament of Turin was also much affected.

La Trinita having placed guards about Angrogna and Lucerna, proceeded thence to Perosa, near the Valley of San Martino. There he remained the whole month, expecting that the rural inhabitants of Angrogna, enclosed in the Meadow of La Torre, whom he was unable to expel by force, would be subdued by scantiness of victuals, when, on every quarter, provisions were prevented from reaching them. But men accustomed to penury, having overcome so many difficulties, showed themselves also master for that one. Therefore a month after, on the 18th April, the Spanish bands were joined by a guard from La Torre, for Mount Tigliaretto. Thence he made a descent on the south into the Meadow of La Torre. Having entered, he seized the place in the night, and murdered numbers of men, women, and infants on their couches. Two other military bodies were marched to the same place through the confines of Angrogna, the one in the higher, the other in the lower part. On a signal being given, the Spaniards appeared a little before sun-rise, but after a sharp contest, they were repulsed with loss. So great fear was injected into the soldiery, that on that very day, La Trinita retired to Cavors, about two miles distant. Many believe, that in the battle that day, and in the former one a month previous, if the Waldenses had pressed on the backs of the fugitives, they might have been entirely defeated: but the Vaudois distrusting their own number, or broken by watchings and labours, they reckoned themselves by no means safe, while powder was awaiting for their guns, to depart farther from their fortifications. They add also this reason, that from the beginning, they had prescribed to themselves, as much as possible, to abstain from bloodshed. The duke's council decreed, that the corns, trees, and vines of the rustics, should be destroyed; and likewise, that two castles should be

built in Angrogna. The cavalry from Briqueiras marched to the church of San Giovanni to fulfil these orders, but on the reception of contrary letters from the prince, the present design was abandoned. Meantime the Waldenses did not cease through Raconis, in two supplicatory declarations presented to Margaret, the Duchess of Savoy, to defend the equity of their cause.*

The Duchess possessed some knowledge of the truth, was believed to favour the doctrine of the Waldenses, and interceded with the duke on their behalf. Her gentleman usher scolded the deputies, for first defending themselves against the duke, and then having the forwardness to come to treat with him. One of the deputation replied, that they had taken cheerfully the spoiling of their goods, but did not wish to have their conscience oppressed, and the true service of God abolished; and that they saw the duke acted not according to his own wish, but by the direction of the pope. "We thought," continued the deputy, "that to defend ourselves, was only to oppose that supreme power and tyranny, which the enemies of God have usurped over our Sovereign Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose authority is supreme, and ought to be preferred before all the powers of the world. And being once engaged to him by oath, we are by that engagement freed from all others that are contrary to it." The usher became Protestant, and the Duchess interceded for the Waldenses in the present negotiation.†

When an answer was obtained to the Waldensian petitions, it was clogged with these conditions, that the sacrifice of the Mass should be openly celebrated among them, according to the rites of the Romish church; that they should banish their pastors, and henceforth hold neither preachings nor assemblies in their own manner; that they should be bound to redeem

* Du Thou, tom. ii. lib. xxvii. pp. 89—97. Bulkley's ed. Lond. 1733, and lib. xxvii. pp. 521—527. Francf. ed. 1610. The whole text of the foregoing part of this chapter, is little more than a free translation of the account of these transactions, by the candid Du Thou, who being a Romanist, cannot be supposed prejudiced in favour of the Waldenses. Boyer, p. 57. And Scipio says, the Vaudois, in this war, lost only 15 men, while the Duke lost 900, and eight principal captains.

† Morland, pp. 235—237.

by a price their captives from the soldiers; and that the duke should have liberty, in these valleys, to build castles in any place he pleased. In regard to the pastors, the Waldenses agreed, that if any of them were suspected by the prince, they should be dismissed, provided others, previous to the departure of the former, were brought into their room, because they were afraid lest their churches, being destitute of ministers, should be devoured by wolves. They by no means refused the celebration of the sacrifice of the Mass, on the express understanding, that they should not be obliged to be present, to furnish the provision for it, nor to perform any thing which might cause them be accused of favouring or assenting to it. The redemption of the captives, they stated to be beyond their ability, because their effects had been seized, and their houses burnt, and therefore nothing remained except the spirit by which they breathed after peace. They begged therefore, that the captives should be liberated without a price, and in like manner, that such as had been condemned to the galleys for the sake of religion, should be set loose. They deprecated the erection of castles, promising for the future that faithful obedience which they had hitherto always afforded. In short, that since they had been sufficiently fortified by the situation of the place, they begged his highness to reckon them, when received into favour, to be instead of castles and walls.

Ultimately an agreement was committed to writing, that an oblivion of the past be sanctioned; that the prince, according to his clemency, favour his Waldensian subjects, in regard to all things which had been transacted during the war; that liberty of conscience be granted them; that they should hold preachings in the places marked out, and within the prescribed limits which the law does not permit them to pass; that nevertheless the pastors have power beyond said confines to visit and console the sick, and to perform all the duties of their religion, with the exception of preaching; that if questioned regarding their doctrine, they shall have freedom to answer, without punishment by loss of goods or life; that law allows all who are absent from their homes on account of religion, notwithstanding any contrary promises or abjuration, foreign from their religious profession, previous to this

war, to return to their homes, to embrace their religious principles delivered to them by their ancestors, and to be present at preachings and assemblies, if in the places permitted; that those who are proscribed on account of religion, or the late religious war, may be restored to their goods, and may have a right by aid of the laws to fetch back the cattle, and the remaining household-stuff from the neighbouring people, except soldiers received from other places; that by the payment to redeem the things scattered in the same way, which thing the law permits to the neighbouring people among them; that for the future, they shall enjoy their liberties, immunities, and privileges, provided they make good the justice of them by documents; that they shall receive, rightly and legitimately, all things granted by the duke's ancestors, and shall rightly and legitimately use them; that the prince shall place a universal magistrate over the Waldenses of his dominions, to declare among them equitable law, by which they may understand themselves to be reckoned by the prince in the same order as the rest of his subjects, and are taken under his guardianship; that they deliver to the magistrates a written list of such as have been banished for their religion; that they shall not be compelled to make provision for the construction of the castle of Villaro, but they may ultraneously and spontaneously afford labours to the prince; that the prefect of the castle of Villaro shall serve the prince in such a manner, as to cause no molestation to the property or consciences of the villagers; that the Waldenses shall have freedom to procure pastors, in the room of those banished by the prince, with the exception of Martino of Pragela, who is not eligible by any under the duke; that wheresoever preachings and assemblies shall be free, the law permits the mass, and other Romish rites, to be celebrated, and the Waldenses are prohibited from injuring or railing at those who attend; that the Waldenses shall not be compelled to be present, or to do any thing which may be construed to favour the Romish worship; that the prince shall be favourable to them, in regard to the expenses incurred during the war; that the 8000 pieces of gold, which La Trinita forced them to promise, shall be remitted, and the documents of these obligations shall be reckoned invalid, and

annulled; that the captives shall be dismissed, on payment of a ransom, corresponding to their several abilities; and that those bound in the galleys for the sake of religion, shall be relieved by the benefit of those agreements. These acts were subscribed by the Count of Raconis, on the part and in the name of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, at Cavors; and on the part of the Waldenses, by Francisco, Valley pastor of Villaro; Claude Bergio, pastor of Tigliaretto; Georgio Monestieri, and Michael Rymondetti. The duke had undertaken the war rather against his own inclination, and terminated it by conditions not very honourable. He secretly admired the united constancy of the poor men among themselves, and with a view to render them obedient to his commands, and to cause them for the future hope better things from him, he added this favour, that they shall henceforth be governed by a true and strenuous agent for religion among them, namely, Castrocaro, a Romanist from a castle of Tuscany, and who had hitherto acted among them as the leader and teacher of the soldiery.* The agreement by which the peace was settled, is dated 5th June 1561.†

About the year 1561, under the reign of Philip II. king of Spain, more than a hundred thousand Reformers were ready to seal with their blood, the excellent confession of faith which they presented to him and to Maximilian II. It was comprehended in 217 articles, and it is written at large in the eighth book of the History of the Martyrs. The firmness of the people was testified to the king, in the admirable letter which accompanied the confession, and which was subscribed by a considerable number of the chief men of the nation.‡

The Waldenses in the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, seem to have enjoyed liberty within their prescribed limits for a few years, but the popish party obtained a new edict, dated the 10th June 1565, commanding all the subjects of his highness either to conform to the Romish religion, or to leave the country in two months, having one year allowed them to

* Du Thou, *ib.* pp. 97, 98.

† Morland, pp. 237—242, where the edict itself is inserted, and in Leger, part ii. pp. 38—40. It agrees exactly with the summary of it given above from Du Thou.

‡ Leger, part ii. p. 339.

dispose of their property. The magistrates were enjoined to send his highness a list of such as refused to obey. The Protestant princes in Germany sent an embassy to the duke to intercede for the poor people.* In 1566, the prince elector Palatine, addressed to him an excellent epistle from Augsburg on their behalf. The prince elector declares, that nine innocent persons imprisoned at Chamberry for religion, had been doomed to perpetual exile; that these people are not seditious, though the duke, under the influence of the pope, accused them of rebellion; that persons are tormented in prison, till they confess something like treason, and this is made a pretext for destroying all the churches in the Valleys; that his highness ought to consider the evil of fighting against God, and persecuting Christ in his innocent members; that he ought not to believe papists, who promise him heaven, to exterminate the Huguenots; that persecution has not advantaged the Romanists during the last forty years in Germany and England, France and Scotland; that religion does not need "the power, or authority, or severity of men, as the histories, both of the Jews and primitive church sufficiently witness," and demonstrate the impossibility of eradicating or extending religion by compulsion. "I entreat you," says the elector to the duke, "to understand and consider, that the Christian religion may be persuaded, but not forced. It is a real truth, that religion is no other than a firm and settled persuasion of God, and of his will revealed in his word, and imprinted in the spirits of men by the Holy Spirit, which having once taken root, cannot easily be loosened or plucked up by any torments or tortures; and such men will sooner endure the worst that can befall them, than receive or embrace any thing which they apprehend to be contrary to religion and godliness. Wherefore the counsel is very good and wholesome, that every one should endeavour to deliver that religion, which they call ancient, (but indeed is only of yesterday, in comparison of that of Christ and his apostles,) from so much idolatry, abuse, and superstition, introduced and foisted into the church by the ambition, avarice, and negligence of the Roman bishops and clergy; as likewise to lend

* Morland, pp. 242—275. Boyer, pp. 57, 58.

their helping hand to restore religion to its primitive state and lustre, rather than to persecute with fire and sword, with tortures and banishments, those who will not defile themselves with such idolatries and superstitions; and to grant liberty of serving God in truth according to his word, and of calling on his name in sincerity, rather than to constrain men to observe human inventions, obtruding the same upon their fancies, instead of the true word and worship of God. For by the grace of God, the evangelical truth is now in such splendour, that the errors and deceits of the bishop of Rome, and of all his clergy, are in a manner sufficiently known to all men. Neither must the pope think henceforth to abuse the world, as he has done in former ages." The elector urges the grant of liberty of conscience, and public assemblies to the people, as a security for their loyalty, and shows that persecution, in obedience to the papal dignitaries, will be the cause of many troubles in his highness' dominions. The writer of the letter proceeds:—"But probably your highness will tell me, that two religions cannot be endured under the same prince, and in the same country, objecting to me the common proverb, 'One law, one faith, one king.' This indeed were a thing very desirable, but since the true religion and faith are the gift of God, infused and engraven in the hearts of men, which, as I have already said, no man can extinguish but God alone, those men are extremely inconsiderate, who think necessity requires that every individual of a country, or that the whole Christian world, should be brought, by the force of arms or persecutions, to be of the same religion." After treating of the liberty which the saints of God frequently enjoyed under the dominion of the Persian kings, Roman emperors, and Turks, the writer goes on:—"Your highness sees the state of Germany, France, Poland, Scotland, Switzerland, and other countries, where both the one and the other religion are found, yet they, notwithstanding, live in sweet peace and tranquillity. Wherefore your highness ought not to fear, that suffering, or permitting the profession of the reformed religion in your country, will beget seditions and tumults. Nay you ought rather to fear the event of a contrary procedure. And this I say as one desirous that your highness should follow good counsel, and who should be very

sorry that any inconveniency should befall you on this account. But I entreat your highness not to resist God, who has decreed to plant his gospel in your country; and that you would please to set before your eyes the examples of those who strove to hinder the course of the gospel in its infancy, and the evils which in this way they brought on their own heads." The author reminds the duke of Gamaliel's counsel regarding the gospel. "God being the author," says he, "it cannot be abolished or dissolved, by any torments or persecutions." He points out the injustice of loading men with the crimes of sedition and rebellion, "merely for assembling themselves with no other intention than to pray to God in sincerity, and to hear and read his word." He entreats his highness not to leave to magistrates the power of judging regarding these persons, nor to listen to the insinuations of the Romanists, but himself to examine and decide. He also complains that his highness had not yet fulfilled his promise, of setting at liberty such of the Waldenses as had been sent to the galleys for their religion, though a list of their names had been transmitted to the duke by the elector's messenger. Others had been sent into exile. "But this severity," says the elector, "is well pleasing neither to God nor man, neither is it the way to bring men to the true knowledge of God; but this must be done by persuasion and scripture proofs, not by persecution." He calls his highness to examine the scriptures for himself, in regard to true and false religion, and to consider that he must answer before the tribunal of Christ for all the injury he has done to the souls of his subjects. After urging him to call home the poor wandering exiles, and to settle articles of permanent peace with them, he adds:—"Preserve them in peace and quiet, in the exercise of that religion which you have permitted unto them; be their defence, bridling and restraining the bitter hatred which their governor Castrocaro exercises against them; warn him to molest them no more for the future as he has hitherto done; and enjoin him to refrain from imposing on them false crimes and accusations, by which he pretends to colour his tyranny, for such things are not at all convenient in a magistrate and governor, who ought to be a father to those who are committed to his charge." He states that by complying with the requests of

this letter, his highness may expect the blessing of God, and obtain the good-will of all wise princes, which things are more valuable "than the promises of the pope, and his creatures." He urges him not to be an instrument in spilling the blood of Christians, and doubts not that the Waldenses will use every exertion to please his highness. In this case, the elector promises to do every service to the duke, and to promote the tranquillity of his dominions.*

Castrocaro, the governor, was grieved that this letter obtained certain promises from the duke in favour of the Waldenses. On the 21st of April 1566, the persecuting magistrate ordered them all to depart from his district, diminished the number of places in which sermons were allowed, and, because they persisted to worship according to the edict passed five years ago, he imprisoned and tormented a great number in the castle of La Torre. The sufferers complained to Margaret, aunt to Charles IX. of France, at that time Duchess of Savoy, who used all her endeavours to soften the duke. She wrote Castrocaro, in the duke's name, to liberate such as were in confinement, and by no means to molest the Vaudois in the possession of their ancient habitations, and the enjoyment of their privileges.†

They however continued to suffer at sundry times various persecutions, which they endured with patience. In the year 1570 they were driven to great extremities. Philibert having leagued with many other European princes against the Protestants, began in the above year to vex the Waldenses of the valleys. He began by forbidding them to hold intercourse with their brethren of Dauphiny, on pain of death. He next prohibited the assembling of any synod or consultation, except in presence of the governor Castrocaro, who of course was present at the first synod, which was convened at Bobbio. The pastors and elders there met, assured Castrocaro that they were by no means displeased with his assistance in synod, because the matters to be discussed would demonstrate, even if all men were witnesses, their pious concern for the glory of God, and their fidelity towards their prince; that his highness had been imposed on by false information from their ene-

* Morland, pp. 243—249.

† Morland, p. 250. Boyer, p. 58.

mies, who had accused them of disaffection to him ; that they were not conscious of deserving such imputations ; that the present measures of the government were a breach of treaty, and a violation of their religious freedom ; and that therefore they entreated Castrocara to retire, and not to make such innovations till they had justified themselves before his Highness. Contrary to the wish of the pastors and elders in synod, Castrocara remained, but protesting that he should do nothing against them, except by command of his Highness ; that he would do them every service in his power ; and that he would report to the Duke their fidelity. On this profession, he was allowed to continue in the synod. At the termination of the session of that court, however, he acted a subtle part, for though he declared himself, in general terms, highly pleased with their order, zeal, and charity, yet he declared, his Highness had ground to be jealous of foreign ministers, because, with the exception of STEPHEN NOELL, they were more violent in their opinions than natives were. The Duke, he said, did not permit any stranger to dwell in his dominions, and there was no exception in regard to preachers. Castrocara, therefore, advised the foreigners to remove of their own accord, which would be more honourable than to wait till the prince banish them. The Waldenses disbelieving these statements, proposed to depute certain individuals to learn the pleasure of his Highness. Castrocara was enraged with their distrust of him, and suffered his soldiers to surround the Waldensian Temple, while the preacher was in the pulpit, and to commit various insolences, by firing off their guns, and alarming the unarmed worshippers. Stephen Noell wrote to the Dutchess Margaret, who answered them, that the governor was enjoined by his Highness to keep within the limits of the treaty betwixt Philibert and the Waldenses. But the Dutchess' letters were concealed by Castrocara, and he perpetrated many acts of violence against the inoffensive "lilies among thorns."*

Charles IX. of France favoured the Protestants, and had himself been a Protestant. Accordingly, the Waldenses in the French Alps petitioned him to intercede with his uncle,

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv. pp. 72—75.

the Duke of Savoy, on behalf of the Waldenses in the duke's dominions. Charles was also petitioned by the most dignified reformed lords of his kingdom; and accordingly on the 28th of September 1571, Charles wrote Philibert Emanuel. His majesty alludes to the severity the duke had used towards his subjects, who had joined the French Protestants in a war against Charles, rather than on account of any thing they had committed against Philibert. Charles gives the duke credit for good intentions towards him, but intimates, that all differences between him and the Protestants are now satisfactorily arranged, and urges "that, as on this occasion, out of love to me, you have treated your subjects in an extraordinary manner; you would also on my account, entreaty, and especial recommendation, receive them with gentleness into your benign grace, and bring them back, and re-establish them in their estates, which, in the present case, have been confiscated; and grant me this contentment, that I may be able to let mine own subjects understand, that I shall not only accomplish and observe what I have promised, and sworn to them in my edict, but also from the same love with which I have embraced them, I desire to do for those who have borne any affliction with my friends on their behalf, that so they may feel that favour, grace, and protection, which I shall show them. This cause is so just in itself, and so full of affection on my part, that I assure myself you will willingly grant the effect. I shall not make more pressing urgency, but pray God, my uncle, that he would have you under his protection. Given at Blois, the 28th September 1571. Your nephew,

CHARLES."*

This letter, conjoined with the intercessions of the Dutchess, softened the duke, and procured the continuance of the people's rights. Common calamity has a tendency to the exercise of the finer feelings of the human heart. Accordingly, much love, unity, and mutual sympathy prevailed among these churches at this period. Previously, many leagues of amity and confederation had been framed. As they knew not how

* Leger, part ii. pp. 47, 48. Morland, p. 254.

soon the demon of persecution might be anew let loose on them, they renewed these covenants, 11th November 1571, by "a league or agreement made between the evangelical churches of the Valleys of Piemont, in the year 1571, for the mutual assistance of each other in times of trouble and persecution." This league was sworn with uplifted hands, and the purport of it was to persist in their ancient religious union; in the service of the true God, and of the only Mediator and Head of the church; in adhering to the Old and New Testament as the only rule of faith and life; in observing the two sacraments; in obedience to order and discipline; in scriptural submission to his Highness and to magistrates; in mutual defence against persecution; and in consultation with one another before giving answers regarding religion. They conclude by promising to submit to censure, in case of breaking these engagements.*

These articles of union very much encouraged the faithful of the Valleys, and, on the other side, greatly astonished their adversaries, whose usual policy was to endeavour to disunite the people, and to destroy them apart from one another. In the later persecutions, their enemies have frequently referred to this united profession of faith, and some other declarations, as sworn rebellion against the court of Turin. Yet, nothing in the document is found against their sovereign or against the clergy, or in a spirit of malice. Nay, it contains a solemn promise of obedience to their legitimate prince.†

The breathing granted the Vandois was interrupted on the news of the Bartholomew massacre of seventy thousand Protestants in France, reaching the Valleys, for Castrocara threatened to butcher the Waldenses in a similar manner; consequently the inhabitants retired to the caves and tops of the mountains. The Duke, however, disapproving of the cold-blooded murder of so many innocent sufferers in France, and influenced partly by the solicitations of the Dutchess, published a manifesto, inviting his subjects of the Valleys who had fled from fear of the governor, to return with con-

* Leger, *ib.* pp. 46, 47. Morland, pp. 252, 253. See Appendix No. vi.

† Leger, *ib.* p. 47.

fidence to their habitations, and granting them permission to receive their brethren in France, who should be permitted in security among his subjects.*

In the Dutchess of Savoy, the poor Valley-men had always found a friend, but after her death, on the 19th October 1574, their enemies rushed on them like lions out of their dens.† Consequently, many of the people went to reside with their brethren in Pragela and Valderson.‡ On the frontiers of Piemont, Dauphiny, and Provence, in the NEW LANDS among the Alps, where the chief city was Barcelonetta, a colony of Waldenses had long dwelt at Josiers and other districts. By their industry, the territory had been greatly improved. In 1576, under the influence of the priests, they were summoned either to go to mass or to leave his Highness's dominions. The Prince Palatine of the Rhine sent a special commissioner to the Duke, to plead for liberty of conscience for the Christians of the Valleys, by which conduct, he would please the Protestant princes of Germany, he would render his subjects more loyal, he would preserve the peace of his states, and would won the hearts of all wise men. The Duke replied, that he did not trouble himself how the German princes governed their subjects, and neither ought they to interfere with his government, in which he was not accountable to any; that he nevertheless thanked the elector for his concern for the place of his dominions; that to prevent farther calamities regarding religion, he wished to have only one religion in his states, which was the one in which he had been brought up; that, however, he shewed his love to please, by maintaining the Waldenses of the Valleys, under an edict, which he caused to be inviolably observed; that he had punished as rebels such as had different religions without the Valleys; and that from respect to the interceding princes, he would make more particular inquiry regarding his subjects of different religions, and grant relief where necessary. He set at liberty a minister named GILES, who had been locked into a dungeon. He also reprimanded a captain of a castle of Meana, for injuring some of the Wal-

* Boyer, p. 59. Morland, p. 254. Perrin ib.

† Morland, ib.

‡ Perrin, ib. p. 76.

denses. But the elector's commissioner was scarcely half-way home, when the persecution was renewed with increased fury. In the end of November, the governor of the New Lands proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, that such as would not within a month attend mass, should leave his Highness's dominions, under pain of confiscation of body and goods. When the people looked for shelter, they saw, that in the Provence, the parliament of Aix burnt the Lutherans; in Tendes, Count Honorat punished them; in Saluzzo, Gonsaque, Duke of Nevers, under the king of France, put them to death; in Dauphiny, they rotted in dungeons, or perished with cold and famine in the tower Brun; and in Piemont, they were banished. No other place, except Frassiniera, offered a place of safety. Accordingly, about the 25th December, in the evening, they left their homes to cross an almost inaccessible mountain, but before they reached its top, the greater part of the women and children were benumbed with cold. They were obliged to rest all night on the ice, and in the morning, a considerable number of the females and young persons were found dead. Such as survived, stopped for some time in Frassiniera. But as the New Lands whence they had proceeded remained uninhabited, the governors permitted the Waldenses to return, with the toleration of their religion, but under condition of their going out of the state every time they publicly exercised their religious profession.* In 1580, Philibert Emanuel died, and was succeeded by Charles Emanuel, who acted to the Waldenses according to the treaty made with his father; yet the inquisitors were always ready to apprehend them when they descended to Piemont, and to prevent them from uttering their belief. †

About the year 1587, and for some time afterwards, the following successors of the ancient Barbes laboured in the ministry among the Waldenses, in the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, namely, STEPHEN PEYROTTE of Usseaux in the Val Cluson; JOHN NICOLÉSE of Villaro in Lucerna; AUGUSTINE GROSSO, MELCHIOR di Dio of La Torre; PAUL GARNERO of Bobbio; DANIELE CHANFORANO of Angrogua; ANTONIO

* Perrin, *ib.* chap. vi.

† Perrin, *ib.* chap. iv. p. 76.

BONGIERMO of Bobbio; HENRY ROSTAIN of San Martino, John Leger's great grandfather, who preached till he was one hundred years of age, and lived till he was one hundred and fifteen; DAVID ROSTAIN his son, of the same valley; PETER JORDANO of the Valley of Cluson; DANIEL MONIN of Villaro; STEPHEN LAURENTIO of San Martino, John Leger's other great grandfather, who preached seventy-five years; PETER GILLIO of Perosa; MICHAEL APPIA of San Giovanni; and three brothers surnamed GROSSI, whose names were VALERIO, CORNELIO, and JOSEPHO.*

About 1589 some of the Vaudois were cited to Turin, and flattered to go to mass. This was to them injurious, yet these churches still persevered in their general courage and steadfastness.† In 1596, Clement VIII. instituted a society of missionaries. The monasteries of the valleys have always been citadels for harbouring these firebrands, who have continued plotting against the innocent objects of their hatred, and have prosecuted them before his Highness and the inferior magistrates. The petitions of the abused supplicants have been usually disregarded. The Duke published an edict, prohibiting all persons under pain of death from dissuading men from hearing the Jesuits, or who shall injure the said Jesuits in word or deed. One witness shall be sufficient to convict such as disturb the preacher. Informers are to have their names concealed, with the reward of one hundred crowns. In consequence of this law, the Jesuits abused the Waldensian ministers as they pleased, and none dared to witness the facts.‡

On the 27th March 1597, Charles Emanuel wrote a letter to the churches of the Marquisite of Saluzzo, exhorting them from love to the glory of God, and to themselves, to embrace the true religion of the Apostolic Roman Church; and assuring them that this course would assuredly lead to everlasting felicity. In their answer, the people thanked his Highness for the peace they had enjoyed during the last nine years, since he had obtained possession of the Marquisite. They also stated, that they were convinced their religion was founded on the Holy Scriptures; that they endeavoured to order their

* Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. pp. 204, 205.

† Morland, p. 263.

‡ Morland, pp. 270—272.

conversation according to the Bible; that they hoped his Highness would continue their religious freedom, provided they gave no just cause of offence; and that as the Jews and other enemies of Christ were allowed the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, they trusted that Christians, who were faithful to God and their prince, would not be denied the same privilege. They remained unmolested till the following century.*

CHAPTER VII.

Reformed Churches extensively planted in ITALY—Waldenses in CALABRIA make progress in Reformation—Deceitful preparations for Persecuting them—An Army employed to hunt them in the Woods—Torture and Death of several Martyrs—Cruelty to Sixty Women—The Throats of Eighty Men cut in the most affecting manner—Sufferings of NEGRINO and PASCHOLI—Extermination of the Waldenses in Calabria.

IN the sixteenth century, the Reformation made considerable progress in Italy. Churches were constituted in various places. The reformed doctrines were publicly professed in Ferrara, Florence, and Bologna; at Faenza and Imola; in the republic of Venice at a number of towns, as Padua, Verona, Bergamo, Vicentino, Brescia, Vicentino, and Trevesano; in the Milanese territory; and in Naples and Sicily. Reformers were likewise frequent in Lucca, Sienna, Pisano, Mantua, Locarno, and Istria. Adherents to the good cause were also found in Genoa, Citadella, Cremona, Friuli, Ancona, and even in Rome itself. But by the hand of the most barbarous persecution, the reformed churches were utterly exterminated in most of these places. The reader would be desirous to know something regarding these Italian societies of Christians, but, as the history of the Reformation forms no part of my plan, I shall not attempt even to sketch this

† Morland, pp. 263, 264.

department of ecclesiastical history. Nor is this at all necessary, since those who wish information, can obtain it by reading the historical researches of one of the most profound writers on such points.*

For some time previous to the Reformation, the Waldenses of Calabria, owing to the local distance and other causes, had held little intercourse with their brethren of the Valleys. This caused several disadvantages: They possessed few means for the education of their pastors; and they had become gradually accustomed to attend the mass, without which they could not well live in friendship with their Popish neighbours. They however still observed their own forms of worship in distinct assemblies. Having heard also of the reformed doctrine in Italy, as bearing a strong resemblance to that of their fathers, and having been convinced of their error in countenancing the Romish worship, they made application to their brethren of Pragela, and to the ministers of Geneva, to supply them with teachers, to give them more perfect instruction, and to organize their churches according to the Scripture model.† To these happy changes in the views of the Waldenses in the different cities of Calabria, the author of *Busdragi Epistola*, alludes, December 15, 1558, when he treats of the progress of the reformed doctrine in Italy. His words are: “For some new opinion is started every day, at one time in this city, at another time in that. Almost all Calabria has been of late in a tumult.”‡

When the application from Calabria was laid before the Italian church of Geneva, STEPHANO NEGRINO and JOHN LUDOVICO PASCHALI, were appointed to proceed to that distant province, to rectify and revive the churches of the Vaudois. Paschali was a native of Coni, about twenty miles south from the Valleys of the Waldenses. He had been instructed in their religion, had spent the first part of his life as a soldier, and had fought for the Savoyard Prince of Nice. He abandoned the army, prosecuted his studies at Lausanne, and was missioned to Calabria, having obtained

* Dr M'Crie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy. Edinburgh, 1827.

† Zanchii Epistolæ in M'Crie's Italy, p. 258.

‡ M'Crie, ib. p. 261. note.

the consent of Carmilla Guerina, a young woman to whom he had been previously affianced. An edition of the New Testament in Italian and French, by Paschali, was published either at Lyons or Geneva. But before the two missionaries arrived in Calabria, a dreadful persecution had commenced.* JOHN de MUS of Provence was also sent to Calabria, but the precise time is not mentioned. On account of his religion, he was taken prisoner in Provence, and delivered by a singular providence. He died, however, at Lucca in Italy, so that he does not appear to have ever reached the scene of labour.†

During these proceedings, Pius IV. in 1559, succeeded to the papal chair. Having heard of the above movements, he, in connection with the college of cardinals, resolved on a crusade to extirpate these churches, or to bring them under Rome. The violent cardinal Alexandrin got the charge of this bloody expedition. He selected for his informers the two monks, Valerio Malvicino and Alphonso Urbino. At Santo Xisto, they began with smooth words, for they stated to the assembled inhabitants, that the object of the present visit was most friendly; that if the people would dismiss their Genevan teachers, attend only such as were appointed by the prelates, and submit to the laws of the Church of Rome, they had nothing to fear; but that if they persisted in their present course, they would probably be condemned as heretics, stripped of their property, and lose their lives. Soon after the monks caused the bell to be rung for mass, and invited all to attend. But instead of complying, the inhabitants quitted their homes and fled to the woods, leaving in the city only such decrept men, delicate women, and little children, as were unable to accompany the rest. Not molesting farther this defenceless remnant, and concealing their mortification, the monks proceeded to La Guardia, where they locked the gates, and told the assembled multitude, that their friends in Santo Xisto had abjured their heresy, attended mass, and asked pardon of God; and that if they would imitate their example, no injury should happen to them. The poor citizens believed the monks and complied. But when they learned

* M'Crie, *ib.* pp. 283, 406.

† Leger, part i. p. 205. Morland, b. i. chap. viii.

the facts regarding their brethren of Santo Xisto, they were full of shame. With difficulty, Salvatore Spinello, the feudal superior of La Guardia, prevented his indignant subjects from retiring to the forests, by promising to protect them, provided they would conduct themselves as good Romanists. In the mean time, the monks marched two companies of infantry after the poor people of Santo Xisto, exclaiming, " Amassa, Amassa, kill, kill !" Several were slain, and such of the hunted Vaudois as reached the top of the mountain entreated to be heard. This request being granted, they beseeched their enemies to have pity on their wives and children ; to recollect that they and their fathers had inhabited these regions for several centuries without giving offence ; to permit them to retire by sea or land under the protection of God, if they cannot be allowed to continue in the enjoyment of religious liberty in this country ; to be assured they would forsake their property, taking only what was necessary for their journey, never to return ; and to consider the consequences of provoking them to defend themselves when driven to desperate extremities. The soldiers disregarding these reasonable proposals, renewed the attack, but, under the wonderful providence of God, the Waldenses killed the greater part of them, and put the rest to flight.

This provoked act of resistance, the monks made a pretext for being revenged on the whole body. They accordingly wrote the viceroy of Naples, who sent them some soldiers against the heretics, and, to please the pope, followed them in person. Before his arrival, the women had time to run to Santo Xisto, and carry off some victuals to feed their husbands and children in the woods. When he entered that place, he caused proclaim by sound of trumpet, that the town was now condemned to fire and sword. He also published through the realm of Naples, that all banished persons should obtain pardon on condition of their aiding in the war against the Waldenses. Such a band of barbarians pursued the fugitives to the woods, that they killed and wounded a great many of them. The rest retired to the caves among the rocks, where the greater part of them perished with hunger. The inquisitorial monks pretended to be displeased with these proceedings, and retired to Cosenza, where they called the syn-

die of Santo Xisto before them, and advised him to remove, lest the viceroy should hear of his being in that place and apprehend him. But by public proclamation, the monks cited the lethargic inhabitants of La Guardia to appear before them at Cosenza, and before the viceroy at Folcade.

Believing these fair speeches of the inquisitors, the simple people obeyed, but no sooner were they arrived at Folcade, than seventy of them were arrested and sent bound to Montalto, where the inquisitor Panza put them all to the rack. STEPHANO CARLINO was tormented till his bowels burst out, yet he would not confess the commission of unnatural crimes in their religious meetings while the lights were extinguished. VERMINEL, from the pain he endured, promised to go to mass, but though the violence was redoubled, and though he was sometimes on the instrument of torture called *the hell* for eight hours in succession, he never would calumniate his brethren by owning horrid impurities. PETER MARZONE was stripped naked, beaten with iron rods, drawn through the streets, and beat and burnt to death with torches. One of his sons was killed with knives. Another son was brought to the top of a high tower and offered his life if he would kiss a crucifix. He replied that he would prefer death to idolatry, that he would rather be cast down headlong, have his body broken on the earth, and have his soul received into everlasting habitations rather than deny Christ and be cast into hell. On this the enraged Panza ordered him to be cast from the tower, to see if his God would protect him. BERNARD CONTE, when led to the fire, cast to the ground a crucifix, which the executioner had forced into his hand. On this he was remanded to prison, and afterwards sent to Cosenza, where he was covered with pitch and burnt to death.*

Sixty women of Santo Xisto were put to the rack with such violence, that the cords so deeply cut their arms and limbs, that owing to their wounds being undressed, worms were engendered. Some humane persons conveyed lime to them, the application of which caused some of the vermin to die; yet the greater part of these poor females died in prison. Nine of the most handsome were delivered to the fathers of the inquisition, but no other person ever knew

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. vii. pp. 98-103.

what became of them.* These barbarities seem to have been perpetrated in 1559, and the first part of the following year.

In 1560, the cruelties were increased. Pope Pius had promised a cardinal's hat to the brother of the governor of Calabria, the marquis of Buccianici, provided Calabria were cleared of heresy. Accordingly, the marquis, in his government of Montalto, aided the inquisitors.† Penza ordered the throats of eighty people to be cut, as a butcher kills his sheep. But his malice was not yet satisfied, for he afterwards ordered each dead carcase to be divided into four quarters, commanded the highways in Calabria, from Montalto to the Castle of Villaro, to be planted with stakes, and made a quarter be fixed on each pole as an execration of the heretics.‡ But lest this statement of Perrin should be thought exaggerated, because written by a Protestant, the account of these dreadful transactions, by a Roman Catholic who witnessed the scene, may be here introduced. He was a servant to Ascanio Caraccioli, and on the day of the bloody transactions, being 11th June 1560, he wrote the following letter, which was published in Italy:—"Most illustrious Sir,—Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheepfold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, or *benda*, as we call it, led him out to a field near the house, and causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way, the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write, nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with

* Perrin, *ib.* p. 104.† Perrin, *ib.* p. 105.‡ Perrin, *ib.* p. 103.

which they went to martyrdom and death were incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I shudder, while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house, and taking out one after another, just as a butcher does his sheep which he means to kill. According to orders, waggons are already come to carry away the dead bodies, which are appointed to be quartered, and hung up on the public roads, from one end of Calabria to the other. Unless his holiness, and the viceroy of Naples, command the marquis of Buccionici, the governor of this province, to stay his hand, and leave off, he will go on to put others to the torture, and multiply the executions, until he has destroyed the whole. Even to-day, a decree has passed, that a hundred grown-up women shall be put to the question, and afterwards executed; so that there may be a complete mixture; and we may be able to say, in well sounding language, that so many persons were punished, partly men, and partly women. This is all that I have to say of this act of justice. It is now eight o'clock, and I shall presently hear accounts of what was said by these obstinate people, as they were led to execution. Some have testified such obstinacy and stubbornness, as to refuse to look on a crucifix, or confess to a priest, and they are to be burnt alive. The heretics taken in Calabria, amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned; but only eighty-eight have been as yet put to death. This people came originally from the Valley of Angrogna, near Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. Four other places in the kingdom of Naples are inhabited by the same race, but I do not think that they behave ill, for they are a simple unlettered people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and, I am told, show themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death."* In the close of the letter, the writer seems to

* Pantaleon, *Rerum in Eccles. Gest. Hist.* f. 337, 336. De Porta, *Hist. Reform. Roeticarum Ecclesiarum*, ii. pp. 309—312, in Dr M'Crie's *Italy*, pp. 263—265.

refer to those, who, from fear of persecution out of Calabria, attended mass. No doubt they were simple and unlettered.

The above details are confirmed by Thomas Costo, a Neapolitan writer of that age, in the second part of the compend of the History of Naples.* After some account of the Waldenses in Calabria, he adds:—"Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff: all were cruelly, but deservedly put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy, for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only gave no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully, that they would be angels of God: so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them."

NEGRINO and PASCHALI, who had arrived in Calabria during the scenes above described, exercised their ministry in comforting the persecuted people among the woods and mountains. But when the sufferers were so closely hunted, we could hardly expect the preachers to escape. At the instance of the inquisitor, they were both apprehended. Negrino was starved to death in prison at Cosenza. At this place, Paschali was detained in confinement eight months, whence he was sent prisoner to Naples, with the view of being conducted to Rome. The patience with which he endured the cross, appears from the sensible and ardent letters which he addressed to the persecuted church of Calabria, to his afflicted spouse, Camilla, and to the church of Geneva. In one of these, he thus describes his journey from Cosenza to Naples:—"Two of our companions had been prevailed on to recant, but they were no better treated on that account; and God knows what they will suffer at Rome, whither they are to be conveyed, as well as Marquet and myself. The *good* Spaniard, our conductor, wished us to give him money to be relieved from the chain by which we were bound to one another; yet in addition to this, he put on me a pair of handcuffs, so strait, that they entered into the flesh, and deprived me of all sleep; and I found, that, if at all, he would not remove them, until he had drawn from me all the money I had, amounting only to

* Page 257 in M'Crie, *ib.* p. 266.

two ducats, which I needed for my support. At night, the beasts were better treated than we, for their litter was spread for them, while we were obliged to lie on the hard ground without any covering; and in this condition, we remained for nine nights. On our arrival at Naples, we were thrust into a cell, noisome in the highest degree from the damp and the putrid breath of the prisoners."

He was next sent in bonds to Rome, at which place his brother arrived from Coni with letters of recommendation, to ask his liberty. With difficulty, this brother obtained an interview with him, in presence of a judge of the inquisition, and gives the following description of this first interview: "It was hideous to see him, with his bare head, and his hands and arms lacerated with the small cords with which he was bound, like one about to be led to the gibbet. On advancing to embrace him, I sank to the ground. 'My brother!' said he, 'if you are a Christian, why do you distress yourself thus? Do you not know that a leaf cannot fall to the ground without the will of God? Comfort yourself in Christ Jesus, for the present troubles are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come.' 'No more talk!' exclaimed the judge. When we were about to part, my brother begged the judge to remove him to a less horrid prison. 'There is no other prison for you than this.' 'At least show me a little pity in my last days, and God will show it to you.' 'There is no pity for such obstinate and hardened criminals as you.' A Piemontese doctor who was present, joined me in entreating the judge to grant this favour; but he remained inflexible. 'He will do it for the love of God,' said my brother. 'All the other prisons are full,' replied the judge. 'They are not so full, but that a small corner can be spared for me.' 'You would infect all who are near you by your smooth speeches.' 'I will speak to none who does not speak to me.' 'Be content: you cannot have another place.' 'I must then have patience,' replied my brother."

In Paschali, we see an instance of the power of the gospel supporting the soul in the most protracted sufferings. In a letter to his former hearers, like another Paul in his second epistle from Rome to Timothy, and like him, when about "to be offered," he thus expresses himself:—"My state is

this ; I feel my joy increase every day as I approach nearer the hour in which I shall be offered as a sweet-smelling sacrifice to the Lord Jesus Christ, my faithful Saviour ; yea, so inexpressible is my joy, that I seem to myself to be free from captivity, and am prepared to die, not only once, but many thousand times for Christ, if it were possible ; nevertheless, I persevere in imploring the divine assistance by prayer, for I am convinced, that man is a miserable creature when left to himself, and not upheld and directed by God." Shortly before his death, he thus addressed his brother :—" I give thanks to my God, that, in the midst of my long continued and severe affliction, there are some who wish me well ; and I thank you, my dearest brother, for the friendly interest you have taken in my welfare. But as for me, God has bestowed on me that knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, which assures me that I am not in an error, and I know that I must go by the narrow way of the cross, and seal my testimony with my blood. I do not dread death, and still less the loss of my earthly goods, for I am certain of eternal life and a celestial inheritance, and my heart is united to my Lord and Saviour." When his brother urged him to yield in some degree, with a view of saving his life and property, he replied, " O ! my brother, the danger in which you are involved, gives me more distress than all that I suffer, or have the prospect of suffering ; for I perceive that your mind is so addicted to earthly things, as to be indifferent to heaven." At last, on the 8th of September 1560, he was led to the conventual church of Minerva, to hear his process publicly read ; and next day, the 9th of September, he appeared with the greatest fortitude in the court adjoining the castle of St Angelo, where he was strangled and burnt in presence of the pope and a party of cardinals.* Pius IV. wished to feast his eyes with the punishment of that man, who had maintained the pope to be antichrist. But he and his cardinals could have wished, either that they had been in another place, or that Paschali had been mute, or the people deaf ; for the martyr expressed many sentiments from the word of God against the pope, which caused him considerable uneasiness. In the midst of the flames, he

* Hist. des Martyrs, f. 506—516. in M'Crie, ib. pp. 283—287.

courageously censured them, summoning them to appear before the throne of the Lamb, to give an account of their cruelties and barbarities, and of their heresies, superstitions and idolatries, with which they have defiled the church. The good man caused these dignitaries gnash their teeth with rage, he deeply affected all the other witnesses, and died, fervently calling upon God. John Leger declares, that by his mother's side, he is descended in a direct line from Paschali,* from which a great probability arises, that Camilla Guerna, the martyr's widow, and some of his children, spent the remainder of their lives in the valleys.

Many of the women and children were put to cruel deaths, numbers were sold for slaves, and such as possessed strength, were consigned to the Spanish galleys. A great multitude were forced to perpetual banishment, and if permitted to return, were compelled to conform to the laws of the church of Rome. Thus the Waldensian colony of Calabria was wholly exterminated by the cruel hand of papal persecution.†

* Perrin, *ib.* chap. vii. near the end. Leger, part i. p. 204.

† Perrin, *ib.*

HISTORY

OF THE

W A L D E N S E S.

BOOK VII.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

United Brethren in BOHEMIA enjoy peace—Bohemians choose Frederic, the Elector Palatine for their King, and are overcome by the Emperor Ferdinand, who persecutes the Protestants—Pastors and others tortured and murdered—Condemnation and affecting martyrdom of twenty-seven Protestants, partly noblemen—Troubles and death of many others—Sufferings of the Anabaptists and others in MORAVIA—Multitudes banished, and the United Brethren extirpated from these countries.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the United Brethren of Bohemia enjoyed liberty under the emperor Rudolph II. In 1602, however, the Jesuits and other enemies induced him, with reluctance, to revive an old edict shutting up the brethren's churches. Shortly after, the emperor received accounts, that the town of Stuhlweissenburg had been captured by the Turks on the 22d of July, and exclaimed:—"I have been expecting intelligence like this, because I have arrogated to myself dominion over the consciences of men, which is the sole prerogative of God." With this impression, the friends and protectors of the Brethren easily persuaded him to nullify the edict. In 1608, his brother, Mathias, invaded Bohemia with an army of Hungarians, Austrians, and Moravians. Rudolph, with a view to attach all parties to

him, granted, by imperial letters patent, religious liberty to all Protestants in Moravia and Bohemia. In 1609, notwithstanding the intrigues of Jesuits and others, the Brethren were included on the representation of the States, that the Brethren laboured as diligently as any in the vineyard of the Lord, and that to thrust them out, would be unjust to God and man. Their foes next tried to prevent them having any power in the new Protestant consistory to be formed at Prague, but by the imperial letters, three of the Brethren were to be assessors in the consistory, and one of their seniors to sit next the president. The first meeting was held 7th October 1609, when the consistory consisted of Calixtines, Lutherans, Swiss, and Brethren, three members being chosen from each communion. The Brethren got possession of the church of Bethlehem, in which John Huss had preached. Being too small, they were permitted to build a new church at Prague for the Germans and Bohemians. The Brethren met for sermon, and gave thanks to God for this settlement.

In 1610, Rudolph proposed to form a new order of dignity, to consist of kings, princes, and other personages, Catholic or Protestant, to the number of fifty, to be called the order of Peace. He read the form of a covenant, and produced two chains bearing the ensigns of peace, formed with his own hand, and intending each member of the order to wear such a chain. He was sorry that either Mathias or Ferdinand should succeed him. Liberty was now enjoyed by protestants and brethren, but external prosperity caused inward declension in congregations. Discipline was neglected, and many sinful deviations from the path of duty were tolerated among the brethren. Rudolph died in 1612, and was succeeded by Ferdinand, a nephew of the emperor Mathias. The popish clergy began to enforce the resolutions of the council of Trent against all dissenters from the Romish church. Since 1564, the brethren had enjoyed, on the whole, outward peace from persecution; now, however, matters were changed.*

On the death of the emperor Mathias in 1619, Ferdinand mounted the imperial throne, and the Bohemians viewed him

* Holmes, pp. 116—118. La Trobe, pp. 101—105. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. xli. xlii.

as thus renouncing their kingdom, or used this circumstance as a reason for deserting him. They chose Frederic, Elector Palatine, a Protestant, and crowned him at Prague that same year. This led to war with Ferdinand, and the protestants and brethren of Bohemia were the special objects of papal hatred. On the 5th February 1620, the Polish soldiers, on their march to Austria, robbed and shot WENCESLAUS WOTITZ of Bystrick, in his bed, when unable to rise by reason of the infirmities of age. Next day they murdered PAUL CAPITONEUS, pastor of the town of Napaield, at his own house. Frederic was unable to contend with Ferdinand, who, by his Austrian and Bavarian forces, defeated the protestant army of the king at Weisseberg, or the White Mountain, near Prague, in 1620. After this victory, the emperor reduced under him Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the Palatinate. Many were taken prisoners, others fled to the neighbouring countries, and though the leading men were induced to return by a promise of amnesty, yet many were betrayed, imprisoned, or condemned to death. Though the brethren are believed to have had comparatively a slight share in the political transactions of this period, yet they were peculiarly subjected to the sad consequences, for their enemies anxiously wished their extermination.*

About this year, the following pastors suffered:—PAUL MOLLER of Zrutchi, when preaching to his congregation, was shot dead. FREDERIC DAMHASKY, a schoolmaster of Thressin, was tormented, because he could not tell the place to which SMILO, the protector, and MARESCH, the pastor, had retreated. The minister of Popowitz experienced similar treatment. WENCESLAUS LAKESS, pastor of Kaunitz, four miles from Prague, was carried to Kostelitz beyond Albis. For a month he was mocked and beat: a cord was twisted round his head till his eyes swelled, and a wild horse leapt over him without injuring him.—He ultimately paid 500 florins for his liberty. PAUL WELWOR was sometimes covered with coals, at other times with ice, till he was constrained to pay 1500 florins for liberty, and soon after died. ANDREW STEMBERG BUDIN was brought from his parish to Kostelitz, tor-

* Puffendorf, p. 276. Boh. Pers. chap. 1. La Trobe and Holmes, ib.

tured with a cord about his head, bound hands and feet, and laid on the cold earth, to remain all night, with the prospect of being next day tormented with fire. While he prayed, "In thee, O Lord, is my trust," he by some means got his hands and feet wonderfully loosed. He arose and passed three watchmen who were asleep, or who by reason of the wind, did not hear him. The guard at the gate of the town, being a Bohemian, pitied him, and allowed him to escape. JOHN MOYSES, minister to the queen of Mestica, was consumed to ashes along with his wife. SIMON ÆNOCAN was tortured by fire till he revealed the place where his money was deposited. The pastor of Bakow was suspended on a cross tree, and burnt to death by a fire lighted below him. The Poles cut to pieces the minister of Mimonia. The soldiers filled the mouth of the questor's secretary at Aurenov with gunpowder, and by its ignition killed him. ADAM PISCOS of Byrescher, in Moravia, though an adherent of the emperor, was beat and killed by the soldiers, and lay seven weeks unburied.

On the 17th January 1621, LAURENCE CURTZ, pastor of Netimense, aged sixty, and his spouse, were burnt to death by pillaging soldiers demanding money. PAUL PSSENIZZKA, pastor of Bockdalow, near seventy, was suspended horizontally, in a way that decency forbids to describe. A fire was kindled below him with his own books, and he called for pity, till a soldier mercifully shot him. BARTHOLOMEW ZAWORSKI, from the parish of Kerkow, paid 700 florins, had his house plundered, and was pursued till his bowels burst out. ELIAS SEVERIN, pastor of Pribicen, had his neck half cut through, and was abandoned for dead. An Anabaptist surgeon dressed the gash, and he survived two years in excruciating pain.*

On Saturday the 19th of June 1621, no fewer than twenty-seven defenders of the protestants at Prague were condemned to death, and the 21st of the same month was appointed for their execution. In the interval, the clergy and monks urged them to join the Romish communion, and promised pardon. The brethren, however, continued stedfast, and by their scrip-

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. 1.

tural arguments silenced their adversaries. By permission, they invited the Lutheran ministers, Rosatz, Verberius, Clement, and Lippech, to visit them in prospect of the awful change. Three of those consigned to suffer were Germans. Though nearly the half of the condemned were of the brethren's church, yet they were not allowed a minister of their own persuasion. Some of them received the Lord's Supper at the hands of the Lutheran pastors, but others of the brethren preferred the want of the communion to the commission of an irregularity. The noblemen had been confined in the castle of Prague; but, on the 20th of June, being sabbath, the day before their execution, they were brought to the town-hall, in some of the rooms of which, those of inferior rank had been guarded. When the prisoners in the hall were apprised of the approach of the nobility, they placed themselves at the windows, and bid them welcome to the honours of martyrdom, by singing "the forty-fourth psalm with a loud voice." This collected a concourse of people, whose tears, in "expressive silence," displayed their compassion for the worthy men about to be led as sheep to the slaughter. "The whole night was spent in psalms, prayers, godly discourse, and mutual exhortations." *

As soon as the day dawned they all washed themselves, put on clean linen, and dressed themselves as if preparing for a feast. At five o'clock, the firing of a gun from the castle gave the signal for the execution. On this they embraced, encouraged, and comforted each other, expressing their earnest wish that all might be strengthened by divine grace to remain "faithful unto the death." Each individual, when called out to the scaffold, which was erected in front of the hall, addressed his fellow-sufferers to this effect: "The Lord bless and keep you, dearest friends! May he grant you the comfort of his Spirit, with patience and courage, that you may be enabled by a glorious death to seal what you have hitherto confessed with heart and mouth. I go before you to behold the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and you will soon follow." To this the remaining brethren replied: "May God

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lx. pp. 187, 188; but La Trobe, pp. 110, 111, and Holmes, p. 132, insert "Hymns," instead of Psalms in the two instances mentioned.

render the path blessed to you through the meritorious death of our Lord Jesus Christ. Go before us, dear brother, to our heavenly Father's house. We are assured, that by the grace of Jesus, in whom we have believed, we shall see each other again this day, and participate of heavenly joys."

The first led to the scaffold, was Count SCHLICK, late governor of Bohemia, under Frederick, and the principal protector of the brethren's church, of superior talents, of unquestionable piety, and deservedly esteemed by all good men. On hearing his sentence, that he be beheaded, quartered, and exposed where four ways met, he exclaimed in Latin,* "The want of burial is a slight matter!" To the minister who comforted him, he said: "I thank you, dear father, for your pious exhortations; and I can assure you, that, through God's mercy, I am not disturbed by any fear of death. I have formerly ventured to defend the doctrines of true Christianity against antichrist, and now I am ready to suffer death in proof of my firm adherence to these divine truths." Being now past five o'clock on Monday morning, the report of a cannon was heard, and he exclaimed, "That is the signal for our death, and I shall be first to meet it: O Lord Jesus, have mercy on us." On the scaffold, he turned his face to the rising sun, and prayed, "Lord Jesus Christ, thou Sun of Righteousness, help me to pass through the darkness of death to thine everlasting light." With dignified cheerfulness, he several times walked a few paces on the scaffold, and then uttering a short prayer, he kneeled down to receive the stroke of the executioner's sword, which so much affected the spectators, that many were bathed in tears.

The next brought to the scaffold, was WENCESLAS VON BUDOWA. He was a member and defender of the Brethren's church. He was seventy-four years of age, of great learning, celebrated for several publications, had filled many important offices under the emperor Rudolph, and was a member of the Protestant consistory of Prague. A short retrospect may be made to some particulars in the history of this good man. On the approach of danger, he conveyed his family to a place of security, and remained alone in his man-

* *Levis est jactura sepulchri.*

sion. His secretary, Paul Aretin, asked him why he had not retired with his family? He replied:—"My conscience would not suffer me to abandon the good cause. Possibly, the Lord wills me to seal my testimony with my blood." Rising cheerfully from his seat, he added, with a joyful countenance, "Here am I, my God! do with me, thy servant, as seemeth good to thee! I am full of years, take from me my life, that I may not see those evils which I perceive are approaching my country." The secretary told him of a report that he had died of a broken heart, and he added, smiling, "What! I die of a broken heart? I never before felt such gladness of soul." Pointing to his Bible, he continued, "Behold my paradise! Never did it afford me so delicious fruit, as at this moment. I am alive, and shall live as long as my God pleases; nor shall any man ever see the day, on which the saying may, with truth, be uttered, 'Budowa died of a broken heart!'" The third day before his execution, he dreamed he was walking in a pleasant field with a heavy heart, and one offered him a book, consisting of white silken leaves, with nothing written in it, except Psal. xxxvii. 5, "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thine heart." Another person approached him with a white robe, and clothed him with it. He awoke, and related his dream to his servant. In afterwards going to the scaffold, he explained the robe of the righteousness of Christ. On hearing the sentence of condemnation, he addressed his judges:—"Ye have long thirsted for my blood, but know for certainty, ye shall find God, for whose cause we suffer, an avenger of the death of the innocent." In prison, two capuchin friars visited and informed him, that they meant "to perform for him a work of mercy." On his asking, "what work?" they replied, "to shew your lordship the way to heaven!" "*That* I have known," said he, "through God's mercy, for some time past." They objected, "your lordship will be deceived by your false notions." "No, indeed," said he, "my hope is founded upon the unerring word of God. I know of no way to heaven, but by HIM, who has said, 'I am the way, and the truth, and the life.'" The monks continued to offer objections on the authority of the church of Rome, and he firmly replied, "your pope is a devil, and anti-

christ, and the son of perdition, and that beast that was made red with the blood of the saints:—Depart with him to the place ye have deserved, and let me alone. Yet if ye will learn from me the way of truth, I shall not feel tediousness, if ye will stop, to spend some time and pains to promote the salvation of your souls.” For this, however, the monks had no leisure, and, having crossed themselves, departed. On the day of execution, the Jesuits with great apparent friendship, declared their wish to save his soul. He answered:—“My dear fathers, I only wish *you* were as sure of salvation as I am. Praise and thanks be to God, who, by his spirit, has assured me of salvation by the blood of the Lamb. I know a crown of righteousness is laid up for me.” The Jesuits remarked, that that passage could not apply to him, but was meant only of Paul. “Nay,” rejoined he, “you are grossly mistaken, for the apostle adds, and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.” He asked the Jesuits where these words were written? and one of them replied, if he were not deceived, they were to be found in the Epistle of Paul to Timothy. The baron being irritated, exclaimed:—“Thou ass, wouldest thou teach me the way of salvation, who knowest so little of the word of God. Begone from me, Satan, and tempt me not.” He so exposed their ignorance by scripture, that they were covered with shame, and in great wrath, pronounced him an incorrigible heretic. Soon after, he ascended the scaffold, with a cheerful countenance, and stroking down his hoary locks, exclaimed:—“O ye grey hairs, what honour is conferred on you, that ye are now to be adorned with a martyr’s crown!” After engaging for some time in prayer, he submitted his venerable head to the executioner, who severed it from the body. It was afterwards fixed on a tower for a public spectacle.*

CHRISTOPHER HARANT, baron of Bezdrwzitz, also suffered. The professed ground of his condemnation, was his having taken an oath to Frederic, while he was not freed from his former oath. Being jealous of his wife’s lukewarmness in religion, he wrote her to be steadfast. Rosatz, the Protes-

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lxii. La Trobe, pp. 112—116. Holmes, pp. 122—125.

tant minister, was with him in prison. When called for execution, he declared his innocence, and prayed for his enemies : " In thee O Lord have I hoped, let me not be confounded for ever." On his way to the scaffold, he was heard uttering, " Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." When walking on the cloth, he declared :—" I am confident I shall be accepted by that ignominious death of my Saviour." On his knees, he prayed :—" Into thine hand I commit my spirit : thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth. Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." After his death, his widow married an apostate, and committed her children to the tuition of Jesuits.

The Baron Von KAPPLICH, now eighty-six years of age, had held with honour several offices of state under the emperors Rudolph and Mathias. After his sentence, he thus addressed Rosatz, the protestant minister : " To the world, my death will appear ignominious, but, in the sight of God, it will be glorious. On hearing my sentence, my weak flesh began to tremble, but now, by the grace of God, I am wholly divested of the fear of death." On the day of execution, he ordered his servant to dress him in the finest linen, and, turning to the minister, he said, " I am putting on my wedding dress." The minister replied, " You are yet more gloriously arrayed in the robe of Christ's righteousness." " That is true," said the venerable man, " but I wish to be suitably dressed in honour of a heavenly bridegroom." Being summoned to the scaffold, he exclaimed, " In the name of God, I am ready, I have waited long enough !" His servants assisted him to rise from his chair, and led him gently forward. Having to descend a few steps, and being very weak in his knees, he earnestly prayed God for strength, lest by falling he should become an object of derision to his enemies. He had also sent a request to the executioner to strike off his head immediately on his kneeling down, lest delay should cause him fall through infirmity. But the reverend old saint stooped so much in kneeling, that the executioner could not venture to strike. This being perceived by the minister, he spoke to him, " My lord, you have commended your soul to Christ, raise now cheerfully your hoary head and look to-

wards heaven." Exerting all his strength, he raised his head, and while he exclaimed, " Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit," he was beheaded at one blow, and his head was afterwards fixed on a pike over the city gate.*

PROCOPIUS DWORZESK of OLBRAMOWITZ, on hearing sentence of death, said, " Doth the emperor promise himself any thing when my head is taken off? Let him take it then." That night he was so greatly vexed with remaining corruption, that a sweat was caused over his body, but was still enabled to trust in the strength of God. Called to execution, he testified, " Because my Saviour has died and risen again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and the living, I know that this soul of mine shall live, and my body shall be raised like to his glorious body." On the scaffold, he desired the judges to tell the emperor he should suffer the judgment of God. Putting off his clothes, he gave a purse and a Hungarian ducat to the minister who attended him. One of Frederick's coins he took from about his neck, and handing it to a spectator, desired him to give that to Frederick when he came to the throne, and to tell him he wore it for his sake, and cheerfully died. Amidst his sighs, he knelt down and received the stroke of the sword.† FREDERICK DE BILE, lord of Rzechlowice, was counsellor to the king of Bohemia, and was appointed governor of the states in the Interregnum. He suffered in the exercise of piety and patience.‡

HENRY OTTO VON LOSS, one of the protectors of the brethren's church, and an assistant director of the state, followed next. When condemned, he said, " My Cæsar, do you indeed establish your throne by our blood? You shall try in the day of judgment what account you shall give to God. I have seen barbarous nations, but have never observed or heard of such cruelty, by which a man is cut to pieces, his head sent in one direction, his hands in another, and the other parts of his body to different places. What barbarity is this! Let them send one part of me to Rome, another to

* La Trobe, pp. 117, 118. Holmes, p. 125. Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lxiii. lxiv.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lxv.

‡ Boh. Pers. chap. lxvi.

Spain, a third to Turkey, and the rest beyond seas, where they have a mind; I do believe my Saviour will again collect them, and clothe them with my skin, that I may see him with these eyes, hear him with these ears, praise him with this mouth, and rejoice with this heart for ever." He had conscientious scruples against receiving the Lord's Supper at the hands of a Lutheran minister, but was not permitted to have one of his own church. On this account he felt at first greatly afflicted, but afterwards received much spiritual comfort. When the Lutheran minister appeared to attend him to the place of execution, he arose and exclaimed, "I sincerely rejoice to see you, O man of God, and to tell you what has happened me. I was sitting in this chair, deeply perplexed on account of my having been deprived of the blessed sacrament, by my not having been permitted to see one of my own ministers. In the midst of my sorrow, I fell asleep and dreamed that our blessed Saviour stood before me and spoke, 'My grace is sufficient for thee; my blood cleanseth thee from all sin.' At that moment I felt as if his blood flowed upon my heart, and on awaking, was quite refreshed and most powerfully strengthened in spirit." Being convinced that his Saviour had intended this visit to console him for the want of the sacrament before his death, he in ecstasy lifted up his hands, and thus gave vent to his grateful feelings: "I thank thee, O my Saviour! that thou hast thus richly comforted me, and assured me of thy favour and of the forgiveness of sins. Now I know the reality of believing and enjoyment. I no longer dread death; I die gladly. Jesus, whom I beheld in my dream, comes with his angels to conduct my departing spirit to the marriage supper, where I shall drink the new wine, the cup of salvation, and of celestial joy, to all eternity. Yea, I am certain, that shameful as the manner of my death will be, it shall not separate me from my Redeemer." He then cheerfully ascended the scaffold, where he fell prostrate and spent a few minutes in silent prayer. Having arisen, he put off his clothes, kneeled down and exclaimed, "Into thy hands, O Jesus, I commend my spirit; have mercy on me, and receive me into thine eternal glory." At the last word, the sword severed his head from his body, and the soul was

numbered with those who had been beheaded for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. *

DIONYSIUS CZERVIN, by church connection a papist, and captain of the king's castle, was charged with admitting the armed states into it in 1618, though this was done by order of the chief burgave, whom he was bound to obey. His moderation was offensive to the Jesuits, and they prosecuted him to cause appear that religion was not the reason of their punishing so great multitudes. When Rosatz, the Lutheran, administered the eucharist to Lord Harans, and Honetzchlumski, and exhorted them to rest in God through Christ for pardon, he struck his breast, and exclaimed in tears:—"This also is my faith, and in this I die." When the two other individuals were absolved by the imposition of hands, he also received it. He did not, however, communicate in the Lord's Supper, but kneeled down by himself, and fervently prayed. The two others expressed their gratitude to the minister, but he said, "I thank God," and rejoiced in them as friends preparing for death. When Rosatz intimated his surprize at his admitting absolution, and not communicating in the Testament of Christ, he replied:—"I might, and perhaps ought to have done so;" but, he added, while he struck his breast, sighed and wept, "I rest in that grace which has been conferred on me: and I trust in my God, that he will graciously accept my contrite spirit." Some have confidently asserted, that he expected his life would be spared, by the interference of his friends, but was disappointed. We trust, however, that he attained a saving knowledge of the truth, for when a canon and a Jesuit attended him on the scaffold, he rejected their exhortations, and turned his back to the crucifix. He kneeled down and prayed:—"They can take away the body, but not the soul: O Lord Jesus I commend that to thee." He suffered at the age of 56.† WILLIAM HONEZCHLUMSKI was about the age of seventy, and lame. He was accused of abetting the emperor's enemies with his advice and his wealth. When brought out for execution, he solemnly declared he

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lxvii. La Trobe, pp. 116—120. Holmes, pp. 125—127.

† Boh. Pers. chap. lxviii.

knew not the cause of his death, and committed his soul to Christ.* BOHOSLAUS DE MICHALOWTZ, Lord Rugenice, being condemned to lose his life, remarked, that "the fear and grief of death are only for a few hours, and then comes the desired rest." To the minister of the word, he stated, that if he and his associates were convicted of being the cause of the troubles in the kingdom, they would frankly acknowledge their offence; that the papists had provoked them to arms; that God was their witness, they sought only the liberty of religion; that in their present circumstances, God demonstrated that he will not have his truth defended by arms, but by blood; and that therefore they resolved to die as martyrs. On seeing De Bile, Otto, Czervin, Honezchlumski, suffer before him, he expressed impatience. At his turn he praised God. The minister reminding him of the promise, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you," he assented, and added the words in our Lord's intercession, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me." He continued, "Because therefore our heavenly father hath the same will with the Son, I know that this is confirmed. Therefore I make haste to die, that I may be with Christ to see his glory."† JOHN THEODORE SIXTUS, through his nephew, Platesius, a canon, had his sentence of death commuted into banishment.‡

VALENTINE HOCHAN M.A. was Governor of the Consistory and University in 1617, and protested against Ferdinand being thrust on them as king without their consent. He received the Lord's Supper from Rosatz, and was displeased with such as did not respect the general agreement among Protestants. He was now sixty years of age, and edified his brethren by discoursing on the words, "for our conversation is in heaven." On the scaffold he prayed, "Grant, O God, that I may pass through this valley of death, and presently see thee in the land of the living." He then sung, "Thou wilt shew me the path of life:—In thy presence is fulness of joy:—at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore." He then added, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in

* Ib. chap. lxix.

† Ib. chap. lxx.

‡ Ib. chap. lxxi.

peace, according to thy word." Kneeling down to receive the stroke of the executioner, he repeated in Latin the words, "into thine hand I commit my spirit:—thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."* TOBIAS STEFFEK of New Prague, had been a Director of the States. Being a quiet man, he spent in prison much time in sighs and groans. He acknowledged all good things to be from the hand of God, and why should we not also receive afflictions? He embraced God's will in making him thus conformed to his Son, and praised the Lord for being joined to the martyrs. When called to meet death, he clasped his hands weeping, and exclaimed: "my Saviour said, not as I will but as thou wilt; shall I therefore, who am but a worm, yea, dust and a shadow, contradict thy will. Only have mercy on me, and purge me from my sins." He expected to exchange tears, sighs and groans, for everlasting joys. In this exercise he yielded up his spirit to God.† JOHN JESSEN, Doctor of Medicine, a Hungarian nobleman, on his journey from Vienna to Prague in 1618, was imprisoned, and marked on the prison walls certain letters, which were interpreted as predicting the death of the Emperor Mathias,‡ which accordingly happened; and Jessen knew, when again apprehended, that he had nothing but death to expect. He foretold that the martyrs' heads should be interred, which happened under Gustavus in 1631, after the battle of Leipsic, when a sermon was preached in their commemoration. He refused to believe the merit of works. His tongue was first cut out, next his head was struck off, and last, his body was quartered and carried away in a sack.§ CHRISTOPHER KHOBER of little Prague, comforted others by referring to the Prophets and Apostles, and Huss and Jerom, who suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ. He cited the words of Ignatius, who said, "I am the corn of God, and shall be ground with the teeth of beasts." When called out to suffer, he declared, "I am not ashamed to suffer these

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lxxiii.

† Ib. chap. lxxiii.

‡ The letters were I. M. M. M. M. which Ferdinand interpreted, "*Imperator Mathias, mense martio morietur*, the Emperor Mathias in the month of March shall die;" and wrote, "*Jasseni menteris, mala morte morieris*, Jassenius thou liest, by an evil death thou shalt die."

§ Ib. chap. lxxiv.

things for his glory. I know whom I have believed ; and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord. Lord Jesus receive my spirit.”* JOHN SHULTIS of Kuttensburg said to himself, “ Why art thou cast down, O my soul ? and why art thou disquieted within me ? Hope thou in God : for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.” He then prayed, “ Lord Jesus, thou hast promised, ‘ him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.’ Behold I come, look upon me, pardon my sins, receive my soul to thyself.” Stretching out his hands, and lifting up himself on his knees, he called out, “ Come, Come, Lord Jesus, and do not tarry.” On this he received the stroke of the sword.†

MAXIMILLIAN HOSTIALEK was depressed. “ The sins of my youth,” says he, “ do now come into my mind, though I know there is mercy. Consider, and hear me, O Lord my God : lighten mine eyes lest I sleep the sleep of death ; Lest mine enemy say, I have prevailed against him ; and those that trouble me rejoice when I am moved. Behold, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.” He was at once beheaded.‡ JOHN KUTNAUR, Senator of Old Prague, forty years of age, was the youngest of the sufferers. He refused to hear the Jesuits, one of whom remarked, “ ye are harder than rocks.” The martyr replied, “ you speak correctly, father, for Christ is a hard rock, and we are fixed on him.” Observing his friends in tears, he thus reproved them :—“ Act like men, brethren, and refrain from weeping. I indeed go before, but in a short time we shall meet in heavenly glory.” He was hanged, but just before he was thrown off, he uttered these words :—“ I have plotted no treason, I have committed no murder, I have perpetrated no deed worthy of death ; but I die because I have been faithful to the gospel and to my country. O God, pardon my enemies, for they know not what they do. But thou Lord Jesus have pity on me, for to thee I commit my soul.”§ SIMEON SUSSIKY, father-in-law to Kutnaur, and not much older, was, on the

* Ib. chap. lxxv.

† Ib. chap. lxxvi.

‡ Ib. chap. lxxvii.

§ Ib. chap. lxxviii.

last night he lived, perplexed with the words, "cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," but the minister, Werlien, comforted him by showing that the curse was removed by the death of Christ. He went singing to the place of execution, and was suspended on the gibbet next his son-in-law.* NATHANIEL WODNIANSKY's son exhorted him to stedfastness, who in his turn urged him and the family to imitate their father's example. Looking to them through the window, the father was grieved to be separated from them, to be carried to a more noisome place. The minister showed, that the more disgraceful the kind of death, so much the greater would be his glory with Christ.† WENCESLOW GESBITSKY or Master-ousky sung a few lines before his death.‡ HENRY KOZEL and four other citizens of New Prague, were beheaded in one company.§

With the greatest fortitude, therefore, these confessors on the 21st of June 1621, laid down their lives for the sake of their religion. Not an individual was persuaded to avoid martyrdom by denying the truth. Had they conformed to popery, the offences against the state with which they were falsely charged, especially in Prague, would have been overlooked. Their adherence to the Saviour was the true cause of the profuse shedding of the blood of the saints on the day mentioned. Well might they use the language of that Psalm which they had sung on the previous day, being sabbath:—"yea, for thy sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter."

Next day NICHOLAS DYONISIUS, town-clerk of Prague, had his tongue fastened with an awl to the gallows, because he had been the first who welcomed Frederick in the people's name. In this agony he was kept two hours, imprisoned four years, and then banished. Three lawyers were publicly whipped.||

On the 29th of October 1621, the Jesuits pressed the governor of Bohemia to dismiss the German ministers by degrees. To this he assented, contrary to his inclination, and four German preachers left Prague, and preached their valedictory sermons to weeping congregations assembled in the fields. On

* Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. lxxix.

† Ib. chap. lxxx.

‡ Ib. chap. lxxxi.

§ Ib. chap. lxxxii.

|| Ib.

the 13th December 1621, an edict was issued by Prince Lechtenstine, the governor, to banish a member of the Brethren's pastors, namely, three colleagues in a church near the palace; seven, as well as a deacon of Old Prague, though one of the preachers died before the law could take effect, and nine ministers of New Prague. After these public administrators of the word were removed, the people attended such of the German churches as were still allowed to be open.* At Slana, John Kapillius, a learned man, was reading the gospel to his flock, and the soldiers with a sword knocked the bible from his hand. The expositor exclaimed: "Wo unto you, for ye neither enter into the kingdom of heaven yourselves, nor will ye suffer them that are entering to go in." They thrust him out of the church, and repeated "Lord Jesus," in derision. At Laimensis, the minister was exiled, even after his church had paid a great sum for his liberty.† Monks from Poland, and other unclean persons, were thrust into the places of the ejected pastors, but we can feel no pleasure in describing the wicked lives of the new incumbents.‡

By an edict of the 3d of February 1622, the protestant noblemen were deprived of the third part of their property, which was conferred on the adherents to the Romish faith.§ About the 21st of February, MARTIN FRUWEYN of Podali, was tortured with burning irons, in a way that cannot be described here, and imprisoned in the White Tower in the castle. One day, being cast down, he sung with an apostrophe, "Why criest thou for thine affliction? thy sorrow is incurable for the multitude of thine iniquity: because thy sins were increased, I have done these things unto thee. The Lord saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter: for there was not any shut up, nor any left, nor any helper in Israel." On the 7th of June he was found dead in the castle ditch under the tower.||

At this period, the persecution extended also to MORAVIA. On the 17th of March 1622, JOHN BERDECK, a godly minis-

* Boh. Pers. chap. lii.

† Boh. Pers. chap. liv.

‡ Boh. Pers. chap. liii.

§ Boh. Pers. chap. lxxxvii.

|| Ib. chap. lxxxiii.

ter of Zadanicense in that country, was publicly beaten, and then burnt in the market place. About the same time, Gallus Celech, pastor of Chetochow, in the same region, was cruelly struck by the soldiers, and died in three days.* In this year, the anabaptists of Moravia, who possessed forty-five houses or colleges, were banished under pretence of their having favoured Frederic; and indeed this is not wonderful, since he was not a member of the church of Rome. Just before the vintage, they left their homes, carrying the weaker sort in several hundreds of carts. They had no earthly help, and "went out, not knowing whither they went." In large companies, they settled in Hungary and Transylvania. The Piccards, Calvinists, and Lutherans, however, could not be removed in a body, because Ferdinand was afraid of alarming the Protestant princes. The condemned were therefore sent off the country in small groups.†

CYPRIAN PESCHIN, a learned man of great authority at Kuttenberg, was betrayed to the Jesuits by an apostate. He was seized riding in a coach with Baron GESPAR of Sherotin, and carried to Choltitz. The Baron procured his enlargement for 4000 florins, yet he ended his life in banishment at Hirschberg; but whether the town in Silesia, or the place of the same name in Upper Saxony is meant, the documents do not mention. JOHN BUSTER, minister of Wyprachticenze, was fixed to a tree, and his enemies shot at him in sport. Through fear, he died in three days. WINCESLAUS KUTERAM, at the village of Libkon, was met by a papist, who exclaimed with insolence, "Do I find thee here, thou beast?" and instantly pierced him through with a spear.‡ On the 22d of December 1622, William Vrzecowetz, an apostate, entered Kuttenberg with a troop of cavalry, and summoned the ministers to renounce their heresy, but they do not appear to have obeyed. On the 27th of July 1623, the Jesuits commanded twenty-one ministers to retire from Kuttenberg, whose names are enumerated by historians. One of these brethren, named JOHN MATTHIADES, preached in the fields a

* Boh. Pers. chap. l.

† Boh. Pers. chap. xlv.

‡ Ib. chap. l.

most interesting sermon from the words, "They shall put you out of the synagogues."*

In 1624, an edict was passed to banish all the ministers from Moravia. The Baron, Charles of Sherotin, had been for eight years in great favour with the Emperor Mathias, and was still a favourite through Austria. At this era, he maintained twenty-four of the Brethren's ministers. Two messengers told the baron, in name of the emperor, to send away the ministers. This order, repeatedly given, was as often refused. The two individuals then recited the edict to the pastors, who refused to change their religion, but declared their willingness to suffer for Christ according to his will. In eight days, the godly men were banished, and the baron defrayed their travelling expenses to Hungary. He proceeded personally to Vienna, and complained to the emperor, but obtained no redress, and was banished. Thus the Brethren's instructors were exiled from Moravia.†

In August 1624, a similar law was promulgated regarding all the Brethren's instructors remaining in Bohemia. On the 22d of June 1625, every species of public worship was prohibited, except the Roman Catholic. In July that year, the injunction regarding the banishment of the teachers was renewed.‡ The most worthless persons attained the magistracy.§

Nine ministers were imprisoned, and liberated on condition of their engaging never to return to Bohemia. George Techimitz, a Bohemian, with a Danish army, drove 400 of the brethren into a wood in 1627. Some troops from Prague went out with the design of still further pursuing them. The captain of these Prageans was Hlizowski. They found only MATHEW VCLICK or ULIC, whom they carried to Czaslaw, where he was tortured by two apostates. Though severely tormented, he still maintained the authority of his ministry, and denied the corporeal presence. He dealt so faithfully with one of the apostates, that he died with terror. On the 11th of September, he was martyred and declared seditious.

* Ib. chap. lv.

† Boh. Pers. chap. lviii. La Trobe, p. 106. ‡ Boh. Pers. chap. lvii. lxxxviii.

§ Ib. chap. xc. xci.

One John Aquile offered him a psalm-book, and was beaten by the captain. Vlick sung, "Haste thee, O Lord," &c. No citizen was allowed to look to him. At the place of execution, he said, "This day my soul shall be with Christ." The captain added, "With the devils in hell." The sufferer replied, "But you, with your impious crew, will run headlong to that place, except ye repent." Kneeling down, he recommended his soul to Christ, and the executioner struck off his right arm, with which he had given the cup to the people. His head was then cut off, he was quartered, and the parts put on stakes. He used to say, "Tears are the army of the church." The seditious letters pretended to be found on his body after death were forgeries. His father, at eighty years of age, suffered that same year at Prostanna in Moravia.*

In the course of that year, 1627, GEORGE DICASTUS, administrator of the Consistory of Gospellers, had six articles sent him to exhibit to the parishes of Prague. These proposals demanded of the brethren, that £7000 be lent to the emperor to pay the soldiers; that the people publicly renounce Frederic; that they restore the ancient ceremonies in the church; that their ministers be re-ordained by the archbishop; that they renounce wedlock, or get a dispensation from the archbishop; and that such ecclesiastics as turn to secular employments, shall have favour of the emperor. The brethren unanimously rejected these conditions of peace as being contrary to the dictates of their consciences.†

The most ignorant and often wicked men were thrust into the congregations from which the brethren's ministers had been ejected. To induce the people to own the pope, they were told they would be allowed to retain their former doctrines. In 1627, a decree of banishment was published against all the nobility who adhered to the brethren, and the emperor circulated a large quantity of base coin, that their estates might be of little value. The common people who declined conformity to Rome, were also compelled to leave the country, for, on the 31st of July 1629, another act was published, that such as will not learn the Romish religion in three months, shall be banished the kingdom. Many hun-

* Ib. chap. lvii.

† Hist. Boh. Pers. chap. li.

dreds of families, both noble and plebeian, fled to Misnia, Lusatia, Silesia, Poland, Hungary, Saxony, Brandenburg, Prussia, Transylvania, Lithuania, Russia, and the Low Countries. Emigration was rendered as difficult as possible, by a watch being kept over the common people. Yet many thousands followed their ministers, and such as were unable to do so, concealed themselves. From this period, no more protestant churches or schools existed openly in Moravia and Bohemia. Their Bibles and religious books were burnt in heaps, and sometimes beneath the gallows.* In 1630, only about ninety-six of the brethren's ministers were surviving, and these in banishment and concealment, though ten years previous to this period, they had two hundred pastors openly officiating in Bohemia and Moravia.†

JOHN AMOS COMENIUS, was one of their most eminent ministers. He was born at Komna, in Moravia, 28th March 1592. After attending the reformed universities at Herborn and Heidelberg, and distinguishing himself as a scholar in the capacity of rector of Trzeron, he was called to be minister of Fulnec in Moravia in 1618. In 1624 he concealed himself in a castle of a Bohemian baron, and visited his distressed brethren. In 1627 he emigrated to Poland with part of his flock. On the top of a mountain on the border, he turned towards Bohemia and Moravia, kneeled down, and in presence of his wandering charge, prayed God not to remove his gospel from the two countries. He settled at Lissa, and in 1632, at a synod, he was elected bishop of the dispersed brethren in Poland. He published a famous introduction to the Latin language, and was celebrated through Europe as a scholar, but was too credulous of enthusiastic prophecies regarding the restoration of the brethren's church. He however seems to have better exercise regarding this revival than such notions, for when, in 1648, at the peace of Westphalia, the state of the brethren was overlooked, and the remnant in Bohemia more awfully persecuted, he published a most animated address on their condition, which is to be seen in Holmes and others. In 1649, he published his history of the

* La Trobe, pp. 106—103. Regenvols, chap. xi. Boli. Pers. chap. lxxxix.
† Ib. chap. cvii.

Brethren, in Latin, which work he dedicated as his last will and testament to the Church of England, to preserve it for the successors of the brethren. In 1656, his library was burnt, and he left Poland for some time.*

On the whole, the Waldenses or Brethren in POLAND had enjoyed tolerable quietness, and were now increased to be nearly equal to the papists in some places, since the time that such as fled from Bohemia were kindly received by king Sigismund III. In 1658, however, matters were sadly changed. About twenty protestant families were expelled from the confines of Bohemia and Misnia. Previous to open persecution in Poland, the Jesuits and inquisitors from Austria, had, by a variety of indirect methods, considerably diminished the Waldensian congregations. Three of these assemblies were at Lissa, namely, the Bohemian, the Polonian, and German, each having its own pastor. The communicants of the three amounted to about 2000. Lissa was the chief object of the enemy's malice, because, besides the congregations, the synod met there, and in that place were the Waldensian university and the printing-office. The Romanists falsely charged the brethren with conspiring, in 1655, to surrender the country to the Swedes, and made this a pretext for the persecution. The dissenters from popery having providentially heard of the approach of their enemies to burn Lissa and to murder themselves, left their rich habitations to wander in a miserable condition in Silesia, Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Hungary. The decrepped, old, and sick, who remained, were murdered, and the city for three days enveloped in flames. Similar scenes were exhibited in other places. The executioners seized SAMUEL CARDUS, pastor of the neighbouring congregation of Czeurtzinen, and "first put out his eyes," then "pulled off his finger-ends with pincers;" next, they "poured molten lead into his mouth, clapt his neck between folding doors, and violently pulling them together, severed his head from his body." They took JOHN JACOBIDES and ALEXANDER WARTENS, two colleagues in the ministry at Dembrick, and having cut their throats with a razor, cast them

* La Trobe, pp. 121—132. Holmes, pp. 127—145. A translation of Comenius' History was published in London, 1661.

yet breathing into a pit, where they died. They used ANDREW OXLITIUS, a student, nearly in the same manner; as also ADAM MILOTA, a citizen of Lissa, and SIMON PRITTER, with multitudes of others. A pious mother was slain in the streets. Her foes cut off two of her childrens' heads, laid them to her breasts, and placed the head of a third by her side. They amputated the hands, feet, and tongue of another female, and bound her in a sack, where she lived in misery for two days. The barbarity used towards the aged, the sick, the delicate women, and young persons who were unable to flee from Lissa, was most astounding. At Zichlin, they dug up the dead, and hewed them in pieces. The body of the Landgrave of HESSIA, formerly murdered, they tore out of the grave. In like manner, they treated the corpse of the most noble ARCISZEVIUS, the valiant admiral of the Hollanders in Brazil, which was stripped of its grave-clothes and left unburied. The remains of many others were exhumated in spiteful revenge. At Kurmin, Dembrick, Skochy, Czruciuzin, and almost through all Poland, the congregations were dispersed, and many of the members slain. About 5000 adults, besides children and youths, were scattered abroad through Silesia, Marck, Lusatia, Hungary, and other countries. Such pastors as remained in Poland dared to minister only in private meetings and in woods.

The persecuted brethren having heard of the kindness of Oliver Cromwell to the remainders of the massacred Waldenses of Piemont in 1655, which we are afterwards to detail, sent the Lord Protector a narrative of these Polish proceedings, subscribed in name of the churches by two exiles, namely, ADAM SAMUEL HARTMAN, pastor of the church of Lissa, and rector of the university; and by PAUL CYRIL, a late member of the university of Lissa. The facts were also testified by three godly persons delegated on purpose by the suffering churches to the protector. Though OLIVER had lately made a call on his subjects for a contribution on behalf of the Vaudois of the Valleys, yet, as soon as the statement of the Polish refugees reached him, he appointed another collection through England, Wales, and Berwick, which, according to the "declaration" which he published, was intended for the relief of those who, "through

the persecution and inquisitors of the House of Austria, have been driven out of their habitations, and spoiled of their goods upon the *sole* account of religion." The committee and treasurers formerly nominated were continued, who also circulated an appeal to the English public, of the same spirit with the protector's, and which is subscribed by John Trevor, Christopher Pack, William Purefoy, Edward Cresset, Thomas Vyner, Joseph Caryl, John Owen, William Jenkyn, Philip Nye, William and Edmund Calamy. As a motive for England to contribute handsomely, the committee mentions the brethren's acknowledgment of the benefits they had derived from the writings of Wycliffe. The ministers of the different parishes were enjoined to publish the protector's order on the first Lord's day after they were apprized of it. The collection was to be made on the following Sabbath, and in three days the sums were to be paid to the sheriffs of the counties, to be remitted to the treasurers, Sir Thomas Vyner and Sir Christopher Pack, knights, aldermen of London, who were to transmit the money to the relief of the distressed churches, in such proportions as the committee shall direct. But owing to the death of Cromwell on the 3d of September 1658, and the political confusions that followed, a particular statement of the distribution of this has not been found; yet the honour of the men who composed the committee, the minute account which they rendered of the distribution of the money they gathered for the sufferers in Piemont shortly before this period, which will be inserted in a following part of this work,* give us ground for confidence that the Polish brethren also received the funds contributed for them by English charity.†

The benevolence of England at this juncture, shews that the address to her by Comenius in his history nine years previous to these occurrences, had not been in vain: "Should it please God," says he, "at a future period to educe good from our present afflictions, and, according to his promise, make

* Appendix, No. X.

† The Narrative by the Brethren of Poland, the Declaration of the Protector for a Collection, and the Address to the Public by the Committee, are all inserted in Jones' History of the Christian Church, vol. ii. pp. 406—421, 1819; but my limits will not admit of them.

Christendom, after having received wholesome correction, instrumental in propagating the gospel among other nations, and to do with us as he did with the Jews, cause our fall to be the riches of the world, and our diminishing, the riches of the Gentiles; we, in that case, commend to you (the English Church) our beloved mother, the church of the brethren; that you may take care of her, whatever God may be pleased to do, whether to restore her in her native land, or, when deceased there, to revive her elsewhere.—Into your hands, therefore, we commit this precious deposit, and thus by your care, make provision for posterity.” Every person acquainted with the revival of the brethren, and their extensive missions to the heathen world in the eighteenth century, sees how the wishes of this good man have been fulfilled. In the management of a mysterious providence, the absence of Comenius from Poland, was the means of saving his valuable life. He travelled to Frankfort on the Oder, afterwards to Hornburg, and finally to Amsterdam, where he supported himself by acting as tutor to the children of the merchants, and where he printed some of his works. Feeling anxious that the church, even in dispersion, should enjoy what he reckoned a regular ministry, after he and his colleagues should cease from their labours, he induced a synod in 1662 at Mielencin in Poland, to appoint the consecration of NICOLAUS GERTICHUS to be bishop of Poland, and PAUL JABLONSKY, bishop of Bohemia and Moravia. But the latter dying in 1669, was succeeded by DANIEL ERNESTUS JABLONSKY. That year Comenius published his treatise on “The One Thing Needful.” He died 15th of October 1672.* One of the numbers of the Foreign Quarterly Review says he was tinctured with Socinianism, but no proof is offered. My plan does not embrace the revival of the brethren’s church under Count Zinzendorf in the eighteenth century; therefore, I bid adieu to them for the present.

* La Trobe, pp. 123—132. Holmes, pp. 131—145.

CHAPTER II.

Persecution of the Waldenses in Saluzzo—VIGNEAUX—BARTHOLOMEW COPIN—Persecution extends—VALENTINE BOWLES—Petitions to the Duke—Confession of the Waldenses from Saluzzo—Morality at this period—Waldenses in Dauphiny and Pragela—A number of the Valleys petition the Duke for a confirmation of their Liberty—Persecution of Individuals—SEBASTIAN BASAN.

WE do not propose to treat of the Waldenses under the Dukes of Savoy and under the kings of France, in distinct chapters during the seventeenth century.

At the commencement of this century, the Waldenses in the *Marquisite of Saluzzo*, found themselves under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy. But the smooth letters in 1597 and at other times, were now changed into rigorous mandates.

By an edict dated in the end of June, and published in the marquisite in the close of July 1601, every one is enjoined in fifteen days to repair to the magistrate of his district, and declare his readiness to renounce his religion and go to mass, otherwise to leave his highness's territories in the space of two months, never to return under pain of death and confiscation of goods. During these two months, they were permitted to remove their effects to any place they pleased.* In this difficulty, the poor people sent deputies to his highness to solicit either a revocation or a moderation of the edict. The one or other of these they had so great hopes of obtaining, that many of them allowed the greater part of the time specified to elapse without arranging their affairs, and were dreadfully amazed when, only a few days previous to the expiry of the time fixed, they were informed that they could expect no mitigation. Some gave their property to their friends, others left it exposed to the avarice of their persecutors, and retained only what they could carry for their present necessities. They were entreated by their relations to remain for the sake of

* Morland, p. 276.

friendship, and this temptation was greatly urged, especially before the magistrates, who employed the monks and other ecclesiastics to endeavour to persuade the people to continue in the place, and conform to the state religion. Among others, Philip Ribotti, a capuchin friar, who had formerly exercised his subtlety in the same way in the valley of Perosa, was particularly active, both in public and private, in the marquisite, to gain proselytes among the weaker sex, the aged, and the poor. The people were brought one by one before the magistrates. Husbands were not allowed to answer for their wives, nor any one to encourage another, under pain of death. By the grace of God, a great number continued unshaken, and "went forth not knowing whither they went," some beyond the Alps to Dauphiny or Geneva, others to some of the valleys of Piemont, where the edict of his highness was not enforced. To prevent union among these people, they were at first told that the edict, though expressed in general terms, was meant only to dislodge them from the plain and from the great villages, but that the churches of the mountains were to remain undisturbed. This scheme for a time divided them, but the fraud having been detected, the people became more firmly united. In the marquisite, eight flourishing churches were dispersed, and were compelled to seek refuge in other countries to enjoy liberty of conscience. Those in the mountains were not spared any more than their brethren in the low country. The church of *Pravillelm* remained longest in quiet, and the members, trusting to their ancient possession, did not repair to the magistrates. After all the others in the neighbourhood had departed, the members of the church were informed, that for disobedience to the edict, they were to be punished with death and confiscation of goods. They applied to the syndics, and pleaded that they viewed themselves as not included in the edict. The syndics journeyed to the government for an explanation, but returned with uncomfortable messages to the same import. One part of the men left their families in their houses and retired to the western mountains. About two hundred more who could bear arms, retreated armed to the Chastellenie de Chasteau Dauphin. Those of Dauphiny withdrew into the highest forests. The men, on leaving home, charged their Popish neighbours to intercede

for them, and to be kind to their families, and promised afterwards to reward them. The mild but firm spirit of these persecuted followers of the Lamb, procured the good will of their Roman Catholic countrymen, who interfered so far in their behalf, as to procure liberty for the men to return to their habitations, where they remained for a number of years unmolested. But eight churches of Saluzzo were dispersed.*

During this persecution, *Sieur DOMINIQUE VIGNEAUX*, pastor of the church of Villaro, in Lucerna, a most venerable man, and of no small talent, wrote consolatory letters to his persecuted brethren, and used his influence with certain noblemen on their behalf, especially with the Lord De la Mente, governor of the marquise, with whom he had some intimacy. Vigneaux must have been now far advanced in life, as he was a Waldensian pastor before the Protestant religion had liberty in France.†

In this year, *BARTHOLOMEW COPIN* of the Valley of Lucerna, was at *Asti*, in the county of Asti, eleven leagues south-east of Turin on the Tenaro, in Piemont.‡ Being engaged in mercantile concerns, he had gone designing to attend a market on the following day. When at supper, on the previous evening, in company with several others of the same profession, conversation on the diversity of religion was introduced. On hearing one speak disrespectfully of the Waldenses of Angrogna and adjacent places, Copin, viewing God as dishonoured, could not sit in silence, but spoke in defence of his religious profession. “And what,” said his opponent, “are you a Waldensian?” “Yes,” said he. “And do you not believe that God is in the host?” “No,” said Copin. “Ah, wretch,” replies the other, “what a false religion is yours!” “My religion,” saith Copin, “is as true as it is certain that God is God, and as I am sure that I shall die.” Next morning, Copin was called before the bishop of Asti, who informed him that he must either acknowledge the offensiveness of his scandalous discourses and opinions, or be punished. Copin answered, that he had been provoked to state what he had said; that,

* Morland, pp. 264—267. Perrin, b. ii. chap. v. p. 85. Boyer, chap. ix. p. 61—63.

† Morland, p. 267. Perrin, ib. chap. iii. p. 15.

‡ Playfair's Geog.

however, he was willing to maintain at the expence of his life what he had affirmed; that he had some worldly goods, with a family of children and a wife, but his affection for them, though ardent, would not induce him to injure his conscience; that all the merchants of Asti would bear witness to his honesty and integrity; that if Turks and Jews were allowed to traffic in Piemont, much more should a Christian, who, in the conversation related, acted only on the defensive, and answered questions with which he had been assailed; and that though the Waldenses in the treaty with his highness were forbidden to introduce new opinions, they were not prohibited from answering any inquiry.

Without hearkening to these reasonable statements, the bishop sent him instantly to prison. Next day, the bishop's secretary visited the prisoner, and under great pretence of friendship, stated, that unless he owned his fault, he would be in great danger of his life. "My life," said Copin, "is in the hand of God, and I desire not to preserve it at the expence of the divine glory. I have now only two or three paces to walk in my journey to heaven, and my prayer to God is, that he may give me grace not to draw back." In a few days, he was examined by a monk, who was inquisitor, in presence of the bishop. The monk, with sweetness, gentleness, and "fair speeches," attempted to induce him to abjure his belief. Copin always answered him by the Scripture, alleging, that if he should be ashamed of Christ Jesus, or deny him before men, the Saviour would be ashamed of him, and deny him before his father in heaven. The monk ended his disputation by a vulgar and diabolical threat, "Go thy way, thou cursed Lutheran, to all the devils in hell, and when thou shalt be tormented by these unclean spirits, thou wilt remember our good and holy councils to bring thee to salvation; but thou wouldest rather go to hell, than reconcile thyself to our holy mother church." "Long ago," said Copin, "I was reconciled to our mother the church."

After many violent attacks, they brought his wife and son, that he might be induced to confess his fault and depart. Instead of this, however, while they supped with him in the prison, he spent the time in exhorting them to patience, and reminding them that he was bound to love Christ more than

wife or children. He declared that he would reckon it a great felicity, if God by his grace should honour him to be a witness to his truth, by laying down his life, though with grievous torment. He assured them God would be a father to the fatherless, and a husband to the widow. He enjoined the son to obey his mother, and God would bless him. He entreated them to pray that God would strengthen him against temptation. To his wife, he committed the charge of his son and daughter, and entreated her to bring them up in the fear of the Lord. Having blessed his son, and taken leave of his wife, they were dismissed from the prison, and he was locked up in his lonely apartment. The mother and son shed such a profusion of tears, and uttered such lamentable complaints, as would have moved a heart of stone. In addition to the good man's advice to his family, as above mentioned, he wrote to his partner the following letter, the original of which, subscribed with the hand of Copin, she delivered to Mr Perrin.

“To my loving Companion, SUSAN COPIN, at the Tower of Lucerna.

“MOST DEAR COMPANION,—I have received much comfort by your coming to this place, and so much the more, as I had little expectation of seeing you. I think also you felt considerably gratified in having an opportunity to sup with me, as it happened yesterday, being Saturday, the 15th of September 1601. I know not the reason why this was permitted, but all things are in the hand of God, and whatever was the cause, I do not think we shall ever eat together again. Pray therefore to God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who has promised never to forsake those that trust in him. You are prudent, and therefore govern our house in such a manner, that you keep our children, Samuel and Martha in obedience, whom, by that authority which God has given me, I command to be faithful and obedient to you, for then will God bless them. As to any thing further, be not grieved concerning myself, for if God has appointed that I am now come to the end of my days, and that the Almighty sees meet that I render up my soul, which for a long time he has conferred on me, my trust is in him, that of his abundant mercy, he will receive it into heaven for the love of

his Son Jesus Christ, through whom I believe that our sins are blotted out, even by his precious death and sufferings. I beg also at his merciful hand, that he will sustain me unto the end by the powerful assistance of his Holy Spirit. Persevere in prayer to God, and in serving him, for so God will bless and support you. Be not anxious to send me any thing during these three weeks, and then, if you please, you may remit me some money to pay the jailor, and any thing else to relieve me, if I live till that time. Remember likewise what I have often told you, namely, that God prolonged the life of king Hezekiah for fifteen years, but that he had prolonged mine a great deal more; for long ago, you have seen me almost dead, and nevertheless I am still alive, and I hope and am assured, that he will still preserve me in life, till my death shall tend more to his glory and my own felicity, through his grace and mercy towards me. From the prison at Asti, September 16, 1601."

The bishop of Asti was much perplexed what to determine concerning this poor man. If he should dismiss him, many would take courage to speak loudly against the Romish religion. On the other hand, a clause in the treaty between his highness and the Waldenses cleared him from offence. The words are, "And if any question shall be moved unto them regarding their faith, being in Piemont with others of his highness's subjects, it shall be lawful for them to answer, not incurring thereby any punishment, real or personal." Now, Copin was interrogated, and therefore free from blame. But the bishop would not have the surmise that he had committed him unjustly to prison; and that he might not be accused of murder, he referred Copin's indictment to Pope Clement VII. The public never knew what answer the bishop received, but soon after, Copin was found dead in prison, not without appearance of having been strangled. Had he been publicly executed, his confession and constancy would have edified and strengthened the people. After death he was condemned to be burnt. Being brought out of prison, his sentence was read in the same place, and he was cast into the fire.*

* Perrin's Hist. of Wald. b. ii. chap. iv. pp. 77—83.

According to the narrative of the Prior Rorenco, the Duke Charles Emanuel, on the 25th February 1602, issued against the Protestants of the Valleys an edict, in which he declared, that he "will utterly destroy the heretical religion." And to that purpose, like Julian the apostate, he enjoined the people, "upon pain of death, to suppress all schools, either private or public, prohibiting them also to receive among them any strange minister, or teacher of schools." In this edict, he deprived "every heretic of the said pretended religion, of the power of holding a public office in any community," &c. By another edict of the same year, all Protestants are commanded either to go to mass or to leave the country in fifteen days. Shortly after, Mr Ponte, governor of Pignerol, in the name of his highness, ordered the Protestants "of Lucerna, Fenile, Bubiana, and Campiglione, to quit their habitations and country within five days, on pain of death." Some days after, the same order was given to those of Val Perosa. The monks and priests were the real authors of these edicts, for, according to Rorenco's Historical Memoirs, the duke, in his letter of the 8th March 1602 to Philip Ribotti, missionary of the order of Jesuits, promises, "We will make those particular orders which your fatherhood judges to be necessary." And, "The missionary fathers communicated with his highness, who made an edict as follows,"* where he inserts the document.

The Waldenses of *Lucerna* had continued nearly in the same circumstances since 1595, but in consequence of the above edict in 1602, the masters of families were cited before the Seigneur Count Charles of Lucerna, the Governor Ponte, the Archbishop of Broglia, and several others. By them, the people were commanded in the duke's name, either to go to mass or for ever to quit Lucerna and all their possessions. Awful calamities were threatened in case of disobedience. Consequently some of the poor creatures seemed to change their religion, but others manifested more consistency. From Lucerna, the lord sprocceeded to *Bubbiana*, where they found the reformed utterly immoveable in their principles. On this

* Rorenco, pp. 159—180 in Morland, pp. 276, 277. Pyran's Introduction by the Publisher, Mr Sims, p. 38.

account, the principal persons among the Waldenses were summoned to appear before the duke at Turin. These were Mr VALENTINE BOULES, MATHEW BOULES his brother, PETER MORESC, and SAMUEL FALC, who were brought one by one before his highness. To Mr Valentine, the duke said, "That his desire being to see all his subjects profess the same religion with himself, and knowing also how much the said Valentine was able to contribute to that end, because of his great reputation among those of his party, he had sent for him to exhort him to embrace the Catholic and Apostolic Roman religion; that afterwards he, by his exhortations and example, should induce his Protestant neighbours to do the same; and that besides the spiritual profit he would derive from that source, he should receive such rewards as would lead him to know and perceive that he had done his prince no inconsiderable service." Mr Valentine, in reply, "entreated the duke to assure himself, that next to the service of God, he had no greater desire than to obey and please his highness, in whose service he would willingly venture and employ his person and goods according to his duty, whenever an occasion should offer; but that in regard to his religion, which he knew to be true and established by the word of God himself, he could not abandon it without disobeying God and wounding his conscience to such a degree, as ever afterwards to preclude him from comfort of mind; and that therefore he humbly solicited his highness to be satisfied with such things as he could do with a safe conscience, and therefore to leave him in the free enjoyment of his religion, which he valued above his own life." On this, the duke replied, "That he also was careful for his own soul, and that he was likewise persuaded his religion was the true one, otherwise he would neither follow it nor induce any other person to embrace it." He likewise added, that "he would indeed shew them who should receive it, that they had much gratified him in so doing, but notwithstanding, he would force the conscience of no man." On this, Valentine was allowed to depart, but lest he should injure the duke's design, he was not permitted to hold any intercourse with his three brethren. The better to cover this business, the duke published that the said Valentine Boules

had engaged to turn Papist. This gross falsehood does not seem to have had the desired effect on his friends.*

From these attempts in Lucerna and Bubbiana, we may conclude that similar proceedings took place in Fenile, Champiglione, and Perosa, which were also comprehended in the edicts of this year.

In the year 1603, the Duke of Savoy's subjects of the Reformed Profession in Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatte, San Bartolomeo, Tallucco, Miano, Matteo, and Saluzzo, who viewed themselves as one body in Christ, presented a petition to his Highness on their own behalf. This supplication was subscribed by three deputies, one for the community of Bubbiana and Champiglione; one for Villaro, Bobbio, and La Torre; and one for Angrogna. On the ninth of April they obtained a favourable answer, which granted a suspension of the persecuting edicts, and allowed freedom of religious worship in all the places mentioned, with certain restrictions in the three places just named. They were to have the privilege of civil traffic through all his Highness' dominions, but were not allowed to publish their doctrine. Nor did his Highness declare, that he will restore the goods and liberties of certain persons specified in the petition.

The Duke's Protestant subjects of Bobbio, Villaro, La Torre, Angrogna, and San Giovanni, presented also a petition, on the 14th May, to the Princess Margarita. A favourable reply was received from her, sanctioned also by V. F. Millet in name of the Duke. In this paper both parties are prohibited from questioning one another regarding their religion, and the Waldenses are enjoined to repair the Popish Churches. Against this last injunction a new petition is presented to the Duke, subscribed by deputies from all the places mentioned above, and also from Miano, and Matteo. The answer confirms the former grant, and promises pardon to some who had taken arms on several excesses committed by the duke's troops. A fine, however, is exacted. They are not to be forced to pay undue taxes, as Captain Gallina had obliged them. †

* Morland, pp. 253, 256. Leger, part. ii. pp. 49, 50.

† All these documents are found in Morland, pp. 466—485. Leger, *ib.* p. 50.

The Waldenses who had fled from the Marquisite of Saluzzo, Matteo, and Miano, into *Dauphiny*, and other parts of France, amounting to about five hundred families, began to fear that their enemies would suppose they had been banished from their own countries on account of some wicked actions. Being conscious that their troubles had been inflicted only because of their zeal for their religion, and wishing to prevent or counteract the misrepresentations of adversaries, they in this year, 1603, issued a declaration of their religious belief as conformed to that of those reformed churches which are specified. This faith they declare their predecessors, from father to son, from time immemorial had professed. They publish their willingness to return to the places from which they had been expelled; and to please his highness in every thing except the change of their religion.*

The religious and moral character of the Waldenses at this period is not defended only by themselves, but also by Roman Catholics. Two of these we shall here produce. The president *Du Thou*, commonly called *Thuanus*, in chapter twenty-seventh of his history, states, that “the Vaudois observe the ten commandments of the law, which gives the rule of a holy and pious life. They give no countenance to any sort of vice in their assemblies. They abhor and detest all sorts of unlawful oaths, and perjuries; wicked imprecations, and quarrels; seditions, debauches, and drunkenness; whoredom, enchantment, and sacrilege; and theft, usury, and witchcraft. All such things they detest.”† This declaration of their chastity was formerly noticed. The other testimony is that of BERNARD GIRARD, Lord Haillan, also a member of the Romish Church, who, in his History of France, book tenth, asserts, “that the Waldenses have been charged with more wicked opinions than they held; that to speak the truth there is nothing which has drawn on them the hatred of the pope and princes, except the liberty with which they reproved their vices, especially the licentiousness of the ecclesiastics; and that this is the true cause why they mortally hated them, and imputed to them a great many execrable opinions.”‡ Now

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. v. pp. 85—89. Leger, part i. p. 111. Morland, p. 41—43. See the Document, Appendix No. vii.

† Boyer, p. 37. Leger, ib. p. 184.

‡ Perrin, b. i. chap. v.

since Gerard died this year, 1610, and Du Thou about 1617, we may view these attestations of two candid opponents as no despicable proof of that Christian morality which prevailed among the Waldenses at this period.

We formerly vindicated the character of the Waldenses against a great number of calumnies. Among other false charges, *Rubis*, in his history of Lyons, calls them sorcerers. But their own writings we saw, acquitted them of this aspersion. But *Rubis* goes farther, and asserts, that in this period, all those whom he calls heretics, are commonly sorcerers, that in those cities and provinces which have given place to heresy, sorcery is inseparably conjoined. Here he no doubt intends a stroke at Geneva and the Protestant cantons. He offers no proof, except that in these places, sorcerers were commonly condemned to death. Whether we approve of so severe a punishment or not, this rather proves, that in the places referred to, sorcerers were suppressed instead of being encouraged. If *Rubis* would declare the truth, he would state, that indeed teachers of heresy are often sorcerers, for priests, monks, and even popes, have been of this class, for priests say masses for sorcerers, provide them with sacrifices, consecrate their parchments, and put rings on their graven tombs, as *Bodin* affirms. *John Uvier*, physician to the Duke of Cleve, though a professed papist, yet, in his book on devils, states, that the unwary are entangled in the snare of the devil, not only by the negligence of the priests, but by their practice, counsel, perverse doctrine, and deceitful working. By these means, they draw the simple to unlawful remedies under distress. "But, perhaps," adds he, "these magicians think that this art belongs to them by a special prerogative, and that they have a right to it by hereditary succession, because the priests of Egypt were necromancers." *Platina*, in his life of *Silvester II.* states, that he obtained the popedom by magic. And *John Maire*, in his History of the Schisms of the Church, affirms, that all the popes, from *Silvester II.* to *Gregory VII.*, were of the same description. *Cardinal Benno* writes the same thing of *John XX.*, *John XXI.*, *Laurentius*, *Gratian*, and *Hildebrand*. He informs us that *Gregory VII.* would shake his sleeves so, that sparks of fire issued. In this way, he imposed on the more simple,

as if this were a miraculous sign of sanctity and power. John Uvier shows, that these examples form no apology for the conjuring priests in his own time, when they use holy water, exorcised salt, consecrated tapers at Easter, and candles and tapers at Candlemas to frighten the devil. For the same purpose, on Palm Sunday, they use fumigations of holy boughs; on the day of St John the Baptist, they have herbs on the doors; and at the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, they sprinkle holy water. He complains that theology and physic are polluted, by muttering barbarous words, by abusing the Scripture, by bands, necklaces, and charms. He states that they have pretended to have seen the apparitions of souls departed, who complained of the pains of purgatory. No doubt this was intended to induce the survivors to be more liberal in their donations for the prayers of the deceivers. Lavater, in his book of apparitions, relates an account of the false spirit of Orleans, and of the Jacobins at Berne, who were famous impostors in this way. The Parliament of Aix condemned a hermit for sorcery, who had been adored by the people. By their sentence, also, Lewes Godfrey, of the church of Marseilles, was burnt in Provence for magic, on the last of April 1611. The Parliament of Grenoble condemned Nobilibus a monk, and a certain priest in the diocese of Ambrun, who had baptized infants in the name of Beelzebub. Rubis should have considered that his reproach could easily be retorted on himself. The answers to his charge of sorcery against the Waldenses in the foregoing century, are equally valid in this, and need not be repeated.* The will-worship and absurd ceremonies of the Romish priests, resemble more the incantations of a sorcerer than the gravity of a minister of the gospel. Indeed this is predicted, Rev. ix. 21. "Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornications, nor of their thefts." The word for sorceries, is *pharmacies*, which is properly the mixture of medicines, but this mixture among the ancients was viewed as connected with familiar spirits, and means sorcery. Now, when we read of ghosts coming from purgatory to tell their torments; of the transubstantiated host assuming

* Perrin, b. i. chap. iv. pp. 23—28.

the appearance of flesh and blood, and being surrounded with rays of glory ; of images shedding tears, walking, and speaking ; of bones, relics, and crosses working miracles ; of saints, who raised forty from the dead in a day ; of baptizing and ringing bells to drive away the devil ; of anointing dead bodies to frighten Satan ; and, finally, of carrying bones of saints and crucifixes to prevent injury from witches, devils, and protestants ;* and, if we add that many popes and priests have actually been sorcerers, and that the Waldenses have always abhorred such practices, we leave the candid to judge whether the prophecy is accomplished in the Waldenses and Protestants, or in the Romish clergy.

In the year 1617, a Protestant nobleman and his lady who had been stripped of all their possessions on account of their religion, fled to the Valley of Lucerna. Their daughter, OCTAVIA SOLARA, accepted in marriage the Count de Cavour, a man of considerable influence at Turin, who engaged to grant her religious liberty, and to try to procure the restoration of their property. The pastor of Bobbio had advised her against the match, and soon after the marriage, the judiciousness of the counsel appeared, for the count, with the view to convert her to Rome, abstracted her Bible, her Psalm-book, and other religious treatises. He refused also admission to her ministers. She took ill, and when a female friend expressed hopes of her restoration to health, she replied, " Pray not for my recovery, but implore the Almighty to receive me while I am yet true to my crucified Saviour, and before weakness of mind or body, reduce me to a condition in which I may be so lost, as to deny the Lord who bought me."†

The Waldensian churches of *Dauphiny* had now subsisted for several centuries in various parts of the province. When Perrin published his history, there were churches in Valentinois, a district of Dauphiny, in places where time out of mind the pure faith had been received, such as in Des Faulques, and Beauregard ; and in La Baulone near Crest. From these places, Perrin obtained documents of the processes,

* Cuthbertson on Rev. ix. 21.

† Peter Gilles' Hist. des Vaudois in Gilley's Waldensian Researches, pp. 349, 350.

which had been instituted by the inquisitors against certain Waldenses upwards of three hundred years before. The most famous churches, however, of Dauphiny, were those of the Valley of Fraissiniere near Ambrun, of Argenterie, and of the Valley of Loyse, called in reproach Vallute, as it had been a receptacle of impurity. In Perrin's time, this last was entirely rooted out. The Waldenses, time out of mind, had inhabited *Pragela*, on the side of the Alps, next Turin. From thence they came to La Perosa, San Martino, and Angrogna in Piemont. From these places of Dauphiny and Piemont, the Waldenses went into Provence and Calabria. Perrin assures us at the time he wrote, that in the Valley of Pragela, there were six flourishing churches, each having its distinct pastor, who had the charge of divers villages belonging to each church, all filled with the descendants of the ancient Waldenses. He states, that these have been pure churches since ever any records of them have been kept, and that there are some of the members of said churches upwards of a hundred years of age, who never heard from their fathers or grandfathers that ever mass was sung during their lives in that country. Though perhaps the archbishop of Turin may have caused it to be privately sung, this was not known to the inhabitants, who all professed the Waldensian belief. These people have always possessed the books formerly mentioned, and Pragela has been always one of the safest places in Europe for retirement in persecutions, being surrounded by inaccessible mountains, in which were caves for concealment.

That eminent pastor, De Vignaux, already named, could not satisfy himself with admiring the liberal converse, and the integrity and piety of these people, whom he found quite disposed to receive the dispensation of the divine word, which had been cherished by their fathers, and communicated to their posterity. Though encircled on all sides by enemies, in danger of being apprehended in going forth from their houses, and under temptation from the world, yet their holy resolution from age to age remained unaltered. From father to son they had served God, taking his word for the guide of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. In this endeavour, they have been more successful, by the blessing of God, than all other European Christians. Hardly

were their infants weaned, when their parents delighted to instruct them in the faith and doctrine of Christ. So successful were these parents in conveying salutary information to the tender mind, that the youths often confounded persons by far their seniors. Their pastors not only preached to them on the first day of the week, but on other days travelled to their villages and hamlets. They spared not themselves. Heedless of the roughness of the rocks, the piercing keenness of the air, or the uncultivated nature of the country, they visited the lofty mountains to carry the spiritual food to the souls of their flock. During the heat of summer, when the people kept their cattle on the rocky summits, often did their ministers teach them in the open fields. Not only had these practices been long continued, but Perrin declares, that in his time they still persevered. "There," says he, "you may see those, that with attention and reverence hear the word of God: there is discipline exercised with fruit: there the people pray with fervency and zeal. This they do at their return from their labours, at night when they retire to rest, and in the morning before they proceed to work. First in their private houses, then in the temple they entreat the assistance of the Lord in all their actions, thoughts, words, and deeds. In this way they betake themselves to their labours under the protection of the living God, whom they love, honour, and adore. There you may discern more zeal and more simplicity than in many other situations which abound in the pleasures and delights of the world. Nor are they so rude and uncivilized as not to have a variety of individuals among them, who can read and can deliver their sentiments in proper language, particularly such as occasionally undertake journeys into the lower countries on mercantile pursuits. They have schools in which their children are taught and nurtured. Neither are they in want of any thing they judge necessary to advance among them the glory of God."* Probably the reader will view the practice of repairing to the temple for prayer in the morning as savouring of superstition, but he will observe that they did not neglect prayer at home, and they may be considered as meeting for social prayer before their work, without

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. iii. pp. 14—17

any notion of sanctity in the place. From Pragela, Perrin received most of the original manuscripts copied into his history.

The Waldenses of *Merindol* in Provence who had escaped from the massacres of 1545—1549, had mostly retired to Geneva, Switzerland, and Germany. Some of them, however, had remained nearer home, and tilled their land by stealth. By degrees they returned to their own habitations, which by the benefit of the edicts of 1549, they had built and repaired as they were able. These people had become the seed of many eminent Protestant churches, which in 1619 were collected and flourishing in piety and zeal, like the other churches in the kingdom of France.*

The persecutions begun in 1601, in the marquisate of Saluzzo, and which had extended to Matteo, Miano, and other valleys under the duke, notwithstanding the grants of 1603, had been still continued in different ways to this period. This was at the instance of Paul V. and his nuncio. Paul had mounted the papal throne in 1605. The monks and inquisitors had persevered in vexing the poor people. Some of the oppressed, not having power to disencumber themselves of their goods by yielding, accommodated themselves to the world, "but the greater number," says Perrin, "persisted in constantly calling on the name of God, choosing to be banished from their native abodes on earth, rather than to be deprived of eternal life; undervaluing their possessions, their country, their

* Perrin, b. ii. chap. viii. p. 119. Here we feel a reluctance to part with Mr John Paul Perrin, minister in *Dauphiny*, to whose researches in the history of the Waldenses and Albigenses, we have been under great obligation. He published his history in 1619 at Geneva. He states the way in which he obtained possession of the papers from which he composed his history. He mentions De Vignaux, a Waldensian pastor in Piemont, who was still alive, but had written on the Waldenses forty years before this period. He had previously conversed with them forty years, and had been very careful in collecting their books. Being now about eighty years of age, and near the end of his days, he committed his collection of memorials to certain persons. These consisted of catechisms and sermons in the vulgar tongue, containing nothing in favour of popery. Perrin mentions DE SAINT FERRIOE, pastor of the church of Orange, as collecting many of their books, who showed them to De S. Aldegonde, who gives a list of them in his first table, and affirms that there are other manuscripts in a very ancient letter in the library of Mr Joseph de la Scale. † John Leger, as

† Perrin, b. i. chap. vii.

houses, as places which they could not inhabit without denying Christ and his truth.”†

In 1620, the Waldenses of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, united in a petition to Charles Emanuel, who had now been forty years duke. They referred to the grants of his father in favour of their religious liberty, as well as to those of Charles himself. They complained of some troublesome edicts in Lucerna, and that confiscations, fines, and threatenings of penalties had followed. They pleaded for the peaceable exercise of their religion, and for freedom from payment of the Quos, Decima, Albergo, Sigillo, Signattura, and other charges. They asked to have their requests freely granted and interinated, and engage to pray for the duke and princess. Interination seems to have been a form of law.

On the 20th June his highness returned a favourable answer. This confirmed the grants of the 9th April, 14th May, and 29th September 1603, in regard to the Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, together with Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, Prarostino, and other places, “notwithstanding any order to the contrary.” This expression refers to the interference of monks and priests in these contrary orders. He remitted the penalties for breaking his orders before the general pardon, notwithstanding the sentences of the captain of justice and senate. He demanded, however, 6000

well as Perrin, gives “a list of the books of the Waldenses collected, particularly in the Valley of Pragela, in the territories of the king, to which place, the frequent incendiaries of Rome had not obtained so much access as to the other Valleys which are under the dominion of Savoy, and were sent by the Synod of the Valleys to Mr Perrin, minister of Dauphiny, to draw thence his History of the Waldenses and Albigenses, printed at Geneva 1619, which he confesses in p. 57. of chap. vii. to have received in a good state of preservation, where are still found not only all the most important pieces contained in the foregoing list, but also a great many other Treatises.”* Here Leger refers to his own list which is much more extensive than Perrin’s, and of which we shall afterwards speak. The original manuscript of his own list, Perrin had with him at Geneva this year, when he published his history, and showed them to Mr Tronchin, minister of the Gospel, and Professor of Divinity at Geneva, who was still alive when Sir Samuel Morland was in Geneva, and attested to Sir Samuel that he had seen and examined Perrin’s documents. The catalogue of the papers with Mr Tronchin’s testimony, we shall give in the Appendix, No. XI.

* Leger, part i. p. 24.

† Perrin, b. ii. chap. v. p. 89.

ducatons, and required the people of San Giovanni to stop the gate of their church. He annulled the sentence of confiscation.* On the 17th August, the duke sent a second answer, in which he repeated the contents of the first, and further interinated the dispatches and answers gratis, and exempts them from payment of the Quos, Decima, &c. and all other fees of whatever description. He ordered the above memorial to be registered.†

On the 30th August, the three Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, petitioned the lords of the ducal senate to obtain interination of the grants and answers to their petitions. The senate, on 4th September, granted the interination and the abolitions sought. The fiscals were prohibited from claiming the fee of decimation. Persons condemned to corporeal punishment, were set at liberty. On the 5th of September, Mr Darmello, the fiscal-general, and Mr Ballayra, procurator for the Valleys, appeared before the senate, and the above things were ratified, excluding Captain Capello, who was charged with murdering Thomas Bertone. The only thing further required was, that the people of the Valleys pay the officers and fiscals their fees, with the expence of process. This, Mr Ballayra, procurator for the Waldenses, accepted so far as favourable to his principles, but Mr Darmello, fiscal for the exchequer, did not consent.‡ The answers of the duke, however, and the decrees of the senate, must be viewed as the law.

When the missionary fathers were unable to persuade the duke to avowed and general persecution against the Protestants, they vexed them individually, and, on calumnious pretences, delivered them to the inquisitors. These merciless judges condemned them without a hearing, and without allowing them to know their accusers. In this way, Mr SEBASTIAN BASAN, among others, was apprehended in 1622, and maltreated in a great variety of forms. It was not indeed to be expected that the edicts in behalf of the poor people were to be long of much advantage to them while the popish clergy had so great influence with the duke. For not only

* Morland, pp. 277, 487—489.

† Morland, pp. 490, 491.

‡ Morland, pp. 492—496.

were the innocent covertly persecuted, but, on the 23d of December 1622, this prince issued an edict against them. As if his conscience had challenged him for inconsistency, cruelty, and injustice, when he considered his grants of 1603 and 1620, he adds, regarding his present declarations, “ the which were made according to the pope’s brief of the 2d of July in the same year.” The pope’s mandate could legalize deceit, robbery, and murder. Before the publication of such edicts, the draughts of some of them were seen in the house of the Great Chancellor Piscina, in the hand-writing of Prior Rorenzo himself. After the inquisitors had cruelly tempted and tormented Mr Basan for fifteen months, they burnt him alive at Turin in the palace-yard 23d November 1623. He died singing the praises of his God in the midst of the flames.*

CHAPTER III.

Many of the Valleys for a short time fall under France—All the Pastors but two, and one third of the people, carried off by the Plague—Ministers from France and various changes—Madam Royal confirms the Waldensian privileges—Young Duke favourable—Council for Propagation of the Romish faith stimulate the Duke against the Vaudois—They petition in vain.

IN the year 1630, two remarkable changes took place in the situation of the Waldenses of the *Valleys*. The one was, that they were almost all brought for a short time under the dominion of the king of France. The other, that the plague carried off nearly a third part of their people, and all their pastors, with the exception of two. These circumstances caused several modifications of their ecclesiastical affairs, the particulars of which must be detailed.

Charles Emanuel of Savoy had long made pretensions to the dukedom of Mantua, and had been assisted by the French. The Spaniards however supported Ferdinand, who, at the peace of

* Morland, p. 277.

1628, obtained the ducal dignity, and Charles was excluded. It does not appear that Ferdinand long enjoyed his elevation, for soon after we find a new war breaking out on occasion of the death of Vicent Gonzagua, duke regent of Mantua. Charles renewed his claims, but vacillated between the French and the Spaniards. He pretended to favour neither, and denied the French a passage through his territories. Cardinal Richelieu, then general of the French army, took possession of Pignerol and the adjacent country. Charles called the assistance of the Austrians; but it is doubtful whether these German allies contributed most to the defence or desolation of his highness's dominions. The king of France overrun all the dutchy of Savoy. They took Chamberry, and, in short, every place but Montmelian. Richelieu seized the marquise of Saluzzo. On the other hand, Spinola, the Austrian general, laid siege to Cassal, belonging to the French, in the defence of which, they gave astonishing proofs of bravery. In fine, the duke's domains were at this period a scene of misery, since the invading and protecting armies were equally cruel and oppressive. During these grievous troubles, his serene highness, Charles Emanuel, now sixty-nine years of age, died of apoplexy, and left his son Victor Amadeus, his successor, and unable by force to expel the French.* These things occurred in 1630. Thus, he who had abused his power to oppress the flock of Christ, saw, before his dissolution, his lands overrun by a foreign force, and the Waldenses delivered from his oppressions.

Those witnesses for the truth residing in Lucerna, Angrogna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatto, Bartolomeo, Taluc, and other places of Piemont, were not slow in presenting an address to their new territorial master, Louis XIII. of France. This they did on the last of May. They acknowledged his royal authority, and promised sincere fidelity, which they had already manifested in submitting to Richelieu. They begged the liberty of their religion, and urged their plea by referring to the former grants of the kings of France and dukes of Savoy. They claimed the same liberties that were granted to the protestants of France, with power to trade in all his ma-

* Puffendorf's Introduction to the History of Europe, pp. 641, 642.

jesty's dominions. They asked salt from the king's magazine, at the same price which they paid his highness, and, if there be none in the royal depository, that they may have liberty to seek it where it can be found. In any treaty with the duke, they petition the king to secure liberty, without being harassed for their religion, to traffic in his highness's territories. They requested that the monies in their hands belonging to the duke, may be allowed to remain till they address the king on the subject. They concluded with prayers for his majesty's sacred person. This was signed by the four deputies of the Valleys. The king gave his answer on the 6th June. Regarding religion, the same liberty is granted as to the French protestants, and they are desired to state what other privileges they want. The article respecting salt is conceded. As to leave of trade in his highness's countries, the king shall consider how far he can go in demanding this. Their request as to the duke's monies in their hands is granted, on condition of their bringing in three months, an account of these sums. This is signed by Louis and Boutiller in the camp of Moustier.* In short, the king engaged inviolably to observe to them that excellent treaty made with them by the constable of Ediguier in the year 1592, and ratified by his master, Henry the Great, and by his Parliament.†

While the Lord thus allowed his church a breathing from persecution, he laid his own hand on her in a wonderful manner this year. This appears from the second change that happened at this period. A terrible plague, such as had happened exactly a hundred and one years previous to this time, cut off nearly three-fourths of the inhabitants. Of fifteen pastors, this awful calamity left only two. These survivors were excellent and venerable old men, quite broken down with years and labour. These two were Mr GILLES and Mr V. GROS. The people must therefore have recourse to France, and above all to Geneva, to bestow shepherds on the poor flocks, which had been, by a mysterious providence, deprived of their spiritual guides.

They could not recover so much as one to preach in Ita-

* Morland, pp. 449—455. Leger, part ii. pp. 161, 162.

† Leger, part i. p. 207.

lian, the language in which the ministers lately dead had preached. They were all originally of the Valleys, and all preached in the Italian, which was well understood by all the people, although in many places, they, in common conversation, used the ancient Waldensian speech, the same as used in the original documents of their doctrine and of their discipline formerly mentioned. But the modern Italian was peculiarly necessary, because all public acts must be written in that language. They were therefore obliged either to remain without pastors, or to accommodate themselves with the French preachers. This was an easy matter for those who met them in Perosa, San Martino, and part of the Valley of Lucerna, which lie contiguous to France, but very inconvenient for the churches of the Valley of Lucerna nearer Turin. From these circumstances, Mr Gros, formerly pastor in San Martino, was attached to the church of Villaro in Lucerna. The worthy Mr Gilles continued in that of La Torre. And to supply San Giovanni, it was needful to recall from Constantinople Mr ANTHONY LEGER, uncle to Leger the Waldensian historian. He was chaplain to Mr Haague, ambassador from the States of the United Provinces. While Mr Leger resided at Constantinople, the Patriarch CYRILLE delivered into his hands his Confession of Faith. In every thing it agrees with those of the reformed churches. Mr Leger, the historian, was in possession of the original, signed with the hand of the venerable patriarch. An admirable letter to Mr Anthony Leger, was also added, in which he recommends to him to testify to all the world that he died in that holy faith. The patriarch was soon afterwards cruelly murdered by the intrigues of the Romish priests.*

The induction of a number of French ministers into the valleys was followed by several changes in ecclesiastical affairs. We formerly stated that the ancient Waldensian discipline, which was very rigid, was continued till the reformation, at which period it was enlarged, and rendered more moderate in matters which were reckoned unnecessarily severe. This was

* Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. p. 205, and chap. xxxiii. pp. 206, 207.

continued to this year, 1630.* The new French pastors accustomed to a government more indulgent, viewed it, however, as still too harsh. They accordingly introduced several variations, especially as to the power of the moderator and of the general synod. A new and large treatise of discipline was composed all along to 1630, the churches of the valleys preserved their custom of making a triple aspersion at baptism, and a threefold breaking of the wafer or unleavened bread in the Holy Supper. "These ceremonies," adds Leger, "are still practised in the evangelical cantons of Switzerland, and which I have myself practised with our very dear Brethren of Zurich; that is to say, that they sprinkled three times the face of the infant whom they baptized; 1st, in the name of the Father; 2nd, in the name of the Son; 3rd, in the name of the Holy Spirit. They broke also in three pieces the wafer which they gave in the stead of bread, making still the same reference to the three persons of the adorable Trinity."† No longer did the new pastors make thrice an aspersion, nor break the bread into three pieces. They also laid aside unleavened bread, and dispensed the Holy Supper exactly according to the mode used in Geneva and France. The discipline was not any more exercised with that rigour and strictness as in former times. The new ministers, accustomed to a more mild church polity, found the Waldensian rather rigorous. Above all, they disliked the power of the moderator of the churches of the valleys. He, with his assistant and an elder deputed to this service, proceeded once every year to visit all the churches. Either the moderator or his assistant delivered a sermon in each church. He obtained information regarding both the doctrine and the deportment of the pastor of the place, on which he was obliged to hear not only the consistory, that is the session, but also the people. He then delivered the admonitions which he judged necessary. He was also bound afterwards to make a report to the congregation, that is to say, to the general synod of the churches, which was ordinarily held in the month of September. Visitations of this kind, however, were at this period abolished, and were not revived when Leger wrote, which was nearly forty years

* Leger, p. 207.

† Leger, p. 206.

later. "In the meantime, this order remained in force," says Leger, "though occasionally interrupted by wars, it was again re-established to preserve both the pastors and churches in their duty, and to maintain and support the exercise of discipline."

On the last Friday of every month, the colloquy of the valley of Lucerna assembled, and on the first Friday of each month, that of Perosa and San Martino, composed of all the pastors, and one or two elders of each church. Every church received this colloquy in its turn. Each pastor preached also in rotation: and his sermon was subjected to the criticism of the hearers. All along to the year 1630, it was submitted to the remarks of all the people, and for some time after that period, to the review of the pastors and elders, but when Leger wrote, only to that of the pastors.* We shall have occasion to resume this subject about 1669.

Victor Amadeus obtained the ducal dignity in 1630. He set on foot a negociation, by which a treaty was concluded, in which the Duke of Mantua yielded to Savoy several places in Montferrat for 494,000 crowns. The Duke of Savoy ceded Pignerol to the French, on condition of their paying the above sum for him to the Duke of Mantua. This peace was concluded at Chierasco in 1631. Victor was a brave prince, and had commanded the French armies. A fresh war broke out between France and Spain about this period. He joined

* Leger, ib. 207. A few remarks may be added regarding the appellation of the pastors at this time. Before this year, 1630, they were commonly called *barbas* or *uncles*, of which title sufficient notice has been already taken. Formerly the first president of Paris was simply called *Maitre Jean*, Master John, or *Maitre Pierre*, Master Peter. From *Maitre* there came *Monsieur*, from this last arose *Seigneur*, and from this last sprung his Excellence. In 1630, ten French ministers were received in the valleys who began to be called *Messieurs*, and their wives *Mes-Damoiselles*. Such as had been originally of the valleys they began to call *Messer*, *Messer Gillio*, *Messer Grosso*. From this name *barba*, venerable among the Waldenses, the Italian papists have drawn the term *barbet*, which means a dog with a great beard, and have always called the Waldenses *barbets*, because they were the disciples of the *barbas*. In this way they call the Reformers in France *Hugonots*. In Piedmont, all of the reformed religion, of whatever nation, are nicknamed *barbets*. Instead of asking a Frenchman, a German, or a Dutchman, if he is a Lutheran, a Calvinist, or the like, they will inquire if he is a *barbet*.†

† Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. p. 205.

France, and married a daughter of Henry IV. In his youth he had at one time commanded the galleys of the king of Spain with a pension of 100,000 crowns a year. Now, however, he took the field against Spain, but his two brothers Thomas and Maurice were still in the Spanish service.* On account of this conflict with Spain, the Duke of Savoy was prevented from making open war on the Waldenses of the valleys. He however permitted the inquisitors and the monks to persecute them. This they did under the colour of justice. When such as fell into their hands refused to go to mass, and to conform to the Romish religion, they were either condemned to death, sent to the galleys, or consigned to perpetual imprisonment.† In 1632, Rorengo published a narrative of the introduction of heretics into the valleys. On the 18th November 1634, the prefect Ressay, ordered the Protestants of Campiglione to leave the place in twenty-four hours, under pain of death, which injunction was executed without mercy.‡ The Duke Victor Amadeus died in 1637, at the age of fifty. He left the young prince, an infant, to the guardianship of his dutchess Christina, sister to the king of France. In his will he wrote an express clause against his two brothers in the Spanish service, who were supported in their claims to the dukedom by the king of Spain. France sent succours under the Marquis of Harcourt to the Dutchess Dowager. The Spaniards under the Duke of Leagues were beaten before Cassal. The dutchess, however, and the brothers arranged their differences, and prince Thomas entered into the service of France. At the death of Victor, his immediate successor was Hyacinth, but he dying in the course of a-year, the succession devolved on a younger brother Charles Emanuel II., only four years of age; this happened in 1638. The young prince was placed for ten years under the tutorage of his mother.§

In this year, 1638, Madam Royal confirmed to the Waldenses in the duke's dominions, the concessions of 1620. || This year, Belvedere, a monk, published a relation concerning the religion which he calls heresy in the Valleys. It is addressed

* Puffendorf, p. 642, 643. † Boyer, p. 63. ‡ Morland, p. 13, 277.

§ Puffendorf, p. 643. || Morland, p. 497.

to the council for propagating the faith. It was printed at Turin, and published with the approbation of his superiors.* The way of a serpent on a rock, the wise man remarks, is not easily traced. The Waldenses, however, had frequent occasion to observe some of the turnings and windings of the old serpent and his seed. One artifice of the papists against "the infernal monsters," as Rorengo calls the Waldenses, was to foment quarrels among them, and excite them to law-suits. The monks and priests stirred up both parties, and promised to procure favour from the popish judges. Thus they counteracted the endeavours of the Waldensian ministers and elders to preserve peace among their people, and when the consistories censured any church member for going to law, the Romish clergy loudly exclaimed against the consistories as unjust, and caressed the censured party, with the design no doubt of inducing him to renounce his religion. Another plan was to persuade young men to marry popish women, whom they represented as persons of fortune. Many cunning artifices of this kind were practised in 1640—42.† The Catholic clergy seem to have persuaded his Highness that the papists contributed to support Protestant ministers. Accordingly, the duke issued an edict on 16th January 1642, in which his officers, called Castellani, were enjoined to furnish popish missionaries with as many papers as they please. Consequently these officers to obtain favour, gave the missionaries many false declarations against the Protestants. The officers declared before notaries that the charges were just, and the Protestants were not allowed to answer. Any papist who witnessed for a Protestant, was to be excommunicated. By this law, such as would turn Romanist, were exempted also from taxation for five years, and sometimes the term was further extended to ten years.‡

About this time Bishop Usher published a work on the succession and state of the church. He vindicates the Waldenses, and gives a statement of the first part of their history. He writes most accurately on the subject, and we lay down his book with a wish that he had finished his design.§ In an

* Morland, p. 28

† Morland, pp. 272—274.

‡ Morland, pp. 268, 269.

§ Allix, p. 205.

account of the bishop's life by a Mr Walker, the biographer states, that when the bishop left Ireland, he had a second part of his work on the Waldenses in manuscript, but it was stolen from his trunks. Mr Walker supposed some Catholic had got his hands on it. The bloody massacre of the poor Protestants in Ireland at this period, would induce the bishop to sympathize with the poor Waldenses.

The Protestants complained to the duke of the injustice and oppression of the taxes levied from them, while the burden did not press so hard on their Roman Catholic neighbours. Though only about fifteen years of age, Charles Emanuel appears to have had full power, for on the 30th June 1649, he issued an edict favourable to the petitioners, which however was never executed, and the people obtained no advantage.*

This year, Marco Aurelio Rorengo, joint lord of the Valley of Lucerna, grand prior of St Roc, published at Turin another Italian book dedicated to the duke, and entitled "A Historical Memoir of the Introduction of the Heresy."* Of what he states regarding these heretics in the eighth and ninth centuries, we have already availed ourselves. We shall here notice what he asserts regarding the Waldenses of his own time. He is the great director of the Marquis Pionessa. In these historical memoirs, chap. ii. against knowledge and conscience, he calumniates this class of men, for he asserts, "they hold nightly and beastly assemblies, in which, after the sermon, they practise the most abominable intercourse. The minister, a Barb, that is, the preacher, having previously pronounced these words, 'He who shall extinguish the light from the lantern, shall obtain eternal life.'" A little before, he declares that the Vandois carefully kept this secret among them. "*First*, Because of the community of women, in order that they who are not inclined for such obscenities, might not know their wickedness. *Secondly*, To allure a greater number of the world to their sect, by exciting curiosity to know their hidden doctrines." With a variety of similar calum-

* Morland, pp. 270, 497.

† Leger, part i. chap. xxviii. p. 173. Morland, p. 13. Leger, by mistake, says this book was dedicated to Victor Amadeus. He surely confounds this with Rorengo's former work of 1632.

nies, does he try to injure the objects of his malice. The following remarks to prove them libertines, serve only to shew the author's want of genuine wit, and the vexation of his heart, when his ingenuity could furnish no other slander: "They were," says he, "of the sect of the Libertines, which was at first begun in Picardy by a certain one Quintino, which is verified, because even at present it is found in the Valleys of the families of the Bertini," or Bertins. No doubt, the reader admires the fine genius and acute logic of this arch Rabbi of Rome, for, he adds, "The Waldenses of the Valleys are sprung of the sect of the Libertines, because they have among them men who are named the Bertins." John Leger pleads guilty to this charge, and states his knowledge of the brave Captain Bertin of Angrogne, whose valour was signally displayed a few years after this, and of Mr Bertin, secretary of the same community. The fallacy is too gross to impose on the most stupid to join *Les, the*, with *Bertins*, or *Li, the*, with *Bertini*, to make out Libertine. Rorencio also slanders the people, by telling the grandees of the earth to prejudise them, that "among them the husband left his wife, and the wife her husband, when it seemed good to them to find another," &c. These are just the croakings of the "unclean spirits like frogs," that "came out of the bottomless pit," and are similar to the aspersions cast on the primitive Christians by their Pagan adversaries. The Waldenses could also very justly answer them in the language by which the early witnesses confounded Minutius Felix the Pagan: "You accuse us of crimes which we did not so much as believe to be in the world, if we had not seen examples among you. Murders are not found among us; and in regard to incestuous banquets, this is a calumny which the demons have invented to sully the glory of our chastity, and to dishonour the men of our religion by the horror of so great a crime. You accuse us of false crimes, and you are not careful at all to exhibit the truth; but we do not so much value external appearances as the spirit, and we do not at all so much study to appear, as really to *be* chaste. In fact, respecting our banquets, they are not only chaste, they are sober; and our entertainments are grave. We are so far from incest, that some individuals among us are ashamed even

of lawful pleasures. Our children follow our example to live as the best of men, and every day strangers come to submit." If we call one another brethren, "the reason is that we have one same Father, the very same faith, and the very same hope. Your prisons are full of criminals, but you do not find a person from among us, except a martyr, or an apostate." Here we may remark, that the enemies of the Waldenses called them also *Li Fraticelli*, or the Brethren.*

Among other inventions to ruin the poor Protestants, the papal court in 1650, established at Turin, on the model of that at Rome, one of the councils for the propagation of the Romish faith, and the extirpation of heresy. This seems to have been planned at least twelve years before, for Belvidere, in his relation, p. 286, informs us, that "His Royal Highness has determined, at the intercession of the most illustrious Lord Gio Battista Verecelliano, now bishop of Aosta, a prelate most active in extending the holy faith, and most favourable to the missions, to institute a congregation for the affairs of heresy, under the presidency of the most serene prince cardinal of Savoy, and, in his absence, of the most illustrious lord archbishop, together with the chief presidents, lords of state, and some ecclesiastical divines."† Besides, this council having the archbishop as president, there was another council of women, having the same object in view, and the president was the Marchioness of Pianessa. An admirable employment for a noble lady! This assemblage of women made inquiry for those called new converts, and endeavoured to flatter them. The men sent spies through the Valleys to take a list of the Waldenses that were poor, or had suits at law. To the poor they offered exemption from taxes, and for a number of years freedom from quartering soldiers. To those who had gone to law at Turin, or other places, they promised success against their opponents, provided they joined themselves to the Romish church. Owing to this cause, a few of the Waldenses fell from their steadfastness.

But the council and religious orders seeing they prevailed only with some of the lower orders, and less religious people

* Leger, part i. chap. xxx. pp. 182, 183.

† Morland, p. 274. Introduction to *Pyran*, by Mr Sims, p. 39, 40.

among the Vaudois, had recourse to stratagem. In 1653, the marshal of France commanded the French army that had been in Italy. The king appointed them to winter quarters in the Delphinat, Provence, Languedoc, and Burgundy. The inhabitants of these places promised the marshal a sum of money, to be excused from quartering these military visitants. To this proposal he acceded. Retaining part of the sum in his own pocket, the Dutchess of Savoy, who still reigned along with her son, allowed the marshal for the other part of the amount, to quarter the troops in the Valleys. The capuchins and other gentlemen persuaded the Waldenses that these soldiers were intruders contrary to the will of her highness. Therefore the Waldenses flew to arms to expel the French who had entered Lucerna, and who would have laid waste the country by fire and sword, had not a prudent minister of the gospel come in the way, cast himself at the marshal's feet, and explained the diabolical plan of their enemies. Consequently the marshal sent for his billet from Turin. On showing this to the Waldenses, they quietly submitted, and the country was saved from devastation.*

This year, the professors of the reformed religion in the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, Prarustino, and several annexed places, petitioned the duke, 2nd June 1653, to confirm the edicts of 9th April, 14th May, and 29th September 1603, which had been interinated 20th June 1620, and confirmed by the present duke, 30th June 1649. This was granted on condition of their receiving no strange ministers to reside among them more than ten days without his highness' leave, of their pastors not exercising their ministry beyond the prescribed limits, and of their not molesting the missionary fathers in the exercise of their functions. *Second*, They at the same time petitioned to be admitted to public offices and employments, as in 1603. His highness granted them liberty to depute syndics, councillors, procurators, and other commissioners of their religion, as tolerated by his highness' predecessors. Notaries of their religion were also allowed, provided they received no instruments, acts or writings, contrary to the Roman church. They are to

* Boyer, chap. x.

be punished as in an edict of 25th February 1602, if they preach or lecture otherwise than by patent in due form. *Third*, Further, they begged freedom from all penalties incurred for disobeying his highness in matters of religion, and for taking arms. They asked leave to till their grounds, and to traffic. His highness abolished all processes and sequestrations against them. He specified the parishioners of Bobbio, who demolished a place appointed for a church by his highness, and the people of Angrogna and Villaro, for destroying and plundering the church and house of the missionary fathers. This indemnity, however, did not include three ministers, A. Legiero, Gatino, Mangietto, and his wife, with five other persons, who had a hand in firing and sacking the church of Villar. These were to be apprehended according to the submission of the 26th April this year. The people were not to attack the houses of the missionary fathers, and were to have liberty to till and traffic through the whole country, provided they do not teach and preach. *Fourth*, Lastly, they pleaded, that owing to their poverty, his highness interinate these articles gratis, and that printed copies have the same validity as the original. This was granted. This edict was signed at Turin by the duke and public functionaries, 2nd June 1653.*

The Waldensian commissioners, observing that several hardships still remained, presented another request on the 4th June, for correction, moderation, and explanation. They beg, that in the third article, his highness will please strike out the words, "In case of disobedience, all the grants shall become null and of no effect;" that only such as offend shall be punished; and that others be obliged only to assist justice according to the concessions of 29th September 1603, article third. This was granted by his highness. *Second*, They also solicited that the limits of the exercise of their ministerial functions may not be understood as prohibiting the visitation of the sick, and such offices as were specified in the grant 1561, Art. 8, and confirmed 1628, Art. 5. His highness granted that a minister, and one who is not a minister, may go out of the limits tolerated in San Martino, Perosa, and Lucerna, in case of severe sickness and approaching death, to visit and comfort

* Morland, pp. 291—295. Leger, part ii. pp. 84—86.

the sick party, but that he do not remain in that place above two days, and that he do not catechize or perform any other function, except visitation. *Third*, They begged that the duke permit the public offices in the three Valleys, without distinction, as was conceded 9th April 1603, Art. 4. and confirmed 1620. His highness permits notaries of the reformed religion in the places tolerated to receive instruments of agreement, and acts indifferently between inhabitants of the three Valleys, if according to the form of Catholic notaries, and if they receive no will or testament of any Catholic. This was given at Rivol, 4th June 1653, signed by the duke and the public functionaries, and sealed.*

The difficulties that remained, caused a third petition from the Valleys, 29th October 1653. The people thanked the duke for his favourable answers of the 2nd and 4th of June, but stated that there were certain conditions which their enemies might interpret to their disadvantage, and the prejudice of their consciences. Therefore they requested that his highness will conform, without restriction or alteration, the grants and privileges of 9th April, 14th May, and 29th September 1603, interinated 20th June 1660, and confirmed 30th June 1649. His highness declared, that it was not his design by his answers of the 2nd June, that the concessions of Charles Emanuel, his grandfather, suffer the least addition or diminution. This declaration was three times made in the answer, namely, at the bottom of the petition, on the leaf annexed to the petition, and beneath the seal, where it was stated to be in behalf of the professors of the reformed religion in Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarustino, and other places. The document was signed at Turin by the duke, and other public characters, 29th December 1653.†

These people further sought the interination of these articles. His highness was quite aware that the delay which had occurred did not proceed from negligence on the part of the petitioners, but from the number of French troops under France quartered on them, who prevented their assembling.

* Morland, pp. 297—299. Leger, part ii pp. 86, 87.

† Morland, pp. 295—297. Leger, part ii. pp. 87, 88.

Accordingly, in his goodness, by an edict dated the 19th May 1654, he declared that they should enjoy the concessions as effectually as if they had been again confirmed and interinated, on condition, however, that they procure the interination within three months following. Moreover he granted them liberty to make their harvest, and thresh their corns, as likewise to traffic in the duke's dominions, provided they abstained from preaching.*

Therefore before this 19th May 1654, this people had done nothing to deprive themselves of these concessions. The childish stories raised by the children of La Torre, both Popish and Protestant, were never mentioned by the Marquis of Pionessa, nor by the legate Gastaldo, nor by the court of Turin, in the answers to the foreign letters, or in their narrative.†

But it is evident his highness believed no such things at this time, else he would not have allowed the people three months to have the concessions interinated after 19th May 1654, previous to which date, the people had doubtless cleared themselves of every charge. Their habitations they had enjoyed time out of mind, and were now confirmed in them. All this demonstrates that the Protestants had committed no crime to cause his highness alter his intention, or to hinder the interination of his concessions. Yea, these people urged the court to hasten the interination, and agreed to pay the emoluments or regales, amounting to 800 livres, collected with difficulty in the Valleys; and to satisfy all pecuniary demands, though on the 2nd of June 1653, his highness had promised them gratuitous interination. The chancellor also

* Morland, pp. 299—301. Leger, part ii. pp. 83, 89.

† For example, it was afterwards published in the Gazette of Paris, 1st May 1655, under the head of a letter from Turin, 24th April, "that the Barbets or Hugonots of the Valley of Lucerna had skinned the priests, and had made banners of the skins, after having led asses into the churches, and having made them eat the consecrated hosts; likewise that the armies of France and Savoy have legally chastised these religionaries, because after having chased away all the priests and religious men whom his royal highness maintained in the Valleys, every one of whom," says this Gazette "had been cruelly massacred, they had still taken arms against their prince." This, and similar forgeries, the persecutors of the Waldenses circulated in places where people would receive them on trust, rather than be at the trouble to inquire. This they did to apologize for the massacre which afterwards happened.

distributed the papers, and remitted the decrees to his highness' advocate patrimonial, who ought to have signified the conclusions, and to have daily reported them to the chamber to have them perfected. This he seems to have neglected, and the adverse party suggested that the concessions of 1603, and 1620, confirmed in the decrees of 1653, and 1654, could not be interinated, because they had never been passed and interinated by the chamber and the senate. Consequently opponents of the people would not believe them. The truth is, these adversaries imagined the Protestants had lost the originals of the interination of 1620, and denied the authenticity of the present copies, though the year, the month, and the day, as well as the folios of the books from which they had been transcribed, were carefully marked. They rejected the copies, though popish notaries attested that they corresponded with the originals. "Bring the originals," said they, "the whole difficulty will be removed, your last decrees shall be interinated without further delay, and your Valleys shall remain in immovable tranquillity." The deputies would have cheerfully paid the expence of interination, and they returned to the Valleys with a handful of patches, not without apprehension, that this was a plan to deprive them of the originals. The Valleys having met, they ordered the depositaries at Angrogna to bring the originals to the assembly. The copies were found quite correct. This meeting, recollecting what had happened to those of San Giovanni, in regard to the original titles which proved the right they had on the Alps of Bagnol, which, by a stratagem, were carried to Turin, and there lost, so that the people were deprived of their benefits,—remembering that there were various examples of a similar description; considering that Piemont was lately a scene of war, and the armies were not removed; recollecting that there were many bands of lawless vagabonds who committed many depredations, so that there was no passing the woods of Marsaille without danger; and, seeing that such as bore the originals might fall into the hands of the robbers, or might in swimming over a river lose both the parchments and their life, it was resolved to send deputies to Turin to petition his highness to commission some fit persons to examine the originals in the Valleys, and report to him.

To this examination, his highness appointed Signeur Count Christophe of Lucerna, Count Reissan, Prefect of the Province, and the auditor delegate Gastaldo. On the side of the Valleys, there was deputed Mr JOHN LEGER, the consul of Angrogna, the assessor or collector of the taxes of San Giovanni, and some other politicians of these places, who met with the envoys of his highness at Li Ayral, in Cassine or Meterie, belonging to the Marquis of Angrogna, in view of the city of Lucerna. This examination was executed in November 1654. The originals were found faithful, entire, and properly signed and sealed, as well those of the concessions of 1603, and 1620, as of the interination which had been made. They found also the copies presented to the court quite conformed to them. The deputies on both sides were entirely satisfied. When the deputies of his highness declared themselves persuaded that all difficulties were now removed, considering any change impossible to have taken place on their side during the interval of time thus employed, and remembering that the price of interination was long ago paid, the people of the Valleys conceived they had great encouragement to send their deputies to the court. But after long waiting, when their enemies could state no proper excuse for not implementing their sacred and solemn promises, and without accusing them of the smallest fault which could cause the least coldness in his highness or his ministers, instead of the expected interination, the poor deputies were again sent away empty, and immediately followed the wonderful interination which had been prepared for them, namely, that of the auditor and delegate, *Gastaldo*, who having carried it into the city of Lucerna, published the sad order for driving away all the evangelicals from a great part of the Valley of the same name, and from all the lands of Brichueiras and San Secondo. This order was enjoined to be executed without mercy, excepting on those who should promise to go to mass.* The causes and dreadful nature of it we shall show in the following chapter.

* Leger, part ii. pp. 89—92. Morland, pp. 302—305.

CHAPTER IV.

Various causes of the banishing and bloody order of Gastaldo against the Waldenses of a number of the Valleys—The people petition in vain—Interference of the Swiss Protestants.

For some time past, the court of Savoy had been plotting the entire ejection of the Waldenses out of the Valleys. This was the true cause of the delay to interinate the concessions. In this plan, the dutchess and her son were urged by the court of Rome, and the council for propagation of the faith.* Nay, the congregation for extirpating heresy, met in the house of the archbishop, who himself acted as president. Among others there were present the confessor of his highness, the abbot of La Monta, Prior Rorenco, the Marquis of Pionessa, Philip Ferraris, president of the chamber, the president of the senate, President Biletis and Nomis.† These persons sat in the council for extirpation, and seem to have planned the order of Gastaldo.

The general motives of the court of Savoy consenting to the cruel schemes of the council for propagation, were, *first*, their zeal for the church of Rome as the only true church, and for the destruction of ours as heretical, imagining “that whoever kills us does God service.” *Again*, the belief that all princes and their subjects ought to conform to the judgement of the pope and his clergy regarding what constitutes heresy. A *third* inducement for the court of Rome and the council enjoining, and for the court of Savoy acquiescing to eradicate the Vaudois from the Valleys, was charity for the Roman Catholics whom Cromwell banished from Ireland, because they had murderously massacred multitudes of Protestants in that country, and had adhered to Charles I. of England. The court wished the Irish to possess the Valleys. This reason is not avowed by Count Reissan, his highness’

* Boyer, chap. xi.

† Morland, p. 275.

prefect and intendant-general of justice in Pignerol, but experience has proved its reality.*

But there were also more particular considerations which influenced the officers and gentlemen of Savoy to persecute the dissenters from the Church of Rome at this period. One was, that by abusing the reformed, they preserved the pope's authority, which at present they needed, to dispense with their incestuous marriages. Again, by this line of conduct, these courtiers received from the supreme pontiff, prebendaries, bishopricks, abbeyes, priories, especially if members of the council for the propagation of the faith. No doubt by robbing the Waldenses of their livings, they meant to enrich themselves. Further, the gentry in Lucerna being poor, they in this way procured pensions from Rome. Again, in this way, they pleased the monks and priests, who took the lead in the business, and taught those gentry to bear false witness, to sow discord, to murder, to procure assassins, to steal children, and the like. Without these services, the ecclesiastics refused to pay their annual rewards. The chief cause, however, was to wrest Pignerol from France, which the habitation of these people prevented, because the Waldenses refused to join the Spanish faction in surprising that place. Therefore the court of Savoy wished to expel them from Lucerna, Fenile, Bobbio, Campigleon, Bricheras, and San Secondo. For this object, the citadel of La Torre was formerly built in the centre of the Valleys of Lucerna and Angrogna, near the confluence of the two great rivers, to block up Pignerol and prevent its receiving supplies from that Valley, which alone usually furnishes for it more provision than all the neighbouring Valleys belonging to the duke. By exterminating these inhabitants, and placing others in their stead, the duke might seize Malange, which is a narrow passage above Pignerol on the side that looks to France. There a few men might be able to prevent the French army from relieving Pignerol.

On the contrary, in present circumstances, it was the interest of France to defend these poor people in their ancient habitations in the Valleys, because a great number of these

* Leger, part ii, chap. vii.

inhabitants were Frenchmen, who had come about five hundred years ago into these parts, who had a natural obligation to be faithful to France, and were much fitter to be in these places than the Spanish faction. Again, the Valleys formed strong fortifications by nature, and the Spaniards, if once in possession, would not be easily dispossessed by the French. Let it also be considered that the fortified places of the Valleys, when in the hands of persons well affected to France, not only served as watch-towers and bulwarks to guard it on that side, but constantly furnished that country with victuals and hay, with oats and wood. Another consideration was, that these places opened to the French a passage into Italy, as they anciently did to Hannibal, to Charles VIII. and divers other kings of France. Justice also required France to defend these people, because the Duke of Savoy had remitted all Pignerol to the king, by a treaty of 1633 or 1635, with Louis XIII. This protection had been promised to Perosa and other Valleys in 1592, by Henry the Great, and was in 1630 confirmed by Cardinal Richelieu. Louis XIV. now reigning, ought to have viewed himself interested, and obliged to make valid the acts of his predecessors.

On these and the like grounds, the court of Savoy have from time to time sought the destruction of the Protestants of the Valleys. The better to deceive these innocent lambs, the wolves have commonly appeared in sheep's clothing. Long before the year 1655, the evangelical churches had cleared themselves of the calumnies of the council for the extirpation of heretics, which reproaches the council had raised against them, that they might render these excellent ones of the earth odious in the eyes of their prince. The decrees of his highness, however, at various periods, already detailed, demonstrate that he was satisfied on these points.*

The dreadful order of Gastaldo was published in Lucerna on the 25th of January 1655. It begins thus:—"Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of laws, counsellor, master auditor ordinary, sitting in the most illustrious chamber of accounts of his royal highness, and conservator-general of the holy faith, for the observation of the orders published against the pre-

* Morland, pp. 287—290. Leger, part ii. chap. vii. pp. 81—83.

tended reformed religion of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, and for this purpose specially delegated by his royal highness. Following the authority which we hold of his royal highness of the 13th current, we command and order every head of a family of the pretended reformed religion, of whatever estate, degree, or condition, having and possessing estates in the places and countries of Lucerna, San Giovanni, La Torre, Bubiana, Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherassio, and San Secondo, within three days after the publication and execution of these presents, to withdraw, abandon, and leave with their families, the said places, and to transport themselves into the places and limits allowed by his royal highness, which are Bobbio, Villaro, Angrogna, Rorata, and opposite Bonetti, under pain of death and confiscation of houses and goods, and this as often as in twenty days following, they do not make it appear before us that they are become Catholics, or have sold their goods to Catholics. Furthermore, in the places benignly allowed by his royal highness, he wills and understands that in every one of them, the holy sacrifice of the mass be celebrated." The document concludes by prohibiting all persons from interrupting the popish missionary fathers, and from hindering any of the said religion from turning Catholic under pain of death.*

The hardship of this order may easily be conceived, if we consider also the period of the year, when the Alpine mountains are covered with snow, and numbers of swelling and rapid rivers are in the plain. In an extended population, there are also at all times a multitude both of old and young unfit for such a hasty journey, especially at that inclement season.

Our Lord directs his people to pray that their flight be not in winter, but the council for the propagation of the faith seem to have intentionally fixed on that solstice to drive away these people on a sudden from their habitations, with no clothes, and no provisions, except what they were able to carry. The design, doubtless, was to compel them either to abandon their religion, or die among the craggy rocks and snowy mountains. Yet these noble witnesses resolved to follow Christ, and to bear the cross. They, however, determined to use all lawful

* Leger, part ii. pp. 92, 93. Morland, pp. 304, 305.

means for deliverance, and commissioned some of their number to the deputy to remonstrate against the edict. They pled, that the places to which they had been ordered to retire, were hardly sufficient to maintain their present inhabitants; and that the present proclamation was contrary to all the concessions granted by his royal highness. The deputy, knowing the design of the council, refused to lay before it this reasonable request. The oppressed flock of Christ begged space to have recourse to his royal highness; but the deputy rejected the proposal, unless they would go to mass and allow him to dictate their petition. These conditions their consciences could not admit. To testify, however, their respect for his highness, they recalled their protestation, and quitted their houses and earthly possessions. They retired with their wives and their children, the great and the small, the old and the young. They took with them the sick, the halt, the lame, and the blind, with a number of helpless infants. The whole company travelled, or were borne, through rain, and snow, and ice, and a thousand other difficulties. Before them were roaring waters, on either side were snowy mountains, and behind them were bloody butchers, seven times worse than the Egyptians. In the midst of mourning, sighs, and lamentations, they recommended themselves, soul and body, to the protection of the God of their salvation. John Leger expresses gratitude to God for the steadfastness of his people, whom he knew by name, having been now eleven years their pastor. The wolves did not frighten one of his lambs to change his religious profession. He invites such as imagine all religious distinctions indifferent, to look at these people, who "took joyfully the spoiling of their goods," who resisted unto blood, and believed that "in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." Considering that by order of Madam Royal, 26th January 1642, the advantages of pardon to the criminal, of liberty to the incarcerated, and of exemption from taxation during five years, had been promised to all protestants who would abjure their religion and conform to the Romish faith; the constancy of these people on this occasion, afforded consolation to other churches, and astonishment to their persecutors. Leger and others were deputed to complain to Gas-

taldo, but his heart was as hard as marble. He would neither revoke the order nor mitigate its execution.

No sooner had the lawful owners departed, than thieves and robbers, without hinderance from his highness or the delegate, entered their habitations, and pillaged all that remained. They cut down the trees, and converted the whole of the beautiful heritage into a desolate wilderness. Complaints to his highness were answered, that the authors of these actions must be named; but this was impossible, since the sufferers were now from two to four leagues distant from their homes. They conjectured the answer to mean, that they should remain in their dwellings till their cause be tried. Consequently, some of them returned to defend their houses against the depredators, and to cultivate the lands, that they might be able to pay the taxes: But, though they lived in quietness, they were branded with rebellion.

The Vaudois who had left their habitations, as well as some who remained at home, sought the Lord in prayer, and their prince by supplications. Being united in one common cause, they all joined in a request to his highness, the original of which is to be seen in the university of Cambridge. It represents, that at the instant when they expected the interination of the ancient concessions, the order of Gastaldo appeared; that there were now several hundreds of families reduced to the extremes of hunger and cold, among the mountains and snow; that his highness must have been sadly misinformed respecting them; that he should recal the foresaid order, and restore them to their ancient state; that he enjoin the chamber of accounts to interinate gratis, the previous grants interinated 17th August 1620, and confirmed on the 29th September 1653; and, that they will continue to pray to God for the prosperity of his highness. In this petition the protestants comprehended in the edict of Gastaldo were joined by their brethren of Perosa, San Martino, Roccapiatta, San Bartholomeo, Prarustin, and adjacent places.*

But the ears of his highness were shut against them, for they were not allowed to enter his presence. On the 30th January 1655, five days after Gastaldo's order, John Ange

* Morland, pp. 305—309. Leger, *ib.* pp. 94—97 at the middle.

Reissan, president of the province of Pignerol, pensioner of Rome, and persecutor, employed one Berrie to murder the priest of Fenile, with whom he had a quarrel. Fenile was one of the districts out of which the protestants had been driven by the late ejectment. Reissan caused spread a report by word and writing, that the Vaudois were the authors of the murder, though they had several days quitted the place. Like the Pagans when Nero set fire to Rome and blamed the Christians, the Papists greedily received the declaration, and had it published in the Parisian, and other gazettes. The popish clergy and politicians believed it, yet the relations of the priest would not credit the story, but were aware that Reissan and his secretary, D'Agot, were the real originators of the murder. So much did the Marquis of Pionessa seem convinced of the innocence of the protestants, that in those very letters in which he searches for every charge against them, he never once alludes to this circumstance, lest he should bring discredit on the other accusations.*

* Berrie assassinated also Pietro Revoir, Consul of Miano, which adjoins La Capella belonging to the king, and fled to Pignerol, where he met Reissan just returned from Turin, where he had been long a prisoner, and was released on good security. Berrie and others had taken their oaths at Turin against Reissan and his Secretary, D'Agot, as guilty of killing the priest. By gifts and promises Reissan so wrought on Berrie, that he persuaded him to return to Turin, and there to retract his former deposition, and to swear that he had been solicited to the murder, "by the two Pastors, Leger, and Mechelin, as also by Antonio and Francisco Danra, chief elders of the church of San Giovanni." In short, by means of this diabolical retraction and calumny, both Reissan and his Secretary were discharged and cleared in the month of July following. Berrie, as a recompense for his perjury, was also liberated, though he had been convicted of two more assassinations, one already mentioned, and another at San Giovanni, where he had murdered Giovanni Berlot, a Protestant. At Lucerna two personal citations were published against Leger, Mechelin, and the Dennas. After this treacherous conduct, Berrie came to Leger, and a number of other pastors and chief men of the valleys, leaning on a staff, and protesting that he was hardly able to stand from the blows he had received from the papists, to cause him swear falsely against Leger and the rest; that his conscience had caused him withstand them, and to declare to them his willingness to be torn in pieces by wild horses, rather than do as they desired; and that for his constancy, the Romanists had most unmercifully beaten him, and had cast him into the open street, where he would have miserably died, unless a Jew had pitied and succoured him. Meantime the treaty of Pignerol having been concluded in August, Leger and his associates were still in that place, and heard the above statements. They addressed themselves to prefect Reissan, minister of Justice in the Province, in-

On this and similar unfounded accusations, the Waldensian deputies were prevented from entering the presence of his

quiring if Berrie had thus accused them. From his dubious answers they had recourse to Senator Prerashino, who had been commissioned by his Highness to make inquiry respecting the death of the priest. The Senator told them frankly, that Berrie had actually accused them of suborning them to swear falsely against Reissan and D'Agot. He showed them a copy of the citation against Leger and his accomplices, the purport of which was, "to banish them out of his Royal Highness' dominions, in case they did not appear personally at Turin to answer such interrogations as should be proposed to them regarding that business." On this discovery, Sieur John Leger, and David Leger, ministers, caused Berrie to be apprehended in the plain of Angrogna, where he was lurking, to butcher John Leger, who frequently passed that way. Leger being assured of the apprehension, went and declared the whole affair to Perrichino; to the Refrendano, Tarquine, and to Reissan himself, who was much surprised; to the French plenipotentiary, and to the ambassadors of the Swiss Cantons. With some difficulty Leger had the perjured person conveyed to Pignerol, intending to demand justice by openly confronting him, and solicited the ministers of his Highness, of France, and of the Swiss, to intercede for justice. The Swiss Ambassadors avowedly protested, that on refusal of a fair consideration of the case, they would complain. All the satisfaction received, however, by the injured, was, "that there should be a letter written to Turin on the subject," and a while after, "that the answer from Turin was, that there could be nothing done in the matter." Leger was then obliged to content himself with the honour of causing a perjured murderer to be seized, and of having himself and his companions in presence of the foreign ambassadors and deputies of the valleys, declared, by M. Balcet, notary of Pragela, to be "persons altogether innocent, and clearly and thoroughly justified from the accusation which Berrie had made against them." They were made to believe that they had not been publicly cited a third time, therefore the accusation of Berrie was invalid, and they ought to be quiet.

Berrie was indeed brought to Turin, but instead of the capital punishment he deserved, he is said to have been sent merely to the Venetian Gallies, though convicted of having shed the blood of the priest, in company with Daniel, the son of Bartholomeo Belin, a young man lately turned papist. Nay, Reissan himself attested this also to Mr Leger and his brethren, and wrote to Bartholomeo Genolat, Syndic of San Giovanni, a distinct narrative of the whole transactions, bearing that Giovanni, son of the deceased Laurentio Bench of Fenile, brother-in-law to Berrie, had been persuaded to stand sentinel while Berrie and Belin murdered the priest, and bearing that he, Reissan, had entreated the said Genolat to order the said Giovanni Bench to appear in open court and to make deposition, assuring him that on account of his nonage, and of his having been deceived by his brother-in-law, he could suffer no prejudice in the world. Yet they could not persuade the young man to comply. He appeared only before Leger and Genolat, in presence of Sieur Jacopo Bastie, and Giovanni Prin, his kinsman, and confessed that Berrie and Belin had perpetrated the bloody deed, and that he had unwarily engaged to stand sentinel. He gave so minute a detail as convinced all present that he spoke truth. Nay, the mother-in-law, and the wife, of Berrie confirmed this statement. If Berrie had deposed justly against those ministers, why should he fear to be confronted with them? If the ministers spoke

royal highness, though they had on purpose come to Turin. They besought the ministers of state to open the way for their admission, but the council for the propagation of the faith, and extirpation of heresy, prevented an audience, and took on themselves the cognizance of the whole affair. This court was composed of the archbishop of Turin; his royal highness' confessor, the abbot of La Monta; the prior Rorengo; the marquis of Pionessa; the great chancellor; the chief president of the chamber; the chief of the senate, Ferrais; the four other presidents, Beletis, Nomis, and two others; and Gastaldo. The people were thus constrained to seek justice from their oppressors who sought their extirpation. Had they been allowed to appear personally before even this tribunal, the feelings of some of their judges might have been touched, or the consciences of some of them might have dictated justice; but they were allowed a hearing only by their procurator Gibellino, a papist, who, from fear of being excommunicated as an abettor of heretics, durst not utter a sentence without kneeling and asking liberty from the archbishop, president of the council. Leave having been granted, he humbly bowed and presented the request from the Valleys. The result was calculated still farther to embarrass the petitioners, who were prohibited from presenting any supplications for the Barbets, either to the archbishop or to his highness respecting this business, unless they mission other deputies, and a procuration "with power to accept and promise all that shall be ordered them." This caused them al-

truth, as they appear to have done, why should a man guilty of two perjuries, and of two or three murders be allowed to escape? The widow of Revoir, Consul of Miano, poured out so many bitter tears and complaints at Pignerol, before M. de Servient the French ambassador, as might rend a heart of stone, but nothing was done to avenge the murder of her husband. No doubt, some potent enemy of the protestants, behind the curtain, was the deviser of the murder, though it was actually accomplished by inferior hands. The design, doubtless, was to obtain a pretext for his cruelties against the Vaudois.* The assassins must have been assured of protection before they committed the deeds. Some parts of this digression occurred posterior to the month of which we are treating, but it was reckoned proper to give the whole account in one place as a specimen of the diabolical arts used at this time to blacken the poor sufferers.

* Leger, part ii. pp. 98—101. Being personally concerned in the affair, he gives his account in the words of Morland, pp. 310—314.

most despair of another address, for they saw access denied; a convent that planned their destruction, constituted the sole judge; and the new commissioners enjoined to come, as it were with ropes about their necks, ready to obey the commands of their superiors. Yet, like the importunate widow, they send a fresh deputation to Turin, to attempt an audience of his highness. They also petitioned Madame Royal to pity them, and to solicit the duke to listen to them. In the letter to her, dated 20th of February, they remind her of having, in 1638, confirmed the grants of her deceased father-in-law, Charles Emanuel. They state, that though they had kept within the bounds then allotted them, yet the order of Gastaldo had been issued, commanding them to leave their homes in three days under pain of death, in consequence of which, many of them were now on the tops of the mountains, amidst snow and ice, while others had betaken themselves to caves for shelter. They ask the confirmation of the grants of 1620, and beg her highness to pity “so many hundreds of poor families, women and infants, old men and sick, who are perishing so cruelly of hunger and cold among the snow and ice, and who do not cease day and night, with torrents of tears, to send their prayers to heaven, and their humble remonstrances to the feet of his royal highness.”*

Of the same date, they wrote letters to the princes of the blood. They refer to the establishment of their rights in 1561, 1603, 1620, and 1653, which when they expected to be interinated, the order of Gastaldo was published. They describe the misery of such as are exposed to the inclement season in the mountains. They complain of the hard conditions on which they are required to petition, and beg the revocation of all the orders.† They repeated their supplication also to the great chancellor, and to the Marquis of Pionessa. But no answer was returned, excepting from Madam Royal, who referred the deputies to the marquis; who enjoined them to make good the procuration which the council for extermination of heretics had enjoined, and to submit to his highness’ pleasure, since, without these submissions, an

* Morland, pp. 314—316. Leger, part ii. pp. 101—103.

† Morland, p. 316—318.

audience could not be obtained.* The deputies replied, that "the Valleys had not been able to give them such a procuration, because they could not possibly proceed so far as to cause them easily to consent voluntarily to the loss of all their privileges: but that all their charge was to accept and to promise all that should be conformed to the said concessions and privileges, and," to promise "with regard to every other thing which should not destroy the liberty of their consciences, with which they did not all suspect that the equity and clemency of his royal highness was not contented." The only rejoinder granted was, "that they must send such an unlimited procuration, or not any more to appear."† If they had provided such procurators, the council would have persuaded his royal highness, that the Waldenses had indirectly yielded up the concessions, that he was disengaged from his promises, and that he ought to exterminate the Protestants from his dominions.

This being perceived by the poor sufferers, they, on the 16th of March, wrote another epistle to Madam Royal. They acknowledged the politeness of her highness, in answering their communication of the 20th February, but stated, that she had been misinformed by such as alleged that the places prohibited in the order of Gastaldo have been always opposed and excepted; that this cannot be proved in regard to San Giovanni, La Torre, San Secondo, and others; that only Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, and Prarustino, are in the grant of 14th May 1603, nominated as towns not belonging to the three Valleys; that though in 1602, Fenile, Lucerna, and Bubbiana were exempted, yet Charles Emanuel, on the people paying 6000 ducatoons, by an irrevocable and interinate edict of 17th August that year, restored the peaceable habitation of these places, which was confirmed by another grant of 9th April, and 29th September 1605; that they had never transgressed their limits; that the excesses charged on them in Villaro, at the coming of Count Todesco, had been found by Gastaldo himself to be false; that at any rate, no excess could be charged on the Protestants; that his highness' grants of 29th September 1603, and 4th June 1653, declare "that

* Morland, p. 318. Leger, p. 103.

† Leger, ib.

the innocent are not to suffer with the guilty;" that at the first demand of Mr Collateral Perrachione, they caused Ber-ruto to be apprehended, and had no hand in his escape from prison to avoid torture; that next to God, they acknowledge no superior to his highness; and, that therefore they beg her highness to use her influence with the council, to permit the ejected to return to their habitations. This address is subscribed by the commissioners from Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, and other places.

On the same day, these deputies wrote also to the Marquis of Pionessa. The proverb in Piemont says:—"To un bewitch, belongs to him who bewitches." Attention to this petition will prepare us for understanding the *factum*, afterwards published by the house of Savoy. The Vaudois stated the same things to the marquis, as to Madam Royal, with several additional particulars; that any disrespect lately shown to the Mass at La Torre, was by children, a great part of whom were Catholics; that Raconigi did not settle them in any other places than belonged to them, for, not to mention Saluzzo, Praviglielmo, Festeone, and many other cities and towns in which their religion was tolerated, the Valley of Miana, with Campiglione, and Borgo of Bubiana, as belonging to the Valleys, were comprehended in the grants; that the grants of 1603, and interination of 1620, confirmed these places; that the answer to the memorial of 9th April 1603, established again those of Fenile, Bubiana, and Lucerna; that on 29th September 1603, all in the three Valleys might return to their habitations, who had their estates without the limits of preaching, which was interinated 1620, on payment of 6000 ducatoons; that Roccapiatta, San Bartolomeo, and Prarustino, not being expressly named in 1603, and 1620, was because these towns did not belong to the three Valleys, and proves that no town for habitation belonging to the three Valleys was to be molested, if formerly tolerated; that the Lord Raconigi fixed the same limits of preachings, which are now the boundaries of habitation, and permitted their habitations in all the other towns of the three Valleys, and adjacent places, which things are perceived in articles 8—14, 20, 21; that if his excellency attend to these things, he will see the justice of the Vaudois being restored to their habitations be-

longing to the Valleys, though beyond the preaching limits; that instead of going beyond their boundaries, their confines had been in every way contracted; and that if they had bought lands from Catholics, they had sold four times the quantity. This request was subscribed also by the deputies from Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino.*

The prescribed order of presenting petitions was also observed. According to a form required at the court of Turin, these various petitions had been sent to the court of Mr David Bianqui, notary of San Giovanni, and to Francis Manchio of San Martino, and signed and authenticated as *legal* by the judge of Lucerna. Instructions subscribed by all the pastors and representatives, authorised also by the civil power of Lucerna, were delivered to the deputies, in which, after due protestation of fidelity and obedience, they say that they "have sent those their deputies to Turin, to accept of and promise all that it should please his royal highness to appoint them, according to their ancient concessions and the rules of a good conscience." Another clause charged them, "that in case his royal highness do not choose to admit their said procuration, and allow religious liberty, to supplicate his said royal highness to permit to all the poor petitioners of the Valleys to remove from his States in peace, and to retire where Divine Providence shall direct; endeavouring only to obtain a delay till the mountains were cleared of the snow, and till they might be able to transport their poor families. On the papers being shown, the last two mentioned sentences appear to have been peculiarly obnoxious to their oppressors. The petition to the marquis was laid before him, but there is no charming the lion that is greedy of his prey. The marquis thirsted for blood, and this last supplication from the poor creatures was treated with the same disdain as those on former occasions. His rocky heart remained hard. To the court also, this and other supplications were the same as addressing a deaf man, because no audience could be obtained, unless the deputies had full power to submit to the pleasure of his highness. They were afraid of being treated like those of 1620, who were imprisoned six months, because they

* Leger, part ii. pp. 103—107. Morland, pp. 319—324.

would not promise all that was demanded of them ; and the present deputation did not consider themselves at liberty to proceed to any new compliances, without further authority from their constituents. Indeed, the people of the Valleys had gone as far as they could without compromising their religion and their rights, but nothing except absolute submission would please their enemies. In order the more effectually to conceal the dark designs of the council for the propagation of the faith, till the direful hour of execution, the marquis, no doubt by direction of his associates, gave equivocal answers, which, though cold, encouraged a hope for an audience, and the redress of their grievances. In the mean time, all things were preparing for the day of slaughter, and so intent was his dying marchioness on this object, that she ordered her treasure to be employed in the extirpation of heretics.*

The Protestant princes and States, we have already seen, took generally a considerable interest in the welfare of their Brethren in the Valleys, and never was this amiable feeling more beautifully displayed, than in regard to the sufferings of these people in the year 1655. The evangelical cantons of Switzerland, owing to their proximity, heard of the order of Gastaldo before most other Protestants. The consequence was, that a letter, in which all these cantons united, was dispatched to the Duke of Savoy. The date is not mentioned, but the answer shows that this communication must have been penned on the 15th of March, and sent soon after. They state that the people of the Valleys had under his highness's predecessors enjoyed liberty of conscience ; that they are sorry to hear of the present sufferings of the people of the Valleys, by being banished their habitations ; that community of religion causes them sympathize with the afflicted wanderers, and apply to his highness on their behalf ; that he will please to restore them, and their Christian religion will induce them to be good subjects ; that they will consider such a grant as a mark of his friendship for the cantons ; and, that the poor people will pray for his highness, and Almighty God will bless him for their sakes. This letter was subscribed by the burgo-masters, advoyers, landsmans, and counsels of

* Leger. ib. p. 107. Morland. pp. 324, 325.

Zurich, Berne, Glaris, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel. It would arrive at Turin in the end of March, or beginning of April.

To this letter, the duke returned a complimentary, but a cold reply, on the 6th of April. He addressed the Swiss as "magnificent lords, most dear and special friends, allies and confederates." He charged his suffering subjects with numberless excesses, and transgressions of his own orders, as well as of those of his predecessors, the last of which happened on the day of our Lord's nativity, 1654. He stated, that the remedy was mild, and only commanded them to retire without bodily pain into those places permitted them by former edicts and concessions; that the disobedient transgressors must have sent false information into Switzerland; that he had no design to force their consciences; that if such cruelties, as they suppose, had existed, the respect due to the cantons would have induced him to rectify the evils; that it is pernicious for foreign states to encourage rebellious subjects; and, that the duke did not encourage the last revolt of the subjects of the cantons.* Thus neither the legal petitions of the sufferers themselves, nor the most friendly communications of the Swiss could induce the enemies of the church to relent. Not to mention justice and conscience, the common feelings of humanity ought to have produced this effect.

CHAPTER V.

Duke's army enters the Valleys—Waldenses bravely defend themselves under JAHIER or JAYER, and JANNAVEL—Dreadful slaughter of the women, children and sick, by the Duke's soldiers in certain places—Particular account of the butchery of certain individuals—Affecting appeal of the Waldenses to the Reformed in different countries—Confession of Faith.

HAVING detailed the preparations for the massacre, we proceed to relate the execution, which corresponds to the scheme

* Morland, pp. 539—543.

as the impression to the seal. Sir Samuel Morland declares that he had the attestations and subscriptions of eye and ear witnesses. Some of the originals he placed in the library of the University of Cambridge, and the rest he retained to satisfy every candid person. Some statements he had also by verbal declarations. The whole were obtained during his abode in the Valleys. Here the historical account of John Leger, a Waldensian pastor, is peculiarly valuable, because he writes either from personal knowledge, from depositions given before notaries-public, and from attestations of persons of known honour and veracity.

On the 16th April 1655, at the commencement of the evening, a large army left Turin, and on Saturday the 17th, while, by the artifice of Pionessa, the deputies were still detained there by ambiguous answers, like the Pagan oracles, and were expecting a favourable issue to their cause, the army arrived at San Giovanni, which, with La Torre, was now destitute of inhabitants and almost desolate. On this very 17th, an audience had been promised at Turin, but the deputies were now told, "they could speak very soon to his excellency the marquis without giving offence." The marquis, however, was not now at Turin, but in Lucerna. For several hours the army encamped in San Georgio, and in the twilight moved into the burgh of La Torre, where they met only eight or ten Protestants in search of something for themselves and families to satisfy the cravings of nature. On the Protestants approaching the convent, they were observed by the monks, who by kind words enticed them to come more near. A party of troops concealed for the purpose saluted them with a volley of shot, and on the spot, killed Giovanni Combe of Villaro, and hurt Pietro Rostain of La Torre. The rest fled and hid themselves among the hills, favoured by the darkness.

On Sabbath, the 18th of April, the enemy raged in the communalities of La Torre and San Giovanni. They plundered and pillaged at pleasure. According to the accounts of adversaries themselves, the number of troops was increased on the 19th of April to 15,000 men, in the various quarters among the little hills. The people having foreseen their intention, and being prompted by the natural law of self-pre-

servation, stood on the defensive. They judged it not proper to sit with their arms across, since they were attacked even in the places which Gastaldo himself had allured them for a retreat. The enemy was vigorously opposed on every side; one place by Captain JAHIER, or JAYER, and in other situations by the officers of San Giovanni, Angrogna, Roccapiatta, Briqueiras, and their troops. The defenders resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible to the brigands, though sometimes the latter were a hundred to one of the former. The Waldenses never made an assault, but only defended themselves; yet, in some instances, their enemies shamefully fled when none pursued them.

On Tuesday, the 20th April, the popish army three times attempted to remove the bell of San Giovanni, and to burn the church, though situated in the confines of Angrogna. To this last place, the Marquis of Pionessa had always promised protection as a retreat for such as had been banished from other quarters, and Angrogna was excepted in the order of Gastaldo. For a diversion, they also set upon those of San Giovanni, who had their rendezvous about a mile off, in a place called Castellus on the side of Mount Briqueiras, as also those at La Torre towards Tigliaret. The defenders being far separate, were unable to unite in order to support one another. Yet, notwithstanding their disadvantageous circumstances, they being in arms, received and resisted the assailants with such fortitude, that, fearing the approach of Jahier, they made a shameful retreat. On their quarters they lost about fifty men, and had not their cavalry defended the plain, they must have been utterly defeated. Only two Protestants were killed; one of them, a brave young man of Roccapiatta, whom they indecently mutilated, and whose head they placed on a pike; the other was Giovanni Brocher of San Giovanni. Stephen Combe, when near Mr Leger, received from a shot a wound in his knee.*

Three days after, a young man of Commiane, being in Pignerol at St George's Fair, and with his hand hurt, had just returned from the wars in Lucerna, declared in presence of Thomas Guyot, surgeon, Francis Pra, and others, that he and

* Leger, part ii. chap. ix. pp. 108, 109.

six of his comrades had actually boiled the head of a Barbet and eaten the brain.* On the 21st of April, the protestants of the valleys own the receipt of a letter from M. Servient, the French ambassador at Turin, dated three days ago, and in answer to him, adore a kind providence in leading the French king and others to pity them. They declare their love to peace, and hatred of rebellion, protesting they were obliged to take arms, not against the duke, but against such as had burnt their houses. They detail their sufferings, and the infraction of their privileges, but think his royal highness had no hand in these. They urge mediators to be appointed, and the king of France to assist and subscribe themselves, "the expelled of the valleys of Piemont, professing the reformed religion," without any other signature.† Present hardships, however, were only the beginnings of sorrow.

On Wednesday, the 21st of April, the Marquis of Pionessa practised a diabolical stratagem worthy of himself. He invited, by sound of trumpet, the deputies of the Valleys to approach him, and to hear from his own lips the friendly disposition of the duke his master. These deputies of Lucerna, the marquis held in parley till noon. He then treated them with a sumptuous dinner, and assured them of friendship in every place excepting La Torre and San Giovanni, places mentioned in the order of Gastaldo. He only required them to quarter a regiment of infantry and two companies of cavalry for a short time, as a token of their obedience to his highness. The agents or deputies from Angrogna, Villaro, and Bobbio, suspecting no treason, went to their constituents and used all their eloquence and influence to persuade their party to make no resistance. In short, all these places in Lucerna were induced to receive the troops.‡ No wonder that these deputies, and those they represented, expected to be spared, and allowed themselves to be deceived, because Mr David Bianqui of San Giovanni having reported the matter to Mr John Leger, and the latter having expressed some doubt, Bianqui cast his hat on the ground, stamped with his foot, and uttered the most powerful asseverations, "that if they received the troops without resistance, not only had

* Leger, *ib.* p. 116. † Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. pp. 361, 362.

‡ Leger, *ib.* p. 109. Boyer, chap. xiii. pp. 75, 76.

these places nothing to fear, but the testimony of confidence which would appear in this agreement, would induce his royal highness afterwards to moderate his rigour in regard to the other places." But, alas ! their care to keep faith with heretics soon appeared. For no sooner were they masters of the passages by means of some infantry and cavalry, than all the other troops followed. They were not content to lodge in the lower towns and villages, which were the more convenient for infantry as well as for cavalry, because the people offered to furnish them with all necessities that might be wanting ; but as far as the day permitted, they pushed their way up the Valley to the highest inhabited situations.

Notwithstanding the deceit of adversaries, the kind providence of God was exercised in watching over his own children, for which many of them had reason for grateful acknowledgments. The arrangements of foes were unintentionally such as to favour the escape of multitudes of the persecuted. While one party of the army went by the ordinary way of Angrogna, a second by that of Villaro and Bobbio, a third division set itself to climb the hills of La Torre, by a short rout, to cast themselves into the meadow of La Torre, which was the last strong-hold of Angrogna. They set fire to all the villages and houses which they found on their march. The spectacle of the flames, and the sound of the howlings of the defenceless sufferers, whom the incendiaries killed where they could entrap them, opened the eyes of the evangelical professors, who began to cry, " Let who can save himself, the treason is discovered." The greater part of the men had still time to betake themselves to the mountains, and to rescue a goodly number of their families, by favour of the darkness of the night. Removing them away from these butchers, they slid down the other side of the mountain all the way to the Valley of Perosa, in the territories of the king of France. The hostile bands found the houses of Angrogna all filled with goods belonging not only to proprietors of that place, but also to their brethren of San Giovanni, La Torre, and Lucerna, with some effects also from Fenile, Bubbiana, and Briqueiras. The rightful owners having been pursued by the order of Gastaldo, had conveyed to that place as large a quantity of their moveables as they were able. The soldiers found there

only a very few of the natural inhabitants, and none of the refugees from other places, excepting some women and children, sick and aged.* In taking possession of Angrogna, there was no resistance. In some instances, when people saw no mercy for them, they shewed indeed natural aversion from suffering; but the peasants devised methods for flight rather than how to contend with the enemy. Du Petitbourg, captain in the Grancy regiment of infantry, resigned his situation in the army, rather than take part in executing the cruel orders of the marquis.†

The other troops who had seized all the rest of the Valley of Lucerna, having doubtless also the watchword, did not fail to follow the same method; but the poor inhabitants or refugees in that place, had not so excellent a means to save themselves as those had found on the side of Angrogna. They had only two openings for escape. The one was the *Col de la Croix*, or Narrow Passage of Croix, through which they had power to cast themselves into the Valley of Queiras in Dauphiny; but, alas! besides this, they were under the necessity of climbing a journey in the mountain and among the snows. The enemy held the Fort of Mirebourg, so that they were not able to evite casting themselves from one precipice to another. The other small cavity for rescue was the *Col de Julian*, or Neck of Julian, from which, descending to Prals, the highest community of the Valley of San Martino, and from that again remounting by the *Col d' Abries*, or Passage of Abries, they were able also to cast themselves into the same Valley of Queiras. But the way was still very long and difficult.‡

Hitherto the small community of *Roras*, consisting of only about twenty-five families, remained untouched by the enemy. But this little band must be like others engaged in the same cause. Count Christoffe, a member of the council for extirpation, and absolute lord of this community of Roras, contrary to his solemn word and oath given on behalf of the Marquis of Pionessa, sent quietly, on the 21st of April, four or

* Leger, ib. pp. 109, 110. Boyer, chap. xiii. pp. 77, 78.

† See Du Petitbourg's Declaration. Morland, p. 516. Leger, ib. p. 185.

‡ Leger, ib. p. 110.

five hundred soldiers from the side of Villaro through a secret way into Roras, to surprise the Protestants, and put them all to the sword. By the wonderful providence of God, Captain JOSHUA JANAVEL, from the vineyards of Lucerna, had, on the arrival there of the duke's armies, retired with his family to this inconsiderable place. He observed the armed bands descending the hill of Rummer, like as many hawks, to attack the innocent doves. "O Lord, deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove unto the multitude of the wicked: forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever." Janavel had with him only six or eight peasants. With these, in ambuscade, he waited the foe at an advantageous pass. He commenced a brisk fire, and six soldiers were killed on the spot. The remainder supposing the Protestants much more numerous than the reality, retreated in disorder. The victors perceiving this circumstance, pursued them three quarters of a league. The vanquished had not the courage to look the country-men in the face. In the flight, fifty-three or fifty-four of the invaders were slain.

When the inhabitants of Roras presented to the marquis their complaints on account of his violation of his promises, he apologized for himself by stating, "That the soldiers who had gone to assault Roras were only robbers, vagabonds, or Piemontese peasants, and by no means his troops." He protested boldly, "That so far from having given the order, he had been entirely ignorant of such an enterprise; that they would have afforded him much pleasure if they had cut them all to pieces; that, in the mean time, he would give all orders, and take all possible precautions to prevent the recurrence of such an affair; and that they should be effectually defended against any disturbance for the future." To give the greater colour to this protestation, he caused an order to be immediately issued on the part of his royal highness, bearing, "to every sort of persons, of whatever possible condition or quality, severe prohibitions against doing the least injury in the world to any one of the inhabitants of Roras, and that under the most severe punishment."

But,* since engagements to heretics are not binding, he

* Two women of La Torre were butchered at La Sarcena, by Captain Paul, on the 22d of April. See Depositions in Leger, pp. 119, 120. Morland, p. 343.

next day selected 600 soldiers to attack Roras in three places. But in passing a mountain called *Cassulet*, they were discovered by Captain JANAVEL's troop, composed of twelve peasants, armed with guns, pistols, and short swords, and of six others provided with slings and stones, the captain having divided his party of eighteen men into three squadrons of five or six men each, waited in a hidden situation the approach of the murderous bands. So proper and advantageous was the position of Janavel's handful in the woods, that no sooner were the hostile multitudes arrived, than perceiving the little company send discharges against them, not only in front, but on both sides, they in great confusion betook themselves to their heels. Seventeen rustics gave them chase for almost a league, and killed fifty or sixty before their return. Not one of the Protestants lost his life, but one individual of the eighteen seems to have been prevented from joining in the pursuit.

The marquis, like the Egyptian magicians, was no doubt convinced that this was "the finger of God." He resolved, however, on an expedition, that would be, as he thought, attended with success. Before he appeared as a lion, he had acted the part of a fox. He sent the Count Christoffe to inform them, "that what had occurred had been a mistake, founded on some false report; but that being better informed by the said count, and at his intercession, he should cause them henceforth to be left in peace." Yet, on the following day, 23d April, he again ordered to fall on them eight or nine hundred men, who seized all the approaches to the place. Without a remarkable intervention of the arm of Jehovah, not one of the persons surrounded could have got his life for a prey. In their rout, the soldiers set fire to the houses and other edifices. The seventeen peasants, whom the hand of God endowed with fortitude to protect their brethren and families, saw on the one hand destruction and death, and on the other, the encouragements of Captain JOSHUA, who reminded them of God's deliverance of his ancient people. While full in his view, he eyed the approach of the blood-thirsty barbarians; Janavel, with his peasants, knelt down and uttered a short prayer to the God of battles. In a brief address, he encouraged his little "band of brothers." In a

place called Dammasser or Ramasiero, they encountered the assailants with such resolution and skill, as to take prisoners, and carry away their court of guard and centinel, and to oblige the whole body to retrace their steps. They marched by the meadow called *Pianpra*, that they might be able to retire by the side of Villaro and La Torre. But, at Pianpra, the Waldenses again surprised them, killed a great number, and filled the remainder with such terror, that they thought only of flight. The encumbrance of booty and of cattle which they had taken, was to a considerable degree the occasion of their defeat. These hinderances they now abandoned, that they might retire with the greater velocity. A great number of these intruders were killed without the Waldenses losing one individual.*

When John Leger at first heard of the approach of the duke's army, he removed his family for safety to the mountains of Angrogna, while he himself remained with the men of San Giovanni among the smaller hills. On the marquis introducing many more troops than he had mentioned, and on their beginning to desolate the country, every man ran to protect his family, and Leger was left almost alone. He fled to the Meadow of La Torre, expecting to find his wife and children, but as his family had happily removed from that place, and as an alarm spread of the troops entering it, he stopped only a few hours, and in company with Mr Mechlin, pastor of Angrogna, went to the Alp of La Vechere, where they lodged in a stable two nights and a day, which was the 22nd of April. On Susanna Frasche advertising them of a number of soldiers being concealed in a neighbouring stable, they ascended to the top of the mountain, and with great difficulty descended on the softened snows on the other side towards Pramol. The enemy observing their footsteps, repeatedly fired after them, but as the ministers stooped very low, the balls passed without injuring them. In Pramol, they stopped in the house of captain Jayer. After two or three days painful suspense regarding his wife and seven children, he found them in Perosa spoiled of all their earthly posses-

* Leger, part ii. chap. xi. pp. 186—188. Morland, pp. 519—5, 21. Boyer, pp. 83—89.

sions, which had been considerable. With the tear in his eye, he received in charity from the widow of Peter Carnin, a thick shirt, till his own linen should be washed.*

The soldiers who had entered *Lucerna*, were now masters of the strongest places. They had remained during the 22d and 23d of April, without exercising their projected cruelty. They had pretended during these days, that they had no wish to do any thing, but according to their order to refresh themselves for two or three days in their quarters; and had earnestly exhorted such persons as remained in their hands to recall those who had fled. They had added the most confident assurance, that none should receive the smallest injury. Consequently, some of the inhabitants were so credulous as to allow themselves to be again caught in the same net from which they had so happily escaped.† Here was a deceitful calm before an awful storm in *Lucerna*.

Things remained quiet till Saturday the 24th of April, which was one of the most infamous days for blood and carnage that ever the sun shone upon. The signal was given on that hill of *La Torre*, which is denominated *Castelas*. The innocent creatures who were in the power of the cannibals, were not in an ordinary way to be butchered. They were not to be put to the sword as conquered enemies without quarter, nor to suffer by the hands of the executioner, as the most infamous of criminals: for massacres of this sort would not have sufficiently signalized that Catholic zeal which their worthy general possessed. In these ordinary methods of bloodshed, there would not have been sufficient merit for the *Bavarians* who came so far to the execution; still less for the massacrers of Ireland, who had been similarly employed in their own country in 1642; nor for the banished, the thieves, and other execrable malefactors of *Piemont*, who, by these transactions, were to acquire plenary indulgence. Having, therefore, left all the usual ways of putting Christians to death, they wished to distinguish themselves by new inventions, that should acquire for them glory in heaven, and should immortalize their memory on earth.

* *Leger*, part ii. pp. 114—364, 365.

† *Leger*, ib. p. 110.

The little infants, torn without pity from the breasts of their tender mothers, were seized by the feet, bruised, and dashed against the rocks. The walls frequently remained plastered with their brains, while their bodies were cast among the blood. Often one soldier, grasping a limb of the tender child, and another taking hold of the other, each drew his part, they tore it miserably through the midst of the body, and they dashed the parts one against another. Sometimes they beat the poor mothers, and afterwards drove them through the country.

The sick and aged of both sexes were burnt in their houses, hacked to pieces, or tied, quite naked, in the form of a round ball. In this last situation, the head being pressed between the limbs, the person was precipitated over the rocks, or rolled down the mountains. With regard to the violated women and daughters, a description cannot be here given. In regard to many persons, they filled with gunpowder their mouth, and ears, and afterwards setting a match to this new sort of mine, they split their jaws, and made the brains leap out of their head. Other miserable females have been empaled quite alive, and in this pitiful posture set up quite naked on the highways, like crosses and pyramids. In some cases the breasts have been cut off, fried, and actually devoured. Some men, alive, were hacked to pieces like flesh in the shambles, and others were flayed. The father has seen his child dashed against the rocks, or cut through the midst of the body, and the brave heroes beating one another with the pieces. The husband has seen his wife, and the mother her daughter, abused in their presence. The daughter has seen her father mutilated or skinned. Children have been cut out of their mothers, and stuck on the halberts. The echoes of the valleys, and of the Alps, gave so pitiful responses to the lamentable cries of the poor massacred people, and to the dreadful howlings of so many martyrs, that you would have said that the rocks were moved at the noise of the entreaties for mercy, and beating the breast, while all the agents in the bloody scene were utterly insensible. The actions of the children of darkness seem darker than even the prince of darkness himself.*

* Leger, part ii. chap. ix. pp. 110, 111. Boyer, chap. xiii. pp. 77—82.

Though our limits will not permit a full detail of every individual murder, yet a few cases as a specimen may be here inserted from the depositions afterwards made, and recorded by John Leger.

SARA ROSTAGNOL of the vineyards of Lucerna, aged sixty years, having been surprised in Eyral, the barbarians enjoined her to pray, and to add "Jesus Mary." She was unwilling to utter any word except "Jesus," alleging the passage, "there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved," to which "every knee should bow." On this, one of the soldiers stuck into her bowels a sickle that she was carrying, and laid open the one half of her belly. As she lay in agony, another soldier cut off her head. Her beautiful daughter, who concealed herself among the snows, and for two days wanted food, witnessed this pitiful spectacle, swore to the truth of it, and signed the deposition. MARTHA CONSTANTINA, wife to James Barral of San Giovanni, having seen the soldiers cruelly massacre many others, was herself mutilated in a way that cannot be described here. Her breasts were also amputated, carried to Macel, cooked and used as human food by the cannibals. Besides the depositions, this cruelty was witnessed and testified to Leger by Andrew Jonel, elder of the church of Pinachi in the king's dominions. Jonel had the account of the banquet from one who had assisted. Leger relates that in flying from the enemy he was in company with a good man, PETER SIMEON of Angrogna, and his wife. From him Leger learned that he was eighty-five, and his consort eighty years of age; that neither of them had ever been sick, except the woman two or three days at each of her confinements. Simeon was seized by the persecutors; tied in the form of a clew, with his head between his knees; and rolled over the precipices. In falling he was hooked on the branch of a tree growing from the cleft of a rock, where he hung alive for three days, as the place was inaccessible. ESAY GRAND of Angrogna, ninety years old, had his head cleft in two, and then his body was cut into small parts. The wife of DANIEL ARMAND of La Torre experienced similar treatment. Their heads, hands and feet were exhibited on trees; and the other shreds of their bodies strewed on the public roads. On the 22nd of April, two women of La Torre, having fled to

Sarsena, were surprised by Captain Paul de Panealier, who cut open their bowels and left them extended on the snow, as was seen by the pastor Peter Gros then a prisoner. Three women of La Torre, and one of Villaro, all having the charge of little infants, were overtaken at Sarsena by the company of M. de Bagnols. The executioners deprived them of their noses, fingers, and toes; and then further mutilated them by cutting off their hands and feet: Nay, though the sufferers begged their enemies as an act of mercy to strike them dead, they were left naked among the snows. The soldiers also seized the helpless infants by the limbs, and precipitated them among the rocks, as Captain Paul had avowed and boasted to Peter Gros, and Francis Aghit, ministers, then prisoners. MAGDALENE, the wife of John Bertin of La Torre, was stripped naked, her head fixed between her limbs, and rolled alive through the most frightful precipices.

MARY REYMOND, wife of James Coin, was found in a cavern picked like a skeleton. On the one side of the cave lay the bones, and on the other side the flesh minced to small pieces. MAGDALENE, wife of Peter Pilon of Villaro, decrippled and blind, was found cut to pieces, only the flesh was not separated from the bones, in a cavern near Castelus. ANN, daughter of John Charbonier of La Torre, after being violently abused in the way most humiliating to her sex, was impaled on a pike, carried at the head of the squadron as an ensign, and then left on the highway like a cross. JOHN ANDREW MICHELIN of La Torre, miraculously escaped the executioners, after having seen them tear through the middle three of his own children, and amuse themselves with the separated parts of their bodies. The fourth child, only seven weeks old, was shaken from its clothing on the snow, and seized by the foot by a soldier, who dashed its head against a rock, where, long after, the brain appeared. M. JAMES PRIN, elder of the church of Villaro, and DAVID his brother, having been caught and arrested in their beds, in the village La Baudene, were carried to Lucerna, and cast into one of the lowest prisons of the marquis of Angrogna. There their arms were skinned from the shoulders to the elbow, the tags of skin being left attached upwards to the body, still floating on the quick flesh. In their progress of cruelty, the persecutors next

flayed the skin from the elbows to the hands, the thighs down to the knees, and finally, the limbs from the garters to the ankle bones. In this condition these men were left to die with thirst. Leger was personally acquainted with the Prins, and states, that six brothers of this name had married six sisters, and had many children. They consisted of upwards of forty persons, and lived without discord in one family. Every one had his own department of labour; some wrought among the vines; some cultivated the fields; and others took care of the meadows, cows, sheep, and goats. The oldest brother had the oldest sister for his wife; and they acted like father and mother to the whole family. Anthony Mullenier, or Raymond, a popish sergeant of justice, who had charge of the prisoners, assured Leger that he had formerly received much favour from the Prins, and was privately conveying to them a bucket of water, when he was surprised in the act by the Marquis of Lucerna, who struck him with a switch, and threatened to thrust him among the captives if he should administer any thing contrary to his orders. JOHN GONNET, a venerable old man of Bobbio, received the same treatment as the Prins.

JOHN PLANCHON of Villaro, aged twenty-five, once escaped from the raging lions, but being unhappily retaken, was conducted to Lucerna. Quite naked, he was attached to the tail of a mule. When the cord had torn away some parts of his body, they passed it through a hole pierced in one of his feet, and dragged him through all the streets of the village. As he lifted his head in lamentation, they struck him with flint stones and brick-bats. His mouth was stopped by a means that cannot be described. Leger remarks that the great body of the papists in Lucerna witnessed this cruelty, many of whom have often declared that they trembled when they beheld it, but dared not utter a word from fear of inflaming against themselves the rage of the marquis. Many Waldenses were also brought from the prisons to see the tragical procession, and declared the proceedings after the treaty of Pignerol. The bloodmen ultimately cut off the head of Planchon, and left his carcase on the edge of the river, that the dogs and wolves might eat him as a Barbet. MAGDALENE FONTAIN, a beautiful girl of six years of age, was treated by the monsters in a way that cannot be detailed, and was found

in the jaws of death weltering in her blood. JOHN ZOLOSAN, Haberdasher of Villaro, in passing the Alps of Julian, saw a poor woman fleeing from the enemy, with a cradle on her back, which contained her little infant. Seeing the soldiers overtaking her, she left the cradle on the snow, imagining they would not have the heart to kill the tender creature. By this means she gained the height of the mountain, and hid herself in the hollow of a rock, "to see what should become of the child." But she was not long in suspense, for she saw it immediately torn into four quarters. The pursuers found the woman, cut off and carried away her head, and left her body on the snow. In Villeneuve, below Mirebous, the soldiers of Piedmont found a daughter of MOSES LONG of Bobbio, and with a pike run her through the body, quite alive. They roasted the body, and ate part of it. M. JAMES MICHELIN, an excellent personage, one of the principal elders of the church of Bobbio, whose son was pastor of Angrogna, was suspended so painfully and ignominiously by the middle, at the back of a door, that the facts cannot be told. Seeing their exhortations of him to renounce his religion have no effect, they carried him to the prisons of Turin, where he endured with constancy unspeakable torments, and set an admirable example to the two pastors, Peter Gros, and Francis Aguit, who were in the same dungeon with him. The Jesuits prevailed nothing. He died by the maltreatment: but alas! the ministers did not imitate his stedfastness. A little below Sarcena, where Peter Gros was made prisoner, he saw two peasants hanging dead in a horizontal position, which would cause one blush to describe.

JOHN ROSTAGOL, eighty years of age, had his ears, nose, and all the extremities of his body mutilated. He was left to languish on the snows two or three days. DANIEL SALVIOT, and his wife; JOHN, LOUIS, and BARTHELEMI DURANT, and DANIEL REVEL, all of Roras; with PAUL REINAUD, of Valguichard, in the community of Bobbio, were all seized by the soldiers. Their ears and mouths were stuffed with powder, and fired like a mine, so that their heads were split to pieces, and their brains scattered. M. JAMES RONC, master of the school in Roras, a most pious and zealous man, was stripped naked by his enemies, who tore off his nails, pierced many

holes with a dagger in his hands, feet, ears, and other parts. At every stroke they ordered him to say "Jesus Mary." Binding a cord around his belly, they led him through Lucerna, with a soldier on one side, who at every turn, with a large cutlass, pared a slice from his poor body. On the other side, a sergeant struck him repeatedly with a large baton, asking at each blow, "Well, Barbet, will you go to mass?" The poor creature uniformly replied with all the strength that remained, "sooner death than mass." Villalmin Roche, a most cruel butcher, coming up, exclaimed, "Lo, here is the minister of Roras," gave him a deadly stroke, caused him be led to the bridge of La Torre, ordered his head to be struck off, and made him be cast into the river. PAUL GARNIER of Roras had his eyes plucked out, had part of his extremities amputated and forced into his mouth, and was in this posture exhibited to the soldiers and fellow-brethren in custody. He was next skinned alive, and the four divisions of his skin extended on the grating of the windows belonging to the four principal houses of Lucerna. When not quite dead, his body was quartered. The savages ate the brains and the heart of DANIEL CARDON of Roccapiatta, who had been surprised near the temple of Chabas.

MARGRET REVEL of La Cartera in the village of San Giovanni, mother of the valiant Captain Paul Genolat, and MARY PRAVILLELM, aged ninety years, and blind, belonging also to San Giovanni, were burnt in the place called the vineyards. The martyrdom of these venerable women was witnessed by Judit Grand, by Mary the wife of Mathew Jordan of La Torre, and by Mary the daughter of James David. The decrepped females, MADONA LENA aged ninety, and JANNE BESSON, eighty years old, both of La Torre, were committed to the flames. The wife of JOHN HUGON of La Torre, who had been three years confined to bed, was with her only daughter put into a waggon, while the infernal agents walked on the one side piercing them with halberts, and on the other stoning them. The mother and child were afterward cast into the river of Angrogna. After the peace, many papists related this transaction with horror. PETER GILES of La Torre, flying from the soldiers, was at La Combe arrested by a shot in his neck. After this, the sons of Belial took off his

nose, tore the flesh from his face, and left him to die in that condition.

The tormentors compelled the sufferers to cast one another into kilns at Garsillane, below the valley of Lucerna, as the actors boasted in presence of Simon, Major of the Town, of M. Gros, and of divers others, though the names of the individuals have not been given. Such as fled were pursued like game among the mountains, rocks, and woods. They were frequently left half dead on the snows and ice; and those that were able to move along were often traced by their footsteps, and by the mark of the blood which flowed from their peeled feet and limbs.*

These are a specimen of the extraordinary barbarities practised in the valleys in the latter part of April, and the beginning of May 1655. A great number of other murders are detailed in the additional depositions in Leger, but the feelings of the reader need not be further harrowed up. Therefore, instead of the long list of names, mention shall just be made of the number of murders in each church, namely, of San Giovanni forty-one, of Angrogna twenty-six, of La Torre an hundred and five, of Villaro forty-three, of Bobbio twenty-seven, of Roras thirty, and of Roccapiatta five. To these, if we add fifty-five others whose names Leger had in a memorandum roll, the whole of those known to him amount to three hundred and thirty-two. But these are exclusive of those who died in prison, and perished with cold and hunger, and were butchered without being reported †

* Leger, part ii. pp. 117—131. Morland, pp. 339—361.

In drawing up the document from which the foregoing facts are taken, the notaries Bianchi and Mondonis took the depositions of more than an hundred and fifty witnesses. The paper is given at large by Leger, who sometimes adduces additional information from his own personal knowledge, and when these are introduced into the foregoing narrative, his name is mentioned. All the rest are from the depositions. A long list of the Waldenses who were butchered in the different districts follows in Leger, which was written in an authentic form by Notaries, who travelled from one community to another, and took the attestations and depositions in presence of the counsels and consistories of the places. The originals of the whole depositions were delivered to Sir Samuel Morland, who put them into the Library of the University of Cambridge. This is owned in Morland's History, p. 361; and all these papers seem included in the volume marked T. Leger caused the depositions be made to counteract the assertions of Guichenon the Apostate, that the former had published falsehoods.

† Leger, ib. pp. 131—139. Morland, pp. 361—379.

Saturday the 24th of April was the great day of slaughter, and multitudes were sent to wander and languish among the woods, the highest mountains, and the caves and holes of the rocks. The country was then pillaged; and the houses, churches, and all other buildings were committed to the flames. Lucerna, which in name and reality had been their Goshen, was now covered with darkness worse than Egyptian. Instead of being like mount Zion, it resembled Etna, which casts up only ashes, fires, and flames. The land was a furnace lighted by the Vatican. Not a cottage was spared, because a monk and a priest who followed the army, on discovering any building that had escaped, hastened thither, and by the discharges of carabines set it in a blaze. The town and temple of Villaro, with some houses on the plain were exempted, but these were reserved to be lodgings for the Irish. Well therefore might the Waldenses who "were as brands plucked out of the burning," exclaim:—"O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance: thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them." Leger appeals to all travellers, and to the readers who have studied the history of ancient and modern pagans, of Chinese, Tartars, and Turks, and calls them to produce, if they can, "so execrable perfidies and barbarities." He then proceeds:—"At the view of these sad spectacles, at the discovery of these strange objects, at the cry of so much blood, we may exclaim with Jeremiah:—'O that mine head were waters and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, for the slain of the daughter of my people. Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow. How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! How is she become as a widow! She weepeth sore in the night and her tears are on her cheeks: among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her. None come to the solemn feasts to celebrate the name of the ETERNAL. Her persecutors overtook her between the straits, her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted. From the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed. Jerusalem re-

membered in the days of her affliction and of her miseries, all her pleasant things that she had in the days of old, when her people fell into the hand of the enemy, and none did help her.'”

Leger considered the Valley of Lucerna in a more deplorable situation than Judea in the days of Jeremiah. Not only the dismembered bodies of the massacred Christians were a prey to wild beasts, but more especially the condition of such as had fled was deplorable. The poor prisoners underwent sufferings worse than frequent deaths. Multitudes were dying in the woods and snows with hunger and cold. Their fainting children were weeping for bread, but no man broke it to them. The brethren in Perosa, Pragela, and Quieras, were unable to supply their charity to so immense multitudes, because they themselves were usually under necessity of proceeding to other countries, to subsist by combing hemp, sowing trees, digging in the earth, and the like, for eight months in the year. “They that be slain with the sword, are better than they that be slain with hunger: for these pine away, stricken through for want of the fruits of the field: but the tongue of the little infant,” who has lost father and mother, “cleaveth to the roof of his mouth: the young children ask bread, and no man breaketh it to them, and they who ate good bread embrace dung-hills.”*

In the capacity of moderator of the synod of the churches of the Valleys, John Leger assembled the principal personages who had escaped from the massacre, and especially the pastors, elders, and most eminent politicians in the church of the chapel land of the king of France. Having consoled his brethren in a suitable address, the moderator conjured them not to proceed to foreign countries, as M. Guerin, minister of Cluson, had advised them, as if the candlestick had been to be removed from its place. Leger urged also, that all their past conduct towards the duke could be fully justified, and heaven and earth would take pity on their sufferings. Consequently, the refugees agreed to remain in Pragela, Cluson, Quieras, and that part of Perosa which belonged to France. According to appointment of the above assembly, Leger, in

* Leger, part ii. chap. ix. pp. 111—114.

course of two days, composed a statement of the troubles, to send to all the Protestant States. He proceeded to Grenoble, whence he dispatched a copy to Geneva to be printed, but his friends there advised that it be not published quite so full in the details. He travelled to Paris, where Lord Boreel, ambassador of the United States, gave him the same counsel. Accordingly, he wrote an abridged declaration, which was printed and forwarded to England, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. This was particularly necessary in France, on account of the impudent statements in the Paris Gazettes, that the Vandois had skinned the Monks, and given the popish host to asses. He would have gone to London to visit Cromwell, had not the Parisian pastors advised him by prudential reasons to desist, lest the French King should suspect the said pastors of underhand dealings with the protector of England, to whom, however, Leger wrote, and sent the declaration.* This mournful manifesto to the Protestants through Europe, was expressed as follows:—

“BRETHREN AND FATHERS.—Our tears are no more tears of water, but of blood, which not only drown and obscure our sight, but even oppress our very hearts! our pen is guided by a trembling hand! our brains are dried by the many blows they have received: and our mind is so exceedingly troubled by such unexpected and sudden alarms, that we are not able to form an epistle answerable to the intent of our minds, or to the strangeness of our desolations. Wherefore we entreat your pardon in this matter, and that you would be pleased, among so many clods of blood, to collect and pick out the sense of our conceptions, and at least, what we wish to impart to you. Whatever reports have been circulated regarding our stubbornness in refusing to have recourse to his royal highness for the redress of our heavy grievances and molestations, you cannot but know that we have never at all desisted from writing supplicatory letters or presenting our humble requests by the hands of our deputies, and that they were sent and referred, sometimes to the council for propagating the (Romish) faith, at other times to

* Leger, part ii. p. 365.

the Marquis of Pionessa, and the last three times they were plainly rejected, and denied so much as an audience, under pretence, that they had no credentials or instructions sufficient to authorise them to promise, and accept in the name, and on behalf of the respective churches, whatever his royal highness should please to grant or bestow upon them. And by the instigation and contrivance of the Roman clergy, an army of six thousand men was secretly set in ambush, who, being animated and encouraged by the presence and utmost activity of the Marquis of Pionessa, attacked suddenly, and most violently, the people of San Giovanni and La Torre. This army being once entered, and having got footing, was soon increased, and became exceedingly numerous, by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants through all Piemont, who, hearing that we were given for a prey to the plunderers, fell on the poor people with an impetuous fury. To these were added a numberless multitude of outlaws, prisoners, and other offenders, who thought by these means to save their souls, and fill their purses. And for the better opportunity to execute their design, the people were forced to receive five or six regiments of the French army, besides some Irish, to whom report states our country to have been promised, with several other troops of highwaymen and vagabond persons, under pretext of coming into the Valleys for *rin fresco*, as men call it, or fresh quarter.

“ This great multitude, by virtue of a licence from the Marquis of Pionessa, animated by the Monks, and conducted and enticed to the work by our wicked and unnatural neighbours, fell on us on every side, especially in Angrogna, Villaro, and Bobbio, to the people of which places, the Marquis had engaged himself, that in case they would only condescend to lodge and quarter only one regiment in each place or community, they should be secured from all harm or violence. This was done with such outrage, and in so horribly treacherous a manner, that in an instant of time all was turned into a confused heap, and the inhabitants, after some skirmishes, which they endured in their own defence, were constrained with their wives and little children, to flee for their lives; and that not only those of the plain, who had betaken themselves to the mountains, but likewise those of the mountains them-

selves, who had otherwise been certainly betrayed and surprised. Nor was all the diligence they could possibly use for their preservation, sufficient to prevent the destruction of a very considerable number of them. For in many places, as in Villaro, and Bobbio, they were so enclosed on every side, the enemy having seized the fort of Mireburg, and thus stopped the passage, that no way was left to fly, or save themselves, but they were most fearfully massacred, and put to death. In one place, the enemy cruelly tormented no fewer than a hundred and fifty women and small children, and afterwards cut off the heads of some, and dashed the brains of others against the rocks. As to a great part of the prisoners whom they took, from fifteen years of age and upwards, who refused to go to Mass, they hanged some, and nailed the feet of others to the trees, with their heads towards the ground, all which treatment was endured with constancy. Report states, that they carried prisoners to Turin, some persons of note, for example, our poor brother, Mr Gros, a pastor, and part of his family. In short, neither cattle, nor any other provision is in the Valley of Lucerna. What was saved, was inconsiderable, and the rest our enemies carried to several towns of Piemont, and sold. All is too evidently lost, since in some whole communities, especially San Giovanni, and La Torre, the business of setting fire to our houses and churches was so dexterously managed by a Franciscan friar, and a certain priest, that they left not so much as one of either unburnt. In these desolations, the mother has been bereft of her sweet child,—the husband of his dear wife! Those who were richest among us are forced to beg their bread, yea, what is worse, they are weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all the comforts of this life. And some churches in San Martino, and other places, which have been heretofore always as a sanctuary to the persecuted, have now themselves been summoned to quit their dwellings, and every soul of them to depart, and that on a sudden, without the least respite, under pain of death. Neither is any mercy to be expected for any of them who are found within his highnesses dominions.

“The pretext for these strange massacres, is, that we are rebels to the orders of his royal highness, for not having

brought the whole city of Geneva within the walls of Mary Magdalene church ; or, in plainer terms, for not having performed a pure impossibility, by departing in a moment from our houses and habitations in Bubbiana, Lucerna, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, San Giovanni, and San Secondo ; and also, for having had our recourse to his royal highness, by incessant supplications to take pity on us ; who, on the one hand told us, that he would make no innovation ; and on the other part, refused to give us leave to depart peaceably out of his dominions, as we frequently beseeched him, in case he would not suffer us to remain, and enjoy the liberty of our consciences as his predecessors had always done. True, indeed, the Marquis of Pionessa gave another reason, and we have the very original in our hands, which is, that the pleasure of his royal highness was to abase and humble our pride, for endeavouring to shelter ourselves and take sanctuary under the protection of foreign princes and states. To conclude, our beautiful and flourishing churches are utterly lost, and that without remedy, unless God Almighty work miracles for us. Their time is come, and our measure is full. O have pity upon the desolations of Jerusalem, and be grieved for the afflictions of poor Joseph. Show the real effects of your compassion, and let your bowels yearn upon so many thousands of poor souls who are reduced to a morsel of bread for following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. We recommend our poor shepherds, together with their scattered and dispersed flocks, to your fervent Christian prayers, and rest in haste, your most humble, and most obliged servants in the Lord.*

" 27th April, 1655."

Connected with this declaration, the Waldenses also issued a confession of their faith, no doubt, likewise from the pen of the moderator, Leger ; and which is of immense importance, as manifesting to the world, that their faith continued the same as formerly, and that the support of these truths in opposition to popery, was the precise reason for their enemies

* Morland, pp. 329—332. Compare Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 384, 385.

inflicting, and for their enduring such awful sufferings. It will be inserted in another part of this volume.*

CHAPTER VI.

Movements of the SWISS and of the ENGLISH in behalf of the Waldenses—
 Brave and victorious resistance of their Enemies by the Vaudois at Roras, Garsillan, San Secondo, Bricheras, Malbec, La Torre, Crusol, Angrogna, Lucerna, and San Giovanni, where JANAVEL is severely wounded—JAYER and a party of forty or fifty men all cut to pieces while fighting most valiantly at Osase—Bold defence at La Vechere, where a far superior Force is defeated—Successful skirmishes at La Torre and Tigliaretto—Sir Samuel Morland from Cromwell delivers a most animated Address to the Duke on behalf of the Waldenses—Major WEIS arrives a second time from the Swiss—Duke sends a Paper to Morland explaining away the order of Gastaldo—Colonel ANDRADION of Geneva comes to aid the People of the Valleys, and in various encounters defeats their Foes—VAN OMMEREN, the Dutch Ambassador, arrives at the Duke's Court—Morland takes leave of the Duke—Vaudois take La Torre—More Legates from Swisserland—Unhappy Treaty of Pignerol—Restoration of PETER GROS and FRANCIS ARGUIT to the Waldensian Church—Narrative of the Massacres published by the Duke with remarks—Remittance of the English Contributions to the Waldenses, and state of the accounts—Cromwell continues to intercede for them with the King of France and others—Waldensian Manuscripts brought to England—Death of Cromwell.

WE now proceed to detail the exertions of the Protestant States of Europe on behalf of the suffering Waldenses, and the brave defence that some of them made against their enemies.

On Thursday, the 29th of April, the news of the horrible massacre reached Zurich. The council immediately assembled, and gave orders for a day of extraordinary humiliation and prayer. This exercise of devotion was accompanied with the charitable appointment of a public collection for the relief of the sufferers. Next day the Protestant Cantons wrote a letter from Zurich on the present emergency to the States

* Appendix, No. viii.

General of the United Provinces, begging them to urge the Duke of Savoy to permit the surviving Waldenses to emigrate to other countries. In five days, the Evangelical Cantons inissioned Mr GABRIEL WEIS, captain-general of Bern, in quality of their deputy, to the Duke of Savoy, on behalf of his persecuted subjects.*

Mean time, the most infamous falsehoods formerly mentioned, were published in the Parisian gazettes. On the 4th of May, the Marquis of Pionessa issued printed orders to the infantry to continue the depredations,† and next day Bouchard wrote to some of the Vaudois urging them to join the Romish church.‡ The persecutors were not yet satiated with cruelties, for, on the 8th of May, they seized a native of Freissiniere, servant to Sieur James Michelin of Bobbio, who received from William Roche and Mandolin of Lucerna, a great many stabs with a dagger, in the soles of his feet, hands, and sides of the head. They then amputated certain parts of his body, and placed a burning candle to the wound, that, by forming a crust, the blood might flow with less profusion, and he might languish the longer. With a view to cause him change his religion, they tore off his nails with pincers. But finding him still continue firm, they, by a rope, tied one of his feet to a mule belonging to the Marquis of Lucerna, and caused him be dragged in this posture through the streets till he was almost dead. They then encircled his head with a cord, which they wrung so hard, that his eyes and brain started out. They lastly tumbled him into the river, as if they wished various elements of nature to witness against them.§

The Marquis of Pionessa, foaming with rage, about the 8th of May, sent an order to the inhabitants of Roras to attend mass in twenty-four hours, under pain of having the rest of their houses burnt, their trees cut down, and themselves put to death. They boldly replied: "We prefer death a thousand times to the mass, since they (the papists) have never been able to show that Jesus Christ or his Apostles celebrated it: that if after burning our houses, they come to cut down our trees, our heavenly Father is our good provider." Against

* Morland, pp. 539--546. Leger, part ii. p. 204.

† Morland, p. 505.

‡ Morland, p. 503.

§ Leger, ib. p. 118. Morland, p. 341.

the twenty-five families of Roras, the marquis sent 10,000 men, namely, 8000 soldiers, and 2000 peasants. One division was to attack Roras from the side of Villaro, a second from Bagnols, and a third from Lucerna, which places were distant from each other. JANAVEL, and his little troop of seventeen country people, routed the first division, and killed a considerable number. The two other divisions of the murderous army exercised the most incredible cruelties on the defenceless women and children, like those described in the foregoing chapter. The number of slain, wounded, and prisoners, was 126. In the last class were the wife and three daughters of Captain Janavel, and some individuals from the vineyards of Lucerna, who had fled to Roras for shelter. The soldiers, however, were not sufficiently brave to capture Janavel and his seventeen peasants. The marquis perceiving that he triumphed only over women and children taken by surprise, wrote in a few days a last letter to Janavel, urging him to renounce his heresy as the only course to obtain the favour of his highness, to save the lives of his wife and daughters, to prevent a high price to be set on his head, and to free himself from death by the most dreadful torments. Janavel magnanimously replied, that he preferred the most cruel torments, and the most barbarous death, to the abjuration of his religion; that the present threatenings only more resolutely fortified him in his profession; that if his wife and daughters should be burnt to death, the flames would consume nothing but their poor bodies; and that to God he committed their souls and his own, in case the executioners should be permitted to lay hands on any of them. At this time, Janavel had none of his family with him except a little boy of seven or eight years of age, and was almost destitute of the necessities of life, as well as in want of powder and ball. He and his small troop cut the snows on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, and proceeded to Queiras, bearing his little child on his shoulders. Having obtained the necessary supplies, and having defended some refugees, he and his followers returned over one of the Alps, named La Pella de Jainet, on the side of Villaro and Bobbio, where he rested for some time.*

* Morland, pp. 521—524. Boyer, pp. 89—94. Leger, ib. pp. 189, 190.

On the 18th of May, Major Weis arrived at Rivol, where he had an audience of his highness, and in respectful terms requested the re-establishment of the Vaudois who had survived the massacre, in the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, in the free exercise of their religion and in the liberty of their prisoners. The major delivered to the duke a letter from the cantons, dated only two days ago, which acknowledged the receipt of his highness' epistle, and pleaded in behalf of the people who had committed no fault. The duke, or rather Madam Royal, replied, that though they were not accountable to any other state, yet, from respect to the major and the cantons, the Marquis of Pionessa would explain the matter to him.*

On the same 18th of May, two Waldensian ministers, probably Arguit and Gros, with fifty-eight others, to free themselves from suffering, publicly abjured their religion before his highness, in the great church of Turin. Immediately one of the ministers preached against the faith he had formerly professed.† We feel humbled on account of the weakness of these persecuted Christians, but what opinion are we to form of such as desert their profession, though in the enjoyment of religious freedom?

On the evening of the 22d May, Janavel left Jaimet. After marching about three leagues, he and his squadron sought God in prayer. He proceeded to Lucernetta between the towns of Lucerna and Bubbiana. The place being filled with soldiers, he was unable to capture it, but sadly alarmed them. He made an admirable retreat, as his enemies acknowledge. The only injury sustained was by his limb being hurt by a ball fired from behind a tree by a soldier, whom he killed. Janavel was disappointed in not being able to rescue his family. The alarmed papists of Bubbiana sought protection from the Irish, but finding the latter only seeking their own advantage, they expelled them, and sought defence another way from the Barbets.‡

* Morland, pp. 546—548. Leger, ib. p. 205.

† Letter from Paris, June 2nd, 1653, grounded on one from Turin of 19th May. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 464.

‡ Morland, p. 254. Boyer, p. 94.

In a few days Major Weis obtained an interview with the Marquis, who justified his troops by protesting, “ that he had never the least design in the world to impose on their consciences or their religion,” that the reports regarding cruelties were forgeries, and that those who had been banished from their lands had no right to remain. Weis replied, that the order of Gastaldo showed he meant to force their consciences ;* that the fact of the massacres was publicly known ; and that the people’s right to the places was owned in the concessions of Charles Emanuel of Savoy, to whom they paid 6000 ducatoons in 1620, to have the places irrevocably attached to them. The Marquis did not deny the authority of the instruments and writings : but said they were granted on condition of the Romish religion being exercised in the places ; and that for ninety years the contendings of the Vandois had been rebellious. On Weis urging the release of the prisoners, and the propriety of peace, the Marquis recollecting how bravely the Waldenses had defended themselves, and how he had been disgraced in all the combats, advised him to treat with the peasants to lay down their arms. Consequently, Weis proceeded to Perosa, and stated the proposal of the Marquis. The Waldenses instantly rejoined, that the Marquis had often deceived them by fair speeches ; and that they would not lay down their arms unless the six cantons would secure the fulfilment of the terms, and the establishment of an honourable peace, as their enemies would not keep faith with heretics. Weis having no authority from the Marquis to conclude a treaty, returned to him to ask either the release of the prisoners or permission to visit them. Both these being refused, he demanded his second audience of the duke, which he obtained on the 24th of May ; and ten days afterward his highness sent him a letter for the Lords of the Protestant Cantons. The Major having stated to his superiors the poor effects of his negotiation, they resolved to suspend operations till they should learn the movements of other states.†

In May, the accounts of the awful proceedings in the valleys had reached England, where Cromwell mani-

* Leger, *ib.* Morland, pp. 548, 549.

† Morland, p. 552.

fested that the sufferings of the Vandois lay near his heart. When he first received the Waldensian Manifesto, he wrote John Leger, at Paris, a proposal to transport the destitute Waldenses to Ireland, to employ them in his fishings, and fill the places that had been occupied by the Irish, whom he had banished for massacring the Protestants in 1642. But Leger's answer showed that the Reformed Churches would prefer keeping the mother churches in their ancient situation, and the scheme was dropped.* In the words of Leger, "he instantly ordained that fasting, and public, and extraordinary prayers should be observed on this account in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that at the same time they should make as ample collections as possible for the sustenance and restoration of the poor people, animating them (his subjects) at the same time by his own zeal and liberality, as well as by his pathetic exhortations." On the 23rd of May, he appointed Sir Samuel Morland envoy extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, to solicit the revocation of the order of Gastaldo, and to the king of France to intercede on behalf of the afflicted sufferers. On the 25th of May, Cromwell, by the hand of the poet Milton, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, wrote on behalf of the Waldenses to the king of Sweden, reminding him of the zeal of his predecessors in defence of the Protestants, and that the Romanists would willingly inflict the same sufferings on all dissenters from Rome. He wrote also to the king of Denmark, to the United Provinces, to the Swiss Cantons, and to the Prince of Transylvania, letters of similar import, and some of them of the same date, with the one to Sweden, which were given to Sir Samuel Morland by Secretary Thurloe.† While Oliver was employed writing to every quarter on behalf of the Waldenses, Marshal Shomberg, on the very same 25th of May, cashiered twenty-five officers and citizens of Metz, because they had not assisted in lighting the bone-fires there for the exaltation of the Pope and the destruction of his enemies.‡ On the 26th of May,

* Leger, *ib.* p. 366.

† These letters are inserted at large, Morland, pp. 552—562, and some of them, Leger, *ib.* pp. 223—225.

‡ Letter from a French deputy in Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 543.

Morland left London on his mission to the king of France and the Duke of Savoy.*

We may truly wonder that in all the sketches of the life of John Milton, so few of his biographers notice his activity in behalf of the Waldenses. I may mention that in the details of the cruelties given by John Leger, p. 131, which I have omitted for the sake of brevity, he states that the wife of PAUL PARISA, after the rest of the family had been cut in pieces, was precipitated from a high rock with her little infant in her arms. Three days after, she was found dead with the child still alive, but so closely locked in her bosom, that with difficulty it was pulled out. ANN MALANOT, with a little child eight months old, was rolled down a mountain, and both were killed. To these very cases Milton seems to refer in his beautiful "Sonnet on the late massacre in Piemont."

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our Fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. The moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learn'd thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

About the time Captain Janavel was at Queiras, he heard of JAYER or JAHIER with the refugees having fled to Perosa and Pragela, and of his having possessed himself of Lucerna on the side of Angrogna. On the 26th of May he wrote him regarding a junction, and next day had the felicity to meet him at Angrogna. At once the two captains attempted to take the town of *Garsillane*, but on the one side it was too strongly fortified, and on the other the captains were surrounded by multitudes of infantry and cavalry, who, on the first sound of the bell, rushed from the neighbourhood. Not only did the

* Morland, p. 564.

Waldenses bravely fight through their enemies, but they took twelve oxen, a number of other cattle, and some prisoners, one of whom offered fifty pistoles for his ransom. Early next morning, the 28th of May, the Vaudois spent some time in prayer, and proceeded to attack *San Secondo*. To protect themselves from the musquetry, they rolled before them planks and casks. By this dexterous management they approached so near the principal fort as to set it on fire by faggots of vines, and kindled the houses from which the soldiers fired. Most of the garrison were Irish, who preferred death to asking quarter, and were put to the sword after suffering severely from the smoke. The Waldenses were 600 strong, and the enemy 1500. The former lost only seven men, but the latter 700 or 800 Irish, and 650 Piemontese, many of whom killed one another. The victors inflicted no injury on the sick, the aged, or the children of papists, with the exception of the son of M. Marsaille, who was killed, to the sincere regret of the Waldenses, who would have got a great price from his rich father had they taken him prisoner. After removing seven mass bells, and all the cattle, they burnt the houses.*

On the 1st of June, Morland arrived at La Fere, where the king and Court of France then resided. The English envoy delivered to his Majesty a communication from Cromwell, expressing his sorrow on account of the massacres in the Valleys, and of his trust that the reports of some French troops having aided those of Savoy were false.† About the 3d of June, Morland received the answer of Louis XIV. to the Lord Protector, intimating, that Louis had sent some forces to aid the Duke of Mantua against the Spaniards, but that the enemies of the Waldenses had, without the king's leave, employed them in opposing the Protestants; that he had sent orders to the Duke of L'Esduiguières, governor of Dauphiny, to stop such proceedings; and that he had interceded with the Duke of Savoy for the people, pledging himself for their good behaviour, as the reformed of France made good subjects ‡ On the same day, the Duke of Savoy wrote to the Swiss Cantons, but Morland was on his way to the

* Leger, ib. pp. 190, 191. Morland, pp. 524, 525.

† Morland, pp. 564, 565.

‡ Morland, pp. 566, 567.

duke. Accordingly, having finished his business with the French Court, he proceeded on Friday, the 4th of June, towards Lyons.* On the same day, Boreel, the Dutch ambassador at Paris, wrote to his masters, the popish fabrications regarding the Waldenses massacring the priests and missionaries, and their sending deputations to Turin to excuse themselves to the duke.†

That day, the Captains Jayer, Janavel, Laurens, Genolat, Benet, and others, held a council of war, and resolved to attack *Brequeiras*. On the 5th of June, Laurens and Jayer marched secretly by *Roccapiatto*. The former stopped to prevent the enemy getting succours from the side *San Secondo*. The latter descended into the plain, and fired farms, country-houses, and villages. On this, the enemy at *Briqueiras*, by a signal, collected forces from *Cavour*, *Fenile*, *Bubbiana*, and *Campiglion*. About twenty cavalry stationed themselves at *San Secondo* to prevent the march of the *Vaudois* in that direction. The two captains retired to the side of *San Giovanni*, which was the settled place of rendezvous, where they found Janavel and his squadron, quite fatigued by having fought the whole day with the soldiers in *La Torre* and *Lucerna*, who were in motion to succour *Briqueiras*. To assist Janavel, therefore, Jayer charged the soldiers in the flank, and Laurens in front. The duke's army was routed, and left 150 men dead, with a number wounded, while only one of the Waldenses was killed, and three were disabled by wounds. On the 8th of June, Captain Janavel and eight men, in a narrow passage called *Malbec*, met 300 soldiers on their march to the Fort of *Mirebouc* above *Lucerna*, between the frontiers of *Dauphiny* and *Piemont*. From this advantageous situation, he stopped the enemy five or six hours, killed a number without loss to himself, but was obliged to move to *Villanuovo*.‡ On the 9th of June, the papists at Turin wrote falsely to England, that the *Vaudois* had received 2000 pistoles from Geneva, 2000 from Bern, and 2000 from *Dauphiny*, some individuals having given 100; and that, consequently, the Waldenses were haughty and refused all pacific agree-

* Morland, p. 567.

† Thurloc, vol. iii. pp. 475, 476.

‡ Leger, ib. p. 191. Boyer, pp. 96, 97. Morland, p. 525.

ments.* Janavel next went to *Jaimet*, and sent notice to such as had remained in *Villaro* by attending mass, that if within twenty-four hours they did not abandon the practice and join their faithful brethren, he would treat them as apostates, cowards, and traitors to their country. This included some who through weakness had abjured their religion. The papists had not burned *Villaro*, and on the present intimation, all such as adhered to the Romish side retired from the town, and all Vaudois capable of bearing arms returned to Janavel, and such as remained contributed to the support of him and his company. Such as had abjured went for a time to *Queiras*, and were afterwards like wandering sheep restored to the bosom of the church.†

The States-General appointed Mr Nieuport their legate to England, and on the 12th of June wrote by him to Cromwell, a letter expressive of their satisfaction with his kindly feelings towards their brethren among the Alps, and declaring their readiness to co-operate with him in any plan to relieve their Christian friends, and to restore them to their habitations.‡

The Waldensian captains having again united, proceeded to besiege *La Torre*. The enemy killed the first man who appeared on the bridge, and made a sally on the Vaudois, who received them with such fortitude, that, by the advantage of the eminence of *Paul de Vincent*, and some decayed houses, the earth was covered with 300 dead bodies, many of whom were Irish, and the rest were compelled to haste to their hiding-places. Next day the Protestants stood beyond the enemy's fire, and by the help of very long guns, killed their foes as fast as they came out. The Waldenses met at *Verne* under the covert of some unburnt houses. Their army now consisted of about 560 men, of whom 450 were now ordered to attack *Crusol*, whose inhabitants had done so much injury during the massacres. Before day, the assailants arrived before the place, and rushed in without resistance. The rustics retired to a cavern in the side of a most fearful rock. The

* Thurloe, ib. p. 490.

† Leger, ib. pp. 191, 192. Boyer, p. 97. Morland, p. 526.

‡ The letter is in Latin. Morland, p. 601.

besiegers took 400 cows and oxen, 600 sheep and goats, and other booty. A great part of what they seized they recognized as their own property. This providential and seasonable supply they divided on one of the Alps of Villaro. While these combats were proceeding, the papists of San Secondo, Lucerna, La Torre, Briqueiras, and Famolese, in a most cruel manner burnt the houses, and plundered the Vandois at Roccapiatta, of any thing that remained. But the robbers differing in regard to the spoil, many of them butchered one another. About 800 of these banditti assailed the small Waldensian troop under Captain Laurens, Captain Benet of San Germano, and James Mayer, brother and lieutenant of the captain of that name. One little band of the Vandois gained the top of the mountain: The other remained a little below; and seventeen men, in an ambuscade, rushed on the enemy when they were joining, who, without so much as an attempt against the handful, fled in the most cowardly manner, having left seven of them dead on the spot. They discharged their rage against JOHN PETER RAGIO on the side of Pinachi, by using a staff to twist around his head a cord, which was sunk into the head almost to a level with the skin. Encircled with this crown, he was conducted to Turin, where he almost instantly died. While Mayer proceeded from Crusol to Pragela to sell part of his booty, Janavel proposed with 300 men to attack the town of *Lucerna*. He destroyed the pipes which conveyed the water into the town, and broke down the bridge to prevent the enemy getting succours. He defeated two bodies of the guard on the outside of the town, but proceeded no farther, because he learned that Morales, the governor, had last night entered with an additional regiment.* On the 15th of June, his 300 men were assailed by 3000 of the enemy, divided into four parties to attack him on all sides. By a kind providence, the enemy's trumpet for the assault sounded too soon, by which means Janavel was awoke, and gained an advantageous position. After prayer to God, he fought from morning till two o'clock, and succeeded

* While these encounters were bravely fought against far superior numbers, the people of England observed the 14th June, as a day of fasting and prayer on their behalf. Thurloe, *ib.* p. 549.

in putting to flight the duke's forces, who were pursued below Angrogna, and left 500 men on the ground, according to popish calculation, while Janavel had only one dead and two wounded. Immediately after the battle, Captain Jayer arrived from Pramol, and though Janavel's men were fatigued with fighting, and had got no refreshment, they all proceeded to dislodge the enemy from *San Giovanni*, where they were dividing themselves to avoid further danger. They commenced with such courage, that they routed the foe, who left 100 dead, among whom were three officers,—the rest were pursued to Chabar. Some of the cavalry were driven over precipices. At the close of this encounter, the brave Janavel was struck by a ball, which entered his breast, and passed out between his shoulders, yet, contrary to all expectation, the wound did not prove mortal. Jayer, misinformed by a traitor, that none of the enemy were on the side of *Osasc*, about a league from *San Giovanni*, bade a last adieu to Janavel, who was carried to Pianchi. Jayer chose 150 men, proceeded towards *Osasc*, and took some spoil on the way. The traitor told him of a number of houses and cattle, a little farther down, which Jayer could easily take. He, and about forty or fifty men marched to the place, and were at once surrounded by the Savoyard cavalry. Jayer, his son, and his men, all fought valiantly. With his own hand he killed the traitor, the commander-in-chief, and three captains of the cavalry. From the number of wounds, he became so weak with the loss of blood, that he was unable to hold his gun or pistol, or even to strike with his short sabre. At last he sunk in death. His son, and the men, were all cut to pieces, but, by their bravery, they sold their lives dear. Only DAVID ARDUIN, a native of Teinau in Villaro, a servant, was saved in the night, by concealing himself in a morass and swimming across the Cluson to Villaro, in Perosa, to tell the doleful news. The enemy cut off the heads of Jayer and his son, and at Turin, presented them to the Duke and Madam Royal, who granted 600 ducatoons as a reward. Jayer was zealous for the service of God, and for the maintenance of his cause, being alike unmoved by promises and threatenings. He possessed the courage of a lion, combined with the meekness of a lamb. To God he ascribed the praises of all

his victories. Deeply versant in the Holy Scriptures, he was always ready to sustain his part in the controversies of the day. He was abundant in courage, but deficient in moderation and prudence, and indeed the last and the fatal expedition was undertaken contrary to the advice of Janavel. Neither torments, nor the terrors of death, could ever make Mayer deny his Divine Master.*

On the 16th of June, a letter from Paris was dispatched to England, representing the Protector as interfering to prevent a peace with the Waldenses, and stating that the French troops in the Valleys had acted without the king's authority, but were commanded by the Cardinal Mazarine to please the new Pope Alexander VII.† This shows that the power of Cromwell, and the bravery of the Vaudois, were causing the French court to tremble.

The severe wound of Janavel, and the death of Mayer on the same day, somewhat dispirited the Waldenses. Under the leading, however, of Captain Laurens, of San Martino, of Captain James Mayer, who succeeded his brother in his charge, and of others of Lucerna, about 550 met at *La Vechere*, where they were attacked by 6000. The daring Vaudois, however, resisted with such success, that the assailants were routed, leaving more than 200, among whom was the Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment of Baviere. The Waldenses lost the excellent MICHEL BERTIN of Angrogna, and a soldier of San Martino. Bertin had been consul of the community, and an elder of the church. When this man fell in battle, his son, JOHN BERTIN, caused the body to be decently carried away, and placed himself at the head of the company, whom he thus addressed:—"Be of good cheer, my brethren, although my father be dead, our heavenly Father can give me the equal courage and activity to lead you, as by his grace he has filled me with the same zeal."§ Thus young Bertin, like another David, proceeded against the Marquis of Pionessa, who had defied the armies of the living God.

* Morland, pp. 527—530. Boyer, pp. 97—104. Leger, ib. pp. 193, 194.

† Thurloe, ib. p. 520.

‡ Morland, p. 531. Boyer, pp. 104, 105. Leger, ib. pp. 194, 195.

On the 17th of June, the evangelical cantons wrote Cromwell, expressing their satisfaction with his plans on behalf of the persecuted inhabitants of the Valleys, and their resolution to send ambassadors to the duke on the 22nd of July, new-style, to co-operate with the Protector's plenipotentiary, and with the deputy of the States General, in behalf of the Vaudois.* This communication was signed by the officials of Zurich, Glarus, Basle, Schaffhausen, Bern, and Appenzel, as well as by those of Rhetia, Geneva, St Gall, Mullhausen, and Bienne. Similar sentiments were excited in the king of Denmark, the Prince Elector Palatine, the Elector Brandenburg, and the Duke of Wirtemberg.†

On Monday, the 18th of June, the Waldenses fought successful skirmishes against their enemies at La Torre and Tigliaretto, and had only one man slightly wounded, while their opponents lost a considerable number. Yet the papists without resistance reaped the corn on the plain of San Giovanni, because the Vaudois having only infantry, would have been culpably rash to expose themselves to inevitable destruction, where the cavalry could act with such effect.‡ On the 18th June, also, Mr Nieuport, the Dutch ambassador, held an interview with Oliver.§

That same day, Morland, the English envoy, arrived at Lyons, where he held a meeting with the Waldensian moderator, John Leger, who was waiting his advent to that city, who announced to him the glorious exploits of Janavel and Jayer, and who gave him the needful information regarding his procedure at the court of Savoy. When Leger was returning to the Valleys near Maseon in Burgundy, he was accosted by a spy from Turin, who had often seen him, but did not now recognise him, as he was deprived of his large mustashes, and had changed his wig. To the inquiries of the spy, Leger replied, "The man whom you seek is not far off." The designing assassin rode to the regiment of Mazarin, and some of the soldiers beat him severely. That night, Leger slept in the same house with the man, who was unable

* Morland, pp. 602, 603.

† Leger, *ib.* p. 195. Morland, p. 531. Boyer p. 105.

‡ Leger, *ib.* p. 115. Morland, p. 531. Boyer, p. 100.

§ Thurloe, *ib.* p. 527.

to rise. In the morning, the moderator, before mounting his horse, went to the villain's apartment, and made himself known to him. He then rode towards the Valleys. At this time, reports were circulated in Piemont, that he had engaged large supplies of troops from Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiny; and the enemies of the Vaudois were anxious to have them exterminated before the arrival of these succours.* On the 19th of June, false notice was also current in London, that the Protestants of the Valleys had seven or eight thousand men to oppose the duke's forces.†

The Romanists were most active in sending forged accounts to England. Hence, on the 19th of June, the Earl of Brienne wrote Bordeaux, the French legate to Cromwell, that the Duke of Savoy only punished rebels. Cardinal Mazarin, also of the same date, wrote Bordeaux that the king of France had ordered the Waldenses to be received in Dauphiny, before the arrival of Morland, but that both Louis and Cromwell had been misinformed, for the duke asked only the quartering of some troops in the Valleys.‡

On the 21st of June, Morland arrived at Rivol, where the court of his highness was then held, and by his direction, waited on the master of ceremonies at Turin, about eight or ten English miles south. That officary received the Englishman with frankness, and saluted him at his lodgings in his master's name. On the 23d of June, he accompanied Morland in the duke's own coach to Rivol, where the latter, at his audience, addressed Charles Emanuel, in presence of Madam Royal, in the following terms:—

“ May it please your most Serene and Royal Highness.—I am sent by the Most Serene Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to your Royal Highness, whom he most affectionately saluteth, and wishes for you a long life and reign, and happy success in all your affairs, with the applause and good wishes of your people. And this respect is due to your merit, whether a man consider the most excellent inclination, and the royal extraction of your highness, or again, so many illustrious virtues which they see in you, or also, the ancient alliance of

* Leger, ib. p. 366.

† Thurloe, ib. p. 549.

‡ Thurloe, ib. pp. 535, 536.

our kings with the royal family of Savoy. My most serene and most benign lord has thought good to send me, though I am young, as I confess, and have not much understanding in affairs, but very much devoted to your royal Highness. He negociates even matters of great importance, on which depend the hope and the deliverance of a great many afflicted people, which consists wholly in this, that your royal highness should have regard to their fidelity, obedience, and most humble petitions, which may be able to soften and appease your spirit, which has been irritated against them, as also so much the more to move your commiseration, in behalf of these poor people, whose cause, in fact, even commiseration itself may seem to make the more excusable, the most Serene Protector of England is also become an intercessor; and he most earnestly entreats and beseeches your royal highness, that you would be pleased to extend your mercy to these your very poor subjects, and most disconsolate outcasts;—I mean those who dwell at the foot of the Alps in certain valleys under your dominion, who profess the Protestant religion. For he has been informed, not by any who assert that this was done by the will of your highness, that part of these most afflicted people have been massacred by your forces, and part expelled by violence, being forced to leave their native habitations. Consequently they are without house or shelter, they are poor, and destitute of relief, wandering from place to place with their wives and children, in craggy and uninhabited situations, and on mountains covered with snow. Now, what species of cruelty have these soldiers of late not acted, or what have they omitted? Oh! the burned houses which are yet smoking, the torn limbs, and the ground defiled with blood! Abused virgins have had their wounds torn with gravel, and in that miserable condition have breathed their last. Men an hundred years of age, decrepped and bed-fast, have been burnt on their couches. Some infants have been dashed against the rocks, others have had their throats cut, and their brains boiled and eaten by the murderers, with more than Cyclopean cruelty! What need have I to mention more, although I could enumerate many barbarities of a like kind, were I not astonished at the very thought of them. I would speak without any offence to your highness, since we believe that none of these

things were done through any fault of yours. If all the tyrants of all times and ages were again to live, they would doubtless be ashamed to find, that in comparison with these actions, they had contrived nothing that could be reputed barbarous and inhuman. In the mean time, the angels are surprised with horror ! Men are amazed ! Heaven itself is astonished with the cries of dying men ! The earth blushes, being discoloured with the blood of so many innocent persons. Do not thou, O most high God, do not thou take that revenge which is due to so aggravated wickedness and horrible villany. Let thy blood, O Christ, wash away the stain of this blood.

“But my present business is not to give a narrative of these proceedings in the order in which they were perpetrated, or to insist any longer on such things. That which my most serene master desires of your royal highness, you will better understand by his own letters, which I am commanded, with all deference and due respect, to deliver to your royal highness ; to which, if your royal highness shall be pleased, as we fondly hope, to vouchsafe a speedy answer, you will by this course very much oblige my lord protector, who has laid this matter deeply to heart, and you will please the commonwealth of England. By an act of compassion, worthy of your royal highness, you will also restore their life and safety, their spirits, country, and estates, to many thousands of poor afflicted people, who depend on your pleasure. And me, you will dismiss back to my native country, with exceeding joy, and with a report of your eminent virtues, the most happy proclaimer of your princely clemency, and one for ever obliged to your royal highness.”

After Morland had delivered this pathetic address to the duke, in presence of Madam Royal, and all the court, he presented him with a communication from Cromwell, repeating the articles, and dreadful consequences of the duke's edict, called the order of Gastaldo ; and begging his highness to revoke it.* The dutchess then stated to the English

* Morland, pp. 568—571. Leger, *ib.* p. 227.

legate, that she was glad to perceive the sympathetic feeling of the lord protector, but that he had been grossly misinformed by the malice of men, who had sadly reproached his highness of Savoy for the fatherly chastisement of some rebellious subjects; that when Cromwell came to learn the facts of the case, he would no longer take part with the rebels; and that such favours should be granted the criminals, as would show the protector the regard in which he was held.* Mr Morland was re-conducted to his lodgings at Turin, by order of his highness, and entertained with civility.†

About the 22nd or 23d of June, intelligence was written from Paris to England, that the queen-mother of France, not only wished to aid the Duke of Savoy against the Vaudois, but to furnish him with forces to take Geneva. Therefore the Protestants needed to be circumspect.‡

On the 23d of June, Charles Gustavus of Sweden, like his ancestors, wrote to Cromwell, entreating him to ask the revocation of the order of Gastaldo, and urging his highness to join him in endeavouring to support those of the evangelical religion, who had been persecuted for conscience sake in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, contrary to the peace of Osnaburg.§ At the same time, the Swedish monarch sent to the Duke of Savoy, expressing his indignation at the cruelties exercised against the Waldenses, urging their restoration to their possessions in the enjoyment of religious liberty.|| On the 25th June, the Elector of *Brandenburg* penned letters to the cantons of Switzerland, on behalf of the suffering Vaudois, wishing collections to be made for them. He communicated also with France and England.¶

About this date, the Marquis of St Thomas, Secretary of State to the court of Savoy, called on Mr Morland, and communicated some Latin papers to the same purport as the narrative afterwards published by the court. Mr Morland replied, that after reading the papers and hearing the secre-

* Morland, pp. 572—574. Leger, ib. pp. 527, 528.

† Morland, p. 575. Leger, ib. 228.

‡ Thurloc, ib. p. 340.

§ Morland, pp. 559, 600, where the letter is to be found. Leger, ib. pp. 240, 241.

|| Leger, ib. p. 242.

¶ Morland, ib.

tary's long comment, his difficulties were by no means removed, yet, if the marquis chose to leave the writings with him a few days, he would make some animadversions on them, compared with other statements, which might pave the way for a treaty, though he had no instructions to enter into any agreement.*

On the 27th of June, the syndie and council of Geneva wrote Cromwell, highly approving of his plans, and acknowledging the receipt of two thousand pounds from him, to be by them distributed among the destitute brethren of the Valleys.†

The Protestant cantons resolved to mission several ambassadors to Charles Emanuel, and as a prelude to this step, Major Weis was again dispatched to the duke. The major arrived at Rivol about the beginning of July, and delivered to his highness an official communication from Switzerland, expressing their gratitude for the polite reception of Major Weis on his former mission, and for the information sent by him. The writers expected his highness would not be displeased with their attempts to accommodate the differences between him and his poor subjects, and beseeched the Almighty to grant him prosperity. The document was signed by all the officials of the six cantons. Madam gave the Major a reply, similar to what was written to the Swiss three weeks later.‡

According to the dispatches of Mr Nieuport, the Dutch resident, dated from Westminster, the 2nd July, the collections in London in behalf of the Waldenses had been completed on the previous Sabbath, and the most liberal contributions were making through the different provinces of Britain, which displayed the deep sympathy which the nation felt for the afflicted Valley-men. He adds:—"The officers of the army in Scotland have drawn up a paper to General Monck, wherein they mention, that having understood the bloody persecution carried on against those of the Reformed religion of the Duchy of Savoy, it went very much to their heart, and therefore they could not help declaring their deep and sad resent-

* Morland, pp. 613—615.

† See the French letter in Thurloe, pp. 589—590.

‡ Morland, pp. 613—615.

ment at these barbarous and inhuman cruelties, as also their hearty compassion. And therefore they had thought fit to assure his excellency, that in case it should please God to come to an account of the blood that has been spilt, and to revenge the cause of his people, and his excellency should call them, or any one of them, for that purpose, they were ready in such a case to hazard their lives and fortunes with all cheerfulness and willingness.”*

In the beginning of July, the evangelical cantons appointed four new ambassadors to the court of Savoy. The first plan was, that these men should wait till the 21st of that month, in expectation of the Dutch envoy, and of more plenipoten-tiaries from England, with the view of proceeding all in a body to the duke. But this wise resolution was unhappily abandoned, and the Switzers immediately left home to follow Major Weis to Rivol.† A threefold cord is not easily broken, but the cantons, no doubt with the laudable design of sisting the persecution with all possible expedition, yet imprudently, proceeded single-handed to have a treaty formed with the deceitful Romanists.

On the 10th of July, the Marquis of St Thomas handed Mr Morland the papers written in a more legible character, stating the transactions in the Valleys, justifying the order of Gastaldo, and adding some remarks.‡ The Romanists were thus most anxious to stand well with Cromwell, and this is further evident by the fact, that on that very day, M. Servient wrote from Turin to Bordeaux, the French legate in England, sending him a copy of the duke's declaration, similar to what was afterwards published by the duke. The design was doubtless to prepare Bordeaux to answer any relation that Morland might send to his own country.§ Intelligence of the same date, however, from Turin to England, bears, that “Joshua Janavel, captain of the said reformed, although wounded, has found means, from his bed, to deliver from the prisons of Lucerna, twenty-five persons of the religion. The Duke of Savoy has not been willing to permit

* Thurloe, ib. pp. 570, 571—593

† Morland, pp 605, 606.

‡ Morland p 535.

§ Thurloe, ib. p. 597.

Major Weis to go to confer with the brethren of the Valleys, to return to Turin, and to make a report of their reasons and of their estate to his royal highness, and to the four ambassadors of the cantons, who are on their way to Turin for this affair; whom he also says, he cannot personally receive as intermitters (mediators) to the treaties, having remitted the matter to the king of France.”*

Early in July, the celebrated French officer, DESCOMBIES, with some soldiers from Languedoc and Dauphiny, filed off to aid the Vaudois, but before reaching the Valleys, Colonel ANDRION of Geneva, a celebrated hero, formerly in the service of France and Sweden, had arrived on the 10th of the month. On the 11th July, John Leger, in Perosa, obtained advices that the enemy had got information of his journey to France, which was to be followed with men and pecuniary aid, and was afraid some new enterprise would soon be attempted against the Waldenses. He doubtless had also learned, that the duke had lately increased his military forces in the Valleys, with the view of as much as possible injuring the inhabitants, previous to the arrival of foreign help, and of the Swiss and Dutch ambassadors. Without delay, Leger hastened that day to *La Vachere*, where he met the compatriots, and Colonel Andrion, whom he pressed to execute his design. On these two holding a consultation, they perceived the Waldensian troops too far separated from each other, so as to act in concert, in case of surprisal. That night, Leger sent two soldiers to act as spies on the side of Briqueiras, and two on the side of Lucerna and La Torre. All these returned without any discovery. Two hours before day, four others were deputed, for the same purpose, when the two who were on the rout of La Torre, were almost close in front of the enemy's army, making a halt at the ruins of the church of Angrogna, waiting the return of light. Some of the enemy spoke to them, and believed them to be their own men. They conversed with them in return, using like them, the Piemontese dialect. They learned the watch-word, and slipped off, the one after the other, as if they had meant to be absent only a few minutes, but when the Piemontese

* Thurloc, ib. p. 608 The above is from the French.

soldiers discovered them climbing the hill with speed, they pursued, and fired two shots in the dark, but which did no injury. The reports of the guns, however, caused the Waldenses leave their stables, or folds, and repair, though rather slowly, to Leger and Andrion. Captain Chanfouran, of Angrogna, approached the enemy, fired a volley at the squadron, which had pursued the spies, and returned to his brethren.

On the approach of day, 12th July, the duke's army, now reinforced by the French and Bavarian allies, was divided into four squadrons. Three of these made a furious attack on the Waldenses, on three sides, the north, the south, and the east, which was the front. At first, the foe exclaimed "victory," and would have taken Perosa, San Martino, and Lucerna, if they had carried the tower, to which the poor evangelicals had retired, who spent a short time in ardent prayer to the God of armies. Previously they were vaunting:—"Advance, ye relics of Jayer," and the Vaudois, as one man, exclaimed:—"Advance, advance, ye relics of San Secondo." The combat was conducted with great vigour on both sides. The assailants relieved one another, and continued the attack for ten hours, yet not one of the Waldenses quitted his post till the end of the encounter. Some, whose ammunition failed, Messrs Leger and Michelin ordered to roll down large rocks on the enemy, which dashed against other rocks, and cracked into a number of pieces, causing incredible havoc, especially among those who were crawling on all-fours among bushes, and behind the rocks, to fire on the Waldenses without danger to themselves. The Vaudois now left their entrenchments, each with a pistol, and with a cutlass, two feet long, and two or three fingers broad. The Piemontese being so bravely opposed by rocks, pistols and cutlasses, thought of nothing but retreat, which was with difficulty effected without disorder. Morland speaks of fifty-five of the enemy who had been found dead on the spot of the battle, and forty in the flight, which corresponds with the statement of Leger, who counted ninety-five corpses. But this is not all, for Battista Bianqui, syndic of Lucerna, and other papists, confessed that they "had carried away more than three hundred others, dead or wounded, among whom they had recognised a great many noble officers of the regi-

ment of Bavaria." And two soldiers of the same regiment owned to Mr Leger, and Captain Laurens, in Pignerol, "that they had not only lost their best officers, but also 180 of their best soldiers." Mr Maroles, governor of Lucerna, commander of part of the army, was so irritated by the failure of this enterprise, that he said to Bianqui, who had always disapproved of massacring the Waldenses: "Formerly the wolves ate the dogs (Barbets), but now the dogs eat the wolves." In Piemont, the Waldenses were called Barbets, as in France the Reformed were called Huguenots.*

On this 12th of July, Mr Morland returned the papers to the duke's secretary, with animadversions derived from information he had obtained since his arrival at Turin, and which are similar to the remarks he made on the factum or narrative afterwards published by the court of Turin.†

After the battle of Vachere, the enemy dispaired of being able to reap the harvest of Angrogna, and attempted on the 14th of July to set fire to the corn, but were so promptly surprised by the Vaudois of La Torre and Tigliaret, who informed those of San Giovanni and Angrogna, that the incendiaries fled, leaving a great part of their arms and ammunition, as well as ten or twelve corpses. Captain Belin, of La Torre, with his troop, pursued the fugitives as far as the town of that name, where they killed the centinel, and four or five soldiers on the ramparts of the fort. Had Belin persisted in his attack, he would have been master of the place without resistance, because the panic was extensive, and the greater part of the persons in the town fled towards the Pelice.‡

While the Vaudois were struggling bravely against far superior numbers, the Elector Palatine at Heidelberg, that very 14th July, wrote, like his predecessors, a letter to the Duke of Savoy, in behalf of his persecuted subjects. The elector states, that as the duke will naturally sympathise with his own subjects, great encouragement is afforded to intercede,

* Leger, part ii. pp. 195—197. Boyer, pp. 105—107. Morland, pp. 531—533.

† Morland, p. 535.

‡ Leger, *ib.* Boyer, pp. 107, 108. Morland, p. 533.

like some other princes, for the re-establishment of the exiles in the Valleys; that he expects their ancient religious privileges to be granted; and, that in this way, the duke will obtain the good-will of all the evangelical electors and princes of the empire.* On the same day, their lordships of the states-general wrote to the cantons of Switzerland, and appointed Lord RADOLPH VAN OMMEREN, of Gelderland, their commissioner extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy. The communication from the Hollanders expressed satisfaction in the letter from the Swiss of the 17th of March, and their readiness to join the cantons and the British in a united embassy to the duke, on behalf of the exiles, having appointed VAN OMMEREN on this mission, who immediately proceeded on his journey for Zurich, for Geneva to meet Morland, and for Turin.†

The necessity of these negotiations, appears from the adversaries of the Waldenses, planning nothing short of their extirpation. Thus Marolles, in a note from Turin, 17th July, after mentioning "what is befallen the heretics," and his honour in commanding some forces, adds, "we pursue those who are come to re-inhabit. Those who are yet in the country stand upon their own defence, but are for the most part put to the route. They expect indeed some assistance, but though any should come, it would come so late, that I shall have time enough to destroy the remnant of those heretics."‡ This persecutor seems not to have known, that on the news of some of the Waldenses re-entering the valleys, and defending themselves reaching France, many officers and soldiers of Cavenne, and Lower Languedoc, were conveyed in small companies to the valleys. Consequently the Vaudois army, which on the 14th and 15th of July did not exceed 600 men, was found on the 17th and 18th of that month to consist of 1800.§ Des Combies, and his followers from Dauphiny, and Andriou from Geneva, have been formerly mentioned. On the 17th of July, the duke, by the influence of Servient, published an amnesty to the rebels, with liberty to re-build their churches, provided the papal worship is allowed in the

* Leger, *ib.* pp. 241, 242.

† Morland, p. 505.

‡ Morland, pp. 606—608.

§ Boyer, p. 109.

places named, and an answer is required in eight days; but before the expiry of that time, the secretary of Servient amused the Waldensian leaders in Perosa, while the companies on the side of Angrogna were surprised by the duke's men.*

On the 17th and 18th of July, Mr Morland was busily engaged with his diplomatic arrangements. On the former of these days, the Marquis of St Thomas returned an answer to Morland's annotations. The secretary speaks of his opponent's remarks as being improved, yet would make him believe that the duke was disposed to show clemency to his rebellious subjects. The discussions on both sides were materially the same as the factum, and remarks on it in a future part of this chapter. During the abode of the English envoy at Turin, he held several serious conversations with M. Servient, the French ambassador, urging him to intercede for the Vaudois. In one of these dialogues, Servient declared his belief of the reality of the concession of Emanuel Philibert in 1561, and his conviction, that if certain zealous Romanists were removed from the court of Savoy, the Duke and Madam Royal would grant them still greater privileges. He advised Mr Morland, however, not to add fuel to fire, but to endeavour to appease the lord protector by a moderate relation of circumstances. The British envoy was also frequently visited by the Jesuits and other ecclesiastics, who treated him civilly, and diligently endeavoured to persuade him that all the reports in favour of the Vaudois were fictitious. After remaining his appointed time at Turin, he took leave of his highness in a second audience on the 18th of July, and received an answer to Cromwell's letter of the 25th of May. Mr Morland, on the 19th July, left the duke's court for Geneva.† The duke having also learned that no fewer than four additional ambassadors from the cantons were on their way, sent them by Major Weis a reply to the Swiss letter of the 17th of June. This new communication, the four legates received at Aigle on the 19th of July. His highness stated, that he had never been able to prevail with the rebels

* Thurloe, *ib.* p. 627.

† Morland, pp. 578—580. Leger, *ib.* p. 229.

to enter into any treaty; that he had referred the matter to the mediation of the king of France alone, to ask pardon for them; that the truce asked by Major Weis cannot be granted, because it was formerly rejected by the people; that some of the duke's subjects had been ill treated by the cantons since the rebellion; and, that he hoped the Swiss would punish the physician, Guerin. In short, his highness evidently wishes to discourage the four ambassadors from approaching him. As they were so far advanced, however, they proceeded to the end of their journey.*

Des Combies was elected general of the Waldensian army, which now consisted of 1800 men, and which had never at any former period amounted to above 1500. Nearly 80 horsemen were also added, under M. Charles Feantier. In the evening before the 19th of July, the whole body marched, and about half-past three in the morning, they were not far from the fort and town of La Torre. These they might have at once taken, had not Des Combies, by an excess of prudence, sent some French soldiers to reconnoitre the fort, which on their return they represented as impregnable. Des Combies not wishing, as he conceived, that his first action in the Valleys should be disgraced by rashly leading men to be butchered, sounded a retreat, and they all returned to La Vachere. The papists of La Torre having seen the Waldenses, notice was given to Marolles in Lucerna, who hastened with his regiment, and some Piemontese soldiers, to succour the town. Notwithstanding the opposition of Des Combies, Capt. Belin of La Torre, and Lieut. Pierounel of San Martino, exclaimed:—"He who loves us, let him follow us;" moved towards La Torre, and were joined by a few Waldenses, who rapidly increased. Nay, some brave Frenchmen, and among others, the intrepid Capt. Foniuliane, who performed extraordinary acts of valour, imitated the example. The two Vaudois leaders knowing the places, got over the wall before the enemy took the alarm. The town was at once taken, and the Vaudois were assailed with musketry both from the convent and the fort. They lost seven of their bravest soldiers, but after a struggle, the convent yielded.

* Morland, p. 505.

They offered quarter to all who demanded it, and among these, was Father Prospero da Tarano, prefect of the pope's missionaries, and a chief incendiary of the flames of persecution; as well as another monk, who, while the building was on fire, went to cast himself into the Belfry, which being filled with smoke, he slipped down the bell-rope. At this moment, the rope was struck by two balls attached together by an iron rod or chain. The monk fell a considerable distance to the earth, and begged favour, which having been granted, he formed a fit companion for Father Prospero, till the peace. The town and convent being on fire, the Vaudois, protected by casks which they rolled before them, approached the fort, and on a parley, the garrison were willing to surrender, on being allowed to retire with their life. At this moment, Janavel, from an eminence, sounded a retreat, as he perceived the enemy's cavalry surrounding the back part of the town.* With difficulty, the Waldenses escaped, having to fight a considerable way as they retired, and lost a soldier. Janavel was still unfit for battle, but was so far recovered as to be able to act as sentinel to Belin and Peirounel, according to agreement. Next morning, the 20th July, the Vaudois resolved to attack the fort of La Torre, and the town of Lucerna, and Des Combies begged pardon for his fault, being anxious to proceed to the combat, and often repeating "that he believed the Waldenses were men, and fought like men, but was not aware they were lions, and more than lions." But a truce being proclaimed at this time, Des Combies, and the other Frenchmen, had no further opportunity to display their courage.

Besides the combats which are detailed, various other considerable encounters were fought during the war, in which the providence of God most wonderfully favoured the Waldenses, whose enemies were often a hundred to one. Leger intimates, that he could obtain testimonies from papists, were they not afraid of being persecuted by their brethren of the same persuasion. The Waldensian officers in his list, are:—

* A letter from the Valleys to Thurloe, speaks of these proceedings as on the 26th July, and in consequence of the Waldenses being provoked, because they wished to abstain from war, from respect to Servient. Thurloe, *ib.* p. 654.

Captains BARTOLOMEO; JAMES JAYER, of Pramol; JOSHUA JANAVEL, of the vineyard of Lucerna; BELIN, of La Torre; PAUL GENOLAT, of San Giovanni; the BERTINS, father and son, with Genon, Des Genons, of Angrogna; JOHN PODIO, of Bobbio; and JOHN ALBAREA, of Villaro; LAURENS, of San Martino; and BENNET, of San Germano. The Lieutenants are:—ANDRION, of Castebelle; STEPHEN REVEL, of Roras; PAUL FAVOUT; JAMES PIEROUNEL, formerly called GONNET; and RUFIN.* Of the Protestants, who died in the battles fought in defence of their country, fifteen belonged to San Giovanni; nine to Angrogna; nineteen to La Torre; six to Villaro; fifteen to Bobbio; eight to Roras; ten to Roccapiatte; and thirteen to Pramol, Peumian, and Castabelle;—the total being ninety-five.† The names are given by the Waldensian historians, yet do not amount to one hundred, while many hundreds of the enemy are mentioned as killed by the brave Vaudois. A more noble struggle for liberty than that maintained by them in 1655, the world never saw. An estimate was formerly made‡ of the number of unoffending individuals butchered, near the end of April, and in the beginning of May, this year, who were known to Leger, and who, if added to those who fell in battle, will make four hundred and twenty-seven. But these are not a twelfth part of the deaths, because contemporary writers reckon those who perished upwards of SIX THOUSAND.§ The greater number seem to have died in prison, by cold, by hunger, and by the daggers of the soldiery, without their names being known to the historians. On the 23d of July, the landgrave of Hessen wrote an admirable letter to the Duke of Savoy, on behalf of the Waldenses.||

On the 24th of July, the eight days which the duke granted for consideration, expired; a truce was proclaimed for four days, and the four Swiss ambassadors arrived at Turin that

* Leger, *ib.* pp. 197—199. Thurloe, *ib.* pp. 656, 657.

† Leger, *ib.* pp. 139, 140. Morland, pp. 381—383, who omits the thirteen names last stated.

‡ See p. 405.

§ History of the Persecution of the Valleys of Piedmont, p. 4, in Jones, vol. ii. p. 422.

|| Leger, *ib.* p. 243, and Morland, pp. 604—605.

same day.* They learned, that no preparations had been made for their mediation; that Major Weis had not been allowed to hold any intercourse with the Valleys; that M. Servient's secretary, as they learned from himself, had been lately in Perosa, and had pretended to propose something to the leaders of the Vaudois from Servient; and, that the duke's army had in the mean time attacked the Waldensian companies, in absence of their commanders, which companies were in danger of being cut to pieces. For three days, the ambassadors were handsomely entertained at Turin by the duke's orders. On the 27th July, they were conducted by the master of ceremonies in two coaches to Rivoli, where they obtained an audience of his highness, and stated in writing what the lords of the evangelical cantons proposed, namely, that his highness restore these loyal people to their habitations; that he restore the goods of the people, and secure liberty of conscience for the future; that the prisoners at Turin, and other places, be released; and, that freedom of change be allowed to such as had been compelled to abjure their religion. They stated, that with difficulty, the lords of the cantons had restrained several thousands of Swiss from running to aid the Waldenses; that the same was true in other Protestant states; and, that they and the poor Vaudois will pray for the preservation of his highness, and the enlargement of his dominions. They ask permission also to send a deputation to visit the Waldenses. On the 30th July, they were visited by Baron Greisy, a counsellor of state, whom his highness authorised to treat with them. In the duke's answer to the communication of the cantons, he charged the Vaudois with rebellion, and spoke of having offered them an amnesty through the king of France, and liberty within their ancient limits. He granted them liberty to travel into the Valleys, and they proceeded to Pignerol.†

Near the end of July, Cromwell appointed George Downing, Esq. to join Mr Morland at Geneva, and wrote Mr Pell, English resident at Zurich, to hold himself in readiness to

* Thurloe, *ib.* pp. 656—657, in a letter from Perosa, 28th July. The writer does not seem to have known of the arrival of the Swiss on the 24th.

† Morland, *ib.* pp. 619—622.

accompany the former two gentlemen to the court of Savoy, to aid the ministers of other Protestant states, in settling the affairs of the Waldenses. On his way to Geneva, Mr Downing delivered a letter from the protector to the king of France, dated 31st July. Oliver expressed his satisfaction, that Louis had, in his letter replying to the one of the 25th May, sent by Mr Morland, denied any orders given by him to his officers to slaughter the Waldenses, and had disapproved of the duke's soldiers. Cromwell declared himself sorry, that the king's interposal had produced no fruit, and urges him to remonstrate a second time with the duke, for the same liberty of conscience in Savoy, as in France. The day of Mr Downing's arrival at Paris is not mentioned.*

On Sabbath, the 1st of August, the Swiss ambassadors proceeded to Pignerol, where they were politely received by all parties. On Monday, the Swiss consulted with Leger, Le Preux, and Captain Giairo, or Jayer, from the Valleys. M. Servient called on them, and expressed his good wishes. In the evening, Count Truchi visited them, and endeavoured to justify the duke. On Tuesday, they waited on Servient by invitation, and found with him De la Bourtonniere, a French Lieutenant; Count Truchi; Baron Greisy; Father Rorencio,† prior and count of Lucerna; and the collateral Perroyn. Mr Leger, and eight or ten gentlemen from the Valleys, were also at the meeting. Leger read a number of statements which both astonished and pleased the ambassadors, and others on the same side. Truchi tried to evade the documents, by pleading that the concessions of former dukes extended only to the end of the life of him that granted them, and urged the people to prostrate them before his highness. He was answered by those on the other side, and they all parted with good feeling. In the evening, the Swiss advised the Valley-men to address themselves to Servient. On Wednesday, the 4th of August, the Swiss dined with Servient, who advised them either to exchange Campiglione, and Fenile, for some other places; or to ask no more than San Giovanni, La Torre, Lucerna, Campiglione, and Fenile; or to submit themselves to the laws of Chamberry. He inti-

* Morland, pp. 608—612. Thurloe, ib. pp. 672, 673.

† See vol. i. p. 6.

mated, that those of the Valleys should no more be molested by popish missionaries; and at the peace, the soldiers on both sides should join the army in Italy. The ambassadors insisted on absolute pardon, the restitution of goods, and the restoration of liberty, spiritual, and temporal. Servient agreed to remain till peace. The Valley-men complained that Messrs Leger and Mechlin were called to Turin at this time, charged with being concerned in the murder of the priest of Fenile, as formerly detailed.* On Thursday, the Valley-men were willing to quit Campiglione, Bubbiana and Fenile, and would quit Briqueiras and Lucerna, only from necessity, but desired to retain San Giovanni, and La Torre, for the exercise of their religion. Truchi tried to persuade Servient not to grant the Vaudois, Lucerna, and to cause them exchange the one-half of their lands for others, and be paid for the other half; or to refer the matter to the judges at Chamberry. Truchi and Greisy told the Swiss his highness would not grant the people La Torre and San Giovanni. On the 6th of August, Greisy and Servient repeated this, and what was said regarding the lands. The French ambassador promised to ask San Giovanni and La Torre for the people, which had been refused, because in 1620, the church of San Giovanni had been obliged to be walled up. On Saturday, Leger and his eight brethren found the ambassador offended with Pianezza, for refusing the two places mentioned, and for insisting on the Vaudois selling all their lands to the duke. On Sabbath, the 8th of August, the Swiss went to hear sermon at Pinachi, where about 1600 of the banished were stationed, besides 1000 strangers in arms, and 500 or 600 others. All rejoiced to see the Swiss who were escorted back by 60 musqueteers. On Monday, the Valley-men intimated to the Swiss their suspicion, that Truchi's proposal to divide San Giovanni and La Torre between Catholics and Protestants, is intended to deprive them of Lucerna, and especially of Les Vignes, inhabited by 30 or 40 families over against Rorata, and which by no means could be wanted, even for money, because they had no other place for the 80 families driven from Lucerna, Campiglione, Fenile, and

* See pp. 380—383. of this vol.

Bubbiana. The place had never been mentioned, even in the order of Gastaldo. Major Weis received a communication from Mr Morland, wishing the treaty to be suspended till further orders from Cromwell, but he would come to Pignerol, if delay could not be effected. Leger and Preux deferred writing till they should see if the settlement should go forward. A difficulty existed, not only about Les Vignes, which was a fortified place, but also regarding the prince requiring the Vaudois to repair the fort of La Torre. On Tuesday, the 10th of August, the Swiss and Waldenses urged these difficulties with Servient and Truchi, and the matter seemed to clear a little. On Wednesday, the Swiss dispatched their first relation to Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Shaffhausen.*

On the 12th of August, the Swiss informed Servient that the Waldenses were increasing in numbers. But Truchi spoke of them as obstinate, and wished them to cast themselves on the clemency of his highness. The Swiss, however, showed him and the Waldensian deputies the need of firmness in demanding every thing in the instruments. Next day, Servient and Truchi showed the Valley-men a draft of a treaty which did not satisfy them. By advice of the Swiss, they wrote a scroll to their own mind, which displeased Servient. Greisy blamed the Swiss for stimulating the Vaudois, and intimated, that both Servient and Truchi were about to abandon the treaty. Both Swiss and the Valley-men vindicated themselves, and Greisy appeared satisfied. On the morning of the 14th, Servient entreated the Swiss to continue the negotiation, and these mediators discussed the articles in presence of the Duke's lords and the Waldenses. Four copies of the agreement were written, and one of these sent to the court. In the evening, the deputies from the Valleys begged the Swiss to be plain, regarding the fort of La Torre, and to see that the estates they are to abandon on the Pelice be paid in ready money. On Sabbath, the 15th of August, the Swiss again attended public worship at Pinachi. On Monday, the patent arrived, and on Tuesday 17th, the Swiss advised the Vaudois to remonstrate with Truchi, but they obtained no amendment. That afternoon,

* Morland, pp. 623-635. Leger, *ib.* pp. 208-212.

all the parties discussed the matter for three hours. Greisy informed the Swiss that night that the Valley-men declined signing, because no mention was made of the Swiss mediation. On Wednesday morning, the Swiss advised the Vaudois to wave that matter. Servient wished none mentioned, except the king of France as mediator, by application from the Protector, and other Protestants. He agreed to give the Swiss letters, owning their fidelity, and to procure the same from the duke. He promised to do his best endeavour, that the fort of La Torre might be overlooked. On this, the Swiss acquiesced, and advised the Vaudois to subscribe, which they did, to the number of eighteen, in presence of Truchi, who carried a copy of the document to Rivoli, to be confirmed and recorded. The truce, which was to last only another day, was prolonged till Tuesday following.*

This treaty of the 18th August, is denominated "A patent of grace and pardon by his royal highness, granted to the men professing the pretended Reformed religion in the three Valleys of Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa, with the places of San Bartolomeo, Roccapiatta, and Prarustino; they in the mean time quitting the places beyond the Pelice, observing the conditions specified in the said patent of grace, and not departing from that obedience which they owe to his royal highness, CHARLES EMANUEL, by the grace of God, Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piemont, and King of Cyprus." In the treaty, M. Servient alone is mentioned as mediating for the Vaudois; the writings of 2nd and 4th of June, and 29th of December 1653, are confirmed; and oblivion granted to the people for their opposition to his highness' orders. Confiscations are nullified, and the sufferers are not in future to be molested. Before the 1st of November, they are to sell and quit their estates in Bubbiana, Campiglion, Lucernetta, Fenile, and Gresigliana, all lying beyond the Pelice. The Waldenses are to keep the Vignes of Lucerna limited as before the troubles, but are not to preach in that place. They are to inhabit San Giovanni, but no preaching in it. One part of it is to belong to the Romanists, and to be attached to Lucerna. No other part to be given to the Pro-

* Morland, pp. 636—642. Leger, ib. pp. 212—214.

testants. They have liberty in La Torre, as in past ages. In San Secondo, they are to inhabit Prarustino, San Bartolomeo, and Roccapiatta, and to exercise their religion as formerly, only the territories are to be divided between them and Roman Catholics, like San Giovanni. They are to quit Briqueiras by the first of November, if paid for their improvements. They are excused from imposts of taxes, furnishing corn, quartering and subsisting soldiers, and the like, for 1655, and next three years; and for the two following years are to pay only the tax. Liberty of conscience is to be exercised in the places specified. They have freedom of traffic, and may purchase any article, except houses and lands, in other parts of his highness's dominions. The Mass is to be freely celebrated through the valleys, but the Vaudois are not compelled to be present. Such as have abjured the Reformed religion, are to be allowed to return to it. All prisoners on both sides are to be liberated. The Reformed are to exercise public civil offices, as granted 9th April 1603, and 4th June 1653. La Torre is to have a market, as formerly conceded. The Vaudois are not to be compelled to become Romanists; and boys are to remain with their parents till twelve, and girls till ten years of age. The Reformed are not to be mocked by opprobrious names. All the rights and privileges of the three valleys are confirmed, and to be anew interinated. Ministers or pastors are to be under the local magistrates like other subjects. If the ancient Romish churches are not rebuilt on the old foundations, the Reformed shall give up as much ground as necessary in any place the duke shall select. The interination of the treaty to be without fee. On the 18th of August, the instrument was signed by the duke, and other official persons on his side, and by John and David Leger, and sixteen other Waldensian deputies.* On the same day, his highness added a declaration, that though the patent stated that no mention is to be made of the fort of La Torre, yet the people may have recourse to his highness to demolish the same, or to transfer it to its ancient site, and may seek the aid of the

* Morland, pp. 652—662. Leger, *ib.* pp. 216—221, who gives several articles more than Morland.

Swiss, and of Servient. Whether his highness grant this, or not, the other parts of the treaty shall have effect.* The treaty was interinated in the senate and chamber, on the 19th of August.† This day, the Swiss ambassadors wrote Mr Morland, in answer to his of yesterday, and dispatched a second report to their masters, the lords of the evangelical cantons.‡

On the 20th of August, the Swiss again heard from Mr Morland, and on Saturday, Truchi, in presence of the four ambassadors, delivered to the deputies of the valleys, the instruments of peace ratified, sealed, and subscribed, by their royal highnesses. The third relation was sent to Switzerland. After sermon on Sabbath at Pinachi, the Swiss, by word and writing, most affectionately took leave of the people, who ardently expressed their gratitude to their benefactors. On Monday, both sides began to withdraw their armed forces. The Vaudois liberated some friars, and Servient and the Swiss paid one another complimentary visits. On Tuesday morning, 24th August, about sixty men, women, and children, were set free from the prison at Turin. Nearly forty had fallen through frailty, but before the end of the month, they were with sorrow restored to the Waldensian church. Having been refreshed, they proceeded to Pignerol, where the Swiss addressed them as friends, and furnished them with money to carry them home. The soldiers continued to withdraw. While the Swiss went to Turin on the 25th of August, and were entertained by the duke, they received letters from home of the 9th and 10th inst. enclosing a complaint from Mr Morland, on account of the treaty being settled without the Dutch and English commissioners. They prepared an explanation to send with their fourth report, that they could not know the time of the arrival of the English and Dutch, though they would have been most happy of their co-operation; that the business must have been settled before winter, for the people could not subsist on the mountains; that the duke had referred the mediation to the French king, who had been urged by other States to undertake it; and

* Morland, pp. 663, 664. Leger, *ib.* p. 263.

† Morland, pp. 662.

‡ Morland, pp. 642, 643.

that if they had not accommodated themselves to Louis, he would not have allowed the Vaudois refuge in his dominions. The business of the fort of La Torre had been retarded, owing to the court being in mourning for the Dutchesse Dowager of Mantua, aunt to his highness, by his father's side.* In one of their reports, the Swiss ambassadors say, "we have not ceased to press the execution of the article made by itself, respecting the demolition of the fort of La Torre." Leger maintains that "a secret article existed concerning the fort at La Torre," which the duke was "to demolish," and was "not to build in that place," a citadel. This is mentioned also in the treaty, and confirmed by the verbal declaration of Servient. Yet the future procedure of the court of Turin, shows that with them, to demolish signifies to build.†

On the 26th of August, FREDERIC WILLIAM, elector of Brandenburg, wrote again to the cantons with increasing generosity, and asking fuller information regarding the afflicted evangelicals, whom he calls "our confederates in the faith." He states that he had ordered his ambassadors at Frankfort to write strong language to the Duke of Savoy, and king of France, in behalf of the Vaudois, and in name of all the evangelicals of the empire. A general collection had been ordered through the evangelical States of Germany.‡

Near the end of August, about forty individuals who had been liberated from prison on the 24th, were, on declaring their sorrow for abjuring the faith, restored to the Waldensian communion. Of all the instances of this kind, that of the two pastors, PETER GROS, and FRANCIS AGUIT, formerly ministers in the valley of Lucerna, is one of the most affecting. For on Saturday, the 28th, and Sabbath, the 29th of August, in a full congregation at Pinachi, in the valley of Perosa, they in a written declaration made both to God and his church, a solemn acknowledgment of their sin of apostacy; and with uplifted hands, on their bended knees, abjured popery, and swore in the strength of divine grace to adhere to the Reformed religion to the end of their lives.§

About the time Mr Downing from England had finished

* Morland, pp. 664—650. Leger, ib. pp. 214, 215. † Leger, ib. p. 215.

‡ Leger, ib. pp. 242, 243. § See the Document, Appendix, No. IX.

his business at the French court, he heard of the unhappy treaty of Pignerol. He therefore hastened to Geneva to consult with Mr Pell and Mr Morland. In that city he arrived in the beginning of September, and discovered that the sad reports regarding the treaty were true. They all agreed that they need not proceed farther in the way of negotiation, because their instructions would not now apply. About the 8th of September, they received Cromwell's orders for Mr Downing to return to Britain, but the other two commissioners were to remain, in order to distribute and manage the money collected in England, Wales, and Ireland, for the relief of the poor inhabitants of the valleys. Mr Downing proceeded on his journey homeward on the 12th of September. A few days after, Mr Van Ommeren, the Dutch ambassador, arrived at Geneva, but, alas! he found himself too late to be of any service.*

Mr Morland learned from some who saw the hand-writing, that Servient dictated to his secretar letters of thanks to Cromwell, to the king of France, and the States-General, which letters he caused the deputies of the valleys to copy, and subscribe. In this way he meant to please all parties, but he was peculiarly anxious to stand well with the Lord Protector of England, for he influenced the four Swiss ambassadors to write him on the 15th of September. They state, that they wrote by Servient's desire, who had by his good offices, and great exertions, effected the settlement of the people in their habitations; and beg the continuance of Cromwell's favour for the Vaudois, and the remittance of the contributions made for them, as the sums sent from Switzerland, and other places, were now exhausted.† The people in returning to their habitations, stood much in need of the charity of their friends in other countries. The moderator, John Leger, with his wife and seven children, had been robbed of all their earthly possessions, as formerly detailed.‡ He had been able, however, still to retain a Bible, which he used in study. This Bible is in custody of the Dean of Winchester. On the inside of the board, an inscription is

* Morland, p. 612.

† Morland, *ib.* p. 667—669.

‡ See pp. 397, 398 of this vol.

legible in Leger's autograph, in the Patois language, and may be thus translated:—"This Holy Bible is the only treasure, which of all my goods, I was able to rescue from the horrible massacres, and unparalleled destructions which the court of Turin put in execution in the valleys of Piemont in 1655, and for this reason, besides, that many short remarks are in it in my own hand-writing, I recommend, and command my children, to preserve it as a most valuable relic, and to transmit from hand to hand to their posterity.

"JOHN LEGER, *Pastor*."*

The Vaudois imagined they had obtained a happy peace, but no sooner was the treaty published by the duke's order, than every wise man saw it to be a leper in rich attire, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and, like Ezekiel's roll, sweet in the mouth, but internally written with lamentation, and mourning, and woe. We regret that Mr Downing from England, and Mr Van Ommere from Holland, had not made greater haste in their journeys; and that the Swiss ambassadors did not give heed to the repeated letters of Morland, and to the remonstrances of Mr Stockar, one of themselves, to delay the final settlement, till the English and Dutch envoys should arrive. Mr Stockar, on his way home, showed Mr Morland an attestation of the 27th of September, from Mr Schmidt, secretary of the embassy, bearing, that Stockar had urged the delay of the treaty till the arrival of the Dutch and English ambassadors. Mr Pell, and Mr Van Ommeren, attended a meeting of the cantons on the 13th of October, at Payerne, but Stockar did not appear in the assembly. A resolution delivered to the two foreigners, intimated, that the ambassadors had done their best, and were presented with a vote of thanks; that they were sorry the English and Dutch ambassadors had not been forward; that some parts of the treaty require alteration; and that for the purpose of this revision and melioration, they respectfully solicit the co-operation of the States-General, the Protector of England, and of the king of France. No such conjunction of councils, however, took place, and the poor Waldenses continued to be stung by the

* Gilly's Researches, pp. 79, 80, where a fac simile of the original is given.

consequences of the agreement, as by hornets from a rotten tree. Andrew Gastaldo continued to be the cruel instigator of new torments.*

* Morland, pp. 670—676.

Guichenon, the apostate Waldensian, and the servile historian of the house of Savoy, seems to triumph in the perfidy of the treaty, and adds: "The Cantons of Switzerland, Geneva, Holland, England, and the Protestants in France, denounced it as infamous and shameful. Thus however ceased the troubles in the valleys; insignificant in their commencement, but eventually producing the most extraordinary sensation among the heretics in all parts of Europe. So deep an interest was perhaps never displayed on any other occasion, neither as to the number of potentates partaking of it, nor as to the vast sums contributed to foment the disturbance." The last clause should have read, "contributed to relieve the miserable Vaudois." Guichenon also avows a secret understanding between the Duke and Servient, regarding the fort of La Torre. The Waldenses and their defenders were led to expect its demolition, and indeed it was destroyed, but a stronger fort was erected in a better situation. Cromwell expressed his indignation at the treaty, to the court of Turin; to the kings of France, Sweden, and Denmark; and to the Cantons. †

About this time the court of Savoy, finding they could not conceal the truth of the massacres, published a *FACTUM* or *NARRATIVE* of the transactions, in Latin, French, and Italian. Justice requires us to give a hearing to this statement, which differs in some particulars from the averments already detailed. Where we question the assertions, we shall give the reasons as we proceed, and once for all, we own our obligation to the remarks on the document by Leger and Morland.

The narrative says, the order of Gastaldo only enjoined those to depart who had made purchases of property contrary to express order, but no such restriction is contained in the order. The narrative admits, that the people in 1655, retired within their ancient limits, which shows their obedience to his Highness. Their remonstrances against the order of Gastaldo as contravening the ancient concessions were well founded, as appears from the things just above stated. They were enjoined not to return to their homes, but to send deputies with letters dictated by their enemies. The sentence was pronounced and executed before its justice was shown. The deputies were always sent to the council for extirpating heresy. The Duke blames them for writing to the ministers and others in Geneva, and not taking the advice of said ministers to submit themselves. Some Genevan might advise them to submit to his Highness, yet not to the council for propagating the Romish faith. Such a Latin letter, if it ever existed, must have been only from an individual in Geneva, and Leger doubts if it ever was written. The Duke says these things are proved by the deposition of prisoners, but not one prisoner ever owned after the peace having declared such things, and at any rate they were under compulsion, such as Messrs Aguit and Gros. The Duke states that Gastaldo's order did not at all affect their consciences, yet it requires them to engage to turn Roman Catholics in twenty days, or to leave their possessions in three days; and troops are brought from France, Bavaria,

† Acland's Introduction, pp. lxvii.—lxix.

Through Messrs. Pell and Morland jointly, Cromwell for a time conveyed the charitable contributions of the British to

and Ireland, to enforce the order. Nay, Servient prohibited the Protestants in Pragela from aiding the banished. The published orders of Pianezza, and Maroles, show the war was religious. An attestation given by Prospero to one who had abjured heresy and submitted to the church of Rome on the 10th of May, is a proof, and was given to Mr Morland. The *Factum* charges the Vaudois with meeting in an assembly and resolving on rebellion, but the time and place are not mentioned. Naboth was under no obligation to sell his vineyard, and Ahab and Jezebel could not be justified in murdering him. Some popish landlords, and Rorengo, invited the people back, and then they were charged with rebelling. Their taking arms was in defence, and only when pushed to extremities. The court say that only some troops were quartered in the valleys, but this was by no means the whole, as the massacre demonstrates; and they certainly fed in a wonderful manner by eating human brains and breasts. The Vaudois are charged with sending their old informal letters, and refusing to appear before Pianezza to make peace. But the Marquis, in his letter of the 20th April, to the Vaudois, declares he "knew nothing of their new procuration," and instead of informal letters, the Waldensian deputies were charged "to accept and to promise generally all that should be ordained to them by his Royal Highness, only preserving their concessions and consciences." Let the people resolve as they pleased, their ruin was determined. Instead of the Waldenses circulating papers to stimulate to war, they found on the bodies of some of the papists who were killed, a number of billets, some of which Morland sent to Cambridge. For example: "May the power of God the Father, the wisdom of God the Son, the virtue of the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the most Holy Virgin Mary the mother of God, of St Francis, and of the blessed Didacus and Saviour, the Lord deliver thee from all fever, pestilence and unforeseen death. Amen." Leger gives some to the same purpose—several of them in red letters. On the bodies of some was found a powder called "the milk of the Virgin Mary;" and on others, bones wrapped in paper marked with the names of certain martyrs, seven of whom are specified. In several instances portraits of Christ and the Virgin were found, and certain effigies without a name, with crosses, and the words, "for the conversion of heretics." The Duke says the people went to the mountains to excuse themselves from quartering soldiers; and when Pianezza approached them they saluted him with musquetry. But the Vaudois of San Giovanni either had private intelligence of the approaching massacre, or they obeyed his Highness when they went without victuals to the mountains; and the Marquis met with no resistance in occupying La Torre. Instead of the Duke's soldiers doing no harm to the deserted houses, and injuring no one but such as attacked them, they burnt the villages, massacred the innocent inhabitants, and dyed the ground with their blood, though, no doubt, all who could use their limbs fled for their lives. Instead of the Marquis treating first with the people in a fair way, they could not get near him till he had burnt all the houses and churches of San Giovanni and La Torre, and then told by an unsigned paper that the people in these places could not expect pardon, but those of the other lands should suffer no harm if they received the soldiers. By the pen of Leger an answer agreeing to this was written, and was signed by all the pastors and agents of Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, and the other places. Next

the Waldenses in the valleys. However, for a year after the 20th November 1655, this relief was remitted through Mr

day he called them by trumpet, and told them they were in no danger though they had abetted those of San Giovanni and La Torre. He entertained them at a banquet, and was anxious that the soldiers lodge even in the highest of the situations. Though some had suspicions, the troops were allowed to seize the best districts in Angrogna, to occupy Sorian and La Vachere, and all Villaro and Bobbio as they pleased. Only a few were enticed back, and on the third day the awful slaughter began. Seven or eight peasants, on the top of the Meadow of the Tower, defied 2000, till the wives and children of the defenders gained the summit of the mountain, and got down the side of Perosa. Only one of the Vaudois was killed. Instead of M. Petitbourg, a protestant, who commanded a regiment of the Duke's men, receiving no orders to be cruel, his own attestation shows he resigned his post because he did not choose to commit the cruelties he was enjoined. M. Bevil, and other popish soldiers, testify also they were commanded not to spare men, women, and children. Only after the greatest provocation did the Waldenses take arms in their own defence, and therefore, they and others ought not to be stigmatized as rebels. Jayet is charged with murdering Romanists in cold blood, burning churches, and pillaging. But he did none of these things when he could with safety avoid them. *

Another paper was published at this time by the Duke, giving a summary of the REASONS for the order of Gastaldo. This states, that in the limits the mass was to be celebrated, among these reasons are; that the writing of 1561, specifying the limits of the Vaudois, was never approved or accepted or subscribed by the reigning Duke, and is of no force; that it was rendered null by edict of 1565, enjoining all to become Catholics; that the writing of 1561 was not interminated, and the edicts of 1632, 1649, and 1653, show that every thing uninterminated is void of force; that the grant of 29th March 1602, to remain in the places mentioned in Gastaldo's order, was only till the harvest be gathered; that the 6000 ducatoons in 1620 were not paid, to have toleration in new limits, but to procure pardon of certain crimes; that in 1622, and 1633, Lucerna, Bubbiana, Champiglione, Fenile, and Bricherasio, are placed out of the limits; that preaching is allowed only in Angrogna, Villaro, Bobbio, Guichardo, and Rorato, two streets of La Torre, and San Giovanni beyond the Pelice; that the Vaudois have purchased property beyond the limits, and in places not named even in 1561, they have built eleven churches since that period, such as that of San Giovanni; that the Vaudois opposed the missionary fathers; that the grant of 1653 was a pardon for burning a house and church, given on conditions which have been violated; that the erection of churches beyond the limits of San Giovanni and La Torre, and refusing to demolish them was contrary to the order of 20th February, 1602; that a prince may justly order his offending subjects to sell their goods and transport themselves to another place; and, that they refused to send deputies to his Highness, to show their right to the places, and as rebels took arms against him. †

* Morland, pp. 387—404, and Remarks, pp. 423—518 Leger, ib. pp. 142—147, and Remarks, pp. 152—185. Both give the paper at large.

† Morland, pp. 404—422. Leger, pp. 147—152.

Morland singly, who resided at Geneva for that purpose. The whole collections and disbursements will be stated in the Appendix.* On the 27th of December, the Protestant cantons, for six reasons given in Thurloe, proclaimed war against the Romish cantons.† About the end of December, Servient began to write comminatory letters to the people of the Vaudois who had returned to their valleys. He intimated, that the most sad consequences would be felt, if they did not contentedly acquiesce in the treaty of Pignerol.‡ About the

In reply, Leger and Morland remark, that the Vaudois in the places mentioned in Gastaldo's order are called rebels, but they were never cited before the magistrates to be regularly proved such. They had done nothing to invalidate the concessions of 1561, which were still valid, though the originals were lost by two of their deputies. The sovereigns were bound by them, and actually confirmed them, as appears by the edicts of 29th September 1603, and the 10th of June 1620, though some new purchases through Piedmont are not mentioned. No other crimes were committed by the people in 1620, except their declining to become members of the Church of Rome, for which the Duke demanded 6000 ducatoons to excuse them. A decree in confirmation was granted by Charles Emanuel, 29th December 1653, and indeed the patent of 1655 declares he will "neither amplify, nor restrict the concessions granted to the supplicants, not only by the departed Duke, Charles Emanuel, his grandfather, but also by his most serene predecessors." Thus Charles Emanuel II. in 1655, acknowledged the existence of the concessions of his grandfather, Charles Emanuel I. in 1603, and 1620, as well as of his "predecessors" in 1561, and even in more ancient times. In 1592, Henry of France, in the registers of his parliament of Paris and Dauphiny, ratified the grant of 1561, which grants are testified by Du Thou, who is admitted by the court of Savoy to be a faithful witness. § Rorencio, in his history, recites an edict of Charles Emanuel, admitting that "those concessions of 1561, had been granted to those of the Reformed religion." The said author further affirms:—"The great chancellor consigned me a copy of the concessions of the year 1561, commanding me to inform him in what manner they had been observed." Rorencio afterwards shews a wish to retract this admission. Belvedere writes:—"His Highness of Savoy did grant to those of the said religion the above said concessions." Nay, in the council of Trent, which was sitting in 1561, the pope complained that the Duke of Savoy had granted the said concessions to the Reformed. These capitulations the Duke did not deny, but sent the pope his reasons for the grant. The civilians have a saying, that possession is presumed to have permanent justice on its side. In fact, the Vaudois inhabited the places mentioned in the order of Gastaldo, before the Dukes of Savoy were Princes of Piedmont.

* Morland, p. 587. Appendix, No. X.

† Thurloe, vol. iv. pp. 350—352.

‡ Morland, p. 676.

§ See pp. 290—292 of this volume, where Du Thou's account of the concessions of 1561 is given.

|| Morland, pp. 537, 538. Leger, ib. pp. 199—202.

beginning of 1656, the Duke of Savoy added two regiments to his forces in Chalais, under the governor of that province, to be in readiness to aid the popish cantons, in case of actual hostilities with the Protestant ones.* On the other hand, the Genevans fitted up a galley with forty-two oars and five guns, to prevent the duke from sending aid to the Roman Catholics across the lake of Geneva, which galley was got ready in February, as appears by a letter of Van Ommeren of 1st March.† The popish cantons laid schemes to prevent the evangelical ones from corresponding with one another, and with the ambassadors of England, and the United Provinces, who intended to proceed to Turin to seek the improvement of treaty. The English and Dutch legates having no instructions to treat, except in union with the Swiss, proceeded to Paris, to ask the French king to explain the treaty, and to see it observed. On the 22nd of February 1656, the king wrote L'Esdiguières in Dauphiny to send some qualified person into the valleys, to tell the Vaudois, that if they rise in arms, as urged, he will join the Duke of Savoy to suppress them. Doubtless, the court of Turin made the king believe the Protestant ambassadors were stimulating the Vaudois to rebellion, though they were ready to attest the falsity of the charge by their blood. L'Esdiguières on the 4th of March, wrote from Grenoble, by M. de Bais, a military gentleman, a letter to the Waldenses, intimating that his majesty had heard that some foreigners, envying their happiness, were urging them to arms against their sovereign; that these strangers were supplying them with large sums of money; that the principal persons in the valleys ought to assemble, and send their grievances to the king; and, that he would see the treaty enforced. On the 12th of March, De Bais arrived in the valleys, and delivered the letter to John Leger, and the other leaders of the Vaudois at Cassina, in Lucerna, between San Giovanni, and the Pelice. On the 28th and 29th of March, the valley-men, held at the Bourg of La Torre, an assembly, by deputies chosen from heads of families by all their churches and communities. Each deputy had a letter of credence, and the assembly was very full. They justified their proceedings from the com-

* Guichenon, p. 1019. in Agland, pp. 69, 70.

† Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 547.

mencement of their late troubles. For this purpose, they delivered to M. de Bais, a paper of grievances, with an address to the king, and a letter to L'Esduigueres, both dated 29th March. In these letters, they declared that they detested rebellion; that the money received from foreigners was designed to prevent starvation; and that the donors of this charity, instead of encouraging rebellion, uniformly exhorted them to patience and loyalty.*

The paper of the GRIEVANCES OF THE TREATY, states, that in it the people are called rebels, while they received the duke's troops to quarter, though they were suspicious of their designs; that all things granted are entirely by grace and toleration from his highness, who may, as Truchi asserted, withdraw "liberty of religion in the valleys," while this was a birth-right in those parts before the Dukes of Savoy were Princes of Piemont; that though the building of the fort of La Torre was in the treaty, the Waldensian deputies were told, this was only to honour his highness, who would not re-build it, yet both the fort and convent are full of troops; that the Reformed religion is banished from Saluzzo, Val de Sturo, Contat of Barcelonne, Pravigne, Festeona, Biolletto, Bietonnet, Miana, Mateo, and great part of Lucerna, contrary to former concessions; that liberty of preaching is prohibited in San Giovanni, contrary to the edict of 1620; that they have only six years exemption from taxes, while they would require ten; that they have no security against Romanists, to whom they are indebted, taking their estates, and are prohibited from making purchases in other places; that Mass is to be said in the Waldensian lands; that many prisoners are in unknown places, and are detained; that when admitted to civil offices, they are obliged to act against their religion, by swearing certain oaths which were not imposed in 1603; that one fair every year, and importation of salt, are not expressed; that a liberty is tacitly granted to steal their children after ten and twelve years of age; that ministers are not secured from being called before the inquisition, while the ordinary judges or commissioners ought to decide in cases of charge; and that the exemption of "some

* Morland, pp. 676—681. Leger, ib. pp. 247—249.

places from confiscation," implies, that estates in other situations may be confiscated. *

The Vaudois beg also the following things to be considered, though not mentioned in the treaty, namely, that justice be done to the authors and actors of the troubles; that the orders of Gastaldo, and Pianezza, be repealed; that they be no more subjected to the quartering of soldiers; that though there may be secular priests, no more Missionaries be allowed in the valleys; that liberty of conscience be allowed as before the troubles; that the Vaudois be not subject to the inquisition, nor to the propaganda; that they be not more severely taxed than Romanists; that their churches, like some in Perosa, be annexed to the synod of Dauphiny; that all marks of infamy be removed from such as have been put to death in the troubles; that no Romanist buy any action against the commonalities; that no creditor to the commonalities, or to a private man, be allowed to make any seizure, without suing for the debts by the ordinary forms of law; that the tolerated places be not confined to the three valleys, but extended to all the dominions of his highness; and that all forfeitures shall be void. In short, they asked only what has been formerly granted, and wished all things confirmed at Chamberry, and in the chamber at Turin.†

Before returning to Louis, his master, De Bais, visited Turin, where his eyes were so blinded with dust, that he was deprived of all the light he had received in the valleys. Artificial and malicious statements were made to him by the sworn enemies of the Vaudois. The peasants, not knowing of the charges, could not refute them. The king showed a disposition to pity the poor Waldenses, but the false assertions of enemies, as if the grievances had been forged, prevented the French monarch from interfering on their behalf, and persuaded him to seek the ratification of the treaty.‡ While the Vaudois were troubled by their malignant enemies, they were comforted by the sympathetic alms of their friends in England, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and France. The deputies from Holland and Switzerland

* Morland, pp. 682—686. Leger, ib. pp. 249—252.

† Morland, pp. 687, 688.

‡ Leger, ib. p. 252. Morland, p. 689.

attested the correctness of the accounts of Morland. The Genevese, and the French of Dauphiny, examined the Swiss statements. The French pecuniary details were audited by the consistory of Grenoble. All the charities of the United Provinces, and of other countries, were examined by the synod of Dauphiny, by the commissioners of Geneva, of Grenoble, and of the national synod of Lodun.* In the wonderful Providence of God, the Protestant churches united to support the Vaudois, and, like the young stork carrying its old father and mother to their nest on its wings, to restore them to their valleys, and to feed them there. Consequently the old Sion of the Waldenses was re-built. Many artifices, however, were adopted to ruin them, and to drain away the charity so liberally bestowed on them.† Thus, on the 20th of April, and the 6th of October 1656, they were summoned, contrary to the treaty of Pignerol, to pay the taxes of 1655, while the Romanists were exempted.‡ Another scheme was for the members of the council of propagation of the popish faith, such as Pianezza, Truchis, and the Collateral Parrachin, to write letters to England and Holland, to raise prejudices against the Vaudois, as appears even from Guichenon. The fort in Lucerna also kept the neighbourhood in perpetual terror. Again, though the Reformed were obliged to answer only before the common judges, yet they were cited to Turin, where they were afraid of the Inquisition.§ On the 19th November 1656, Mr Tronchin at Geneva attested to Mr Morland, that he had seen the originals of M. Perrin's manuscripts, which exactly corresponded to the documents in his history.|| Bad as was the treaty of Pignerol, the Vaudois had to complain of many infractions of it; for example, the inhabitants beyond the Pelice were constrained to abandon their property without payment: the farmers of San Giovanni and La Torre were not permitted "to live together with the Catholics," and were deprived of privileges "as formerly wont;" the people have been robbed and prevented from rebuilding their houses; those of San Bartolomeo, Prarustino, and San Secondo, have never been able to obtain

* Leger, *ib.* p. 253.† Leger, *ib.* p. 254.‡ Morland, *ib.*§ Leger, *ib.*

|| Morland, pp. 9, 10.

their division of the Catastre; taxes of 1655, with a larger amount of law expenses, must be paid; liberty to exercise religion is in a great measure removed; they have hardly allowances to trade, even in the Valleys; many children are still detained prisoners; the Vaudois are deprived of public offices; they cannot enjoy legal succession; a girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age was compelled to attend mass; no man dares be a witness in favour of the reformed; the people are summoned to Turin, and if fear of the Inquisition prevents their appearance, they are banished as rebels, without defence before their own tribunals.*

After the month of December 1656, the soldiers of the Fort of La Torre committed innumerable excesses by cutting the trees, burning the vines, attacking the females, thefts, and assassinations. The Vaudois complained to his highness through Truchis. They were desired to bring legal proof, and the criminals should be punished. They employed a notary, and witnesses swore to seventeen gross acts of excess which had been committed by the garrison in the course of two months, from December 1656 to February 1657. The names of the sufferers are all mentioned, and the facts are, the horrid abuse of a servant; gathering chesnuts before the owner's face; plundering a cellar of wine, and spilling what they were not able to carry; robbing a vineyard of grapes, and binding with cords one that complained; pulling grapes, nuts and pears, pursuing the proprietor and his servant with drawn swords; and, on complaint to the officers, nothing having been heard but maledictions of Calvinism; driving away some sheep, and almost killing one who remonstrated; taking from a farm, grapes, chesnuts, and other produce, with the furniture, slates, and beams of the house, to the fort; burning a vineyard, and beating the possessors; removing a crop of beans, and murdering a man; spoiling a woman's house, of nuts, chesnuts, linen, and hemp; stealing wine, beans, and other articles, and firing shots at the owner; emptying a house of wine, provisions, and female clothes; robbing and threatening to massacre an individual gathering grapes, and degrading a female servant; drawing horrible effigies of the

* Leger, pp. 290, 291.

Waldensian pastors, and writing execrable inscriptions over them; proceeding to take linen from a house, beating the wife with a sword; taking five livres from the sick husband; stabbing a remonstrating neighbour, and being carried before the governor by some peasants, were liberated; and, finally, one of them firing a shot at Peirot of San Giovanni, which would have proved fatal, had not Peirot promptly turned aside the gun with his hand, so that he only received a wound in one of his limbs. Proof was also brought of the papists cleaving N. Roche's head with a hedge-knife; of the assassination of Simond Ailliata, and Peter Feautrier, at Briqueiras, and of the murder of Paul Vincent, at Cavour. No redress was obtained, and many persons abandoned their houses.*

On the 24th of August 1657, the Vaudois were again called to pay their taxes of 1655, while the Romanists were still excused. They petitioned the duke on 6th October, who, instead of granting any redress, by his answer absolutely prohibited the exercise of their religion in San Giovanni.† On the 30th of November, the four Swiss ambassadors wrote on their behalf to M. Servient, begging that he would see to the observance of the treaty; that the new fort may not be erected, because it had been mentioned only as a matter of form to please his highness, and the people are abused by the soldiers; that the Vaudois religion and temple in San Giovanni may not be destroyed contrary to concessions of Philibert Emanuel; that strange ministers may not be prevented from settling in the valleys, as has happened several times of late to some from Dauphiny, to one from Cluson, and to M. Saurin; that they be not compelled to pay the debts of 1655; that they may not be obliged to sell their estates at so great loss as of late; that the Romanists may be allowed to sell and farm their lands to the Reformed; that the Vaudois be not deprived of their church-yards and houses, as in San Giovanni and La Torre of late, while they can obtain no redress in the courts of justice.‡

On the 14th of December, Gastaldo ordered such of the

* Leger, pp. 266—268.

† Morland, pp. 689, 700.

‡ Morland, pp. 692—696. Leger, ib. pp. 283—285.

Vaudois as had not yet received the price of their goods and possessions which they were obliged to sell, to appear for the purpose at a certain time and place, else to be prosecuted as contumacious. By another order of the 20th of the same month, the pastors of San Giovanni were summoned to Turin, in the persons of their syndies and counsellors, to answer for acting the part of ministers, and instructing the youth in said community. A double penalty was denounced, in case of their not appearing. In the duke's answer to a petition of the people, dated the 25th January 1658, their religion is again strictly prohibited in San Giovanni. On the 9th of May, his highness also wrote to the evangelical cantons, intimating that he had not broke the treaty; that the peasantry commit many faults, but the duke is disposed to clemency; that the people of La Torre were accused of assassinating their judge, but are now returned home; that the Swiss heard only one side, and never satisfied him for the libels published against him; that he had never taken part with their rebellious subjects; and that he had employed an ambassador to make peace between the Protestant and Catholic cantons.* No answer is necessary to these repetitions of old slanders.

After 1620, though public worship had been forbidden in the temple of Malanot to the people of San Giovanni, yet the catechism had been allowed to be explained for the public instruction of the Vaudois of the latter church, in a place appointed. In short, catechizings in the villages, public prayers and holiday schools were allowed without interruption. As many patents were granted for the exercise of religion in San Giovanni, as in other churches; and the treaty secured "the exercise practised and accustomed, according as they had been, and were still in use at the time of the date of the said concessions." Yet for five months, the Waldensian church, schools, and university, had been prohibited in San Giovanni; a general fear prevailed that this was a prelude to the ruin of all the churches, under the vague expression "practised and accustomed;" and a solemn congregation by deputies was held in March 1658. The assembly resolved to petition his highness to revoke his order regarding San Giovanni, to supplicate the good offices of M. Servient, and to write the

* Morland, pp. 705—707.

ambassadors of the Swiss. The moderator, John Leger, pastor of San Giovanni, continued his accustomed exercises, and the brethren encouraged him and his church, by all possible support. The meeting "appointed the observation of a day of solemn fasting, where, with the exception of some infirm people, no one may stir from the temple, from the rising to the setting of the sun, in order, by extraordinary prayers and humiliations, to prevail on the Father of Lights to preserve still among them this beautiful torch, which, since the time it was lighted by the introduction of Christianity, has never been extinguished." This holy union, the factum, or manifest of the court of Turin, says, "has formally resolved on rebellion, and taking arms."

On a Sabbath morning, one Francis de Saluzzo, a person respected by Leger, was sent to him to endeavour to persuade him to desist from his ministerial functions. The moderator put off the interview, till after he should finish his afternoon service, and in the meantime, dispatched a special messenger to Bobbio, to ask some judicious friend to wait on him. David Martin, elder and deacon of the consistory, was hurried to his assistance. David Bianchi, elder and notary of San Giovanni, also was deputed to aid Leger. In presence of these two gentlemen, the stranger urged Leger to desist from his functions, and please his highness, else he should be banished; and if the people should support him, other means would be devised to destroy him, and the principal support of his church. Leger, however, persevered in his official duties, and received three summonses to Turin, the last of which was dated 3d May 1658, calling him, and six others of San Giovanni, to appear in five days; and the petitions from the valleys to excuse Leger's personal appearance, were all in vain. No mitigation, indeed, could be expected, since the authors of the process were members of the council for propagation of the faith of Rome. The same Waldensian assembly at Pinachi, urged Leger to continue his services, though he had been called to appear, under pain of death, and confiscation of goods; because the loss of him would have sad consequences in regard to all the churches of the valleys. As his house was near the fort of La Torre, he was obliged, nearly three years, to lodge through the night in

barns and in the fields, having frequently no other bed than the cold earth.*

Morland had now been returned to England for a year, but had still continued through respectable channels to remit the British contributions to the valleys. The whole collections in the three kingdoms amounted to £38,241, 10s. 6d. sterling. Between 1655, and 1658, £21,908, 3d. were communicated to the valleys, either in specie, or in necessities for the people. Consequently, a balance of £16,333, 10s. 3d. remained, which Cromwell put to interest in the hands of the English government, to form a fund for the future support of the Waldensian officaries. An act of the council at Whitehall, 18th May 1658, appointed the annual distribution of interest, being £614, as follows:—To John Leger, for his exertions and sufferings, £100:—To eight ministers in the duke's dominions, £320:—To the ministers in Perosa, under France, £30:—To the master of the general school, £20:—To ten masters of particular schools, £60:—To three schoolmasters in Perosa, £9:—To four students in theology, or medicine, £40:—To a physician, £20:—And to a surgeon, £10. These sums were paid till the reign of Charles II. of England.†

On the 26th of May 1658, Cromwell wrote a most urgent letter to Lord Lockhart, his ambassador ordinary in France, to solicit Louis to interpose his influence with the Duke of Savoy, on behalf of the Waldenses, and to complain that the inhabitants were expelled from many of their ancient habitations; that the public exercise of religion is prohibited in San Giovanni, and extermination threatened; that in the scarcity of native preachers, foreigners are not allowed to reside in the valleys, and thus the flock is exposed to popish wolves; that no Reformed physicians, or surgeons, are allowed in the valleys; that the Vaudois are not permitted to trade with the papists; that they are ordered to sell their lands to the Romanists, but the latter are not to vend their possessions to the former; that the fort of La Torre is rebuilt, inconsistently with the promises made to the Swiss delegates; that when murderers are unknown, they are represented as being some

* Leger, *ib.* pp. 269—271, 367, 366.

† Leger, part i. pp. 211, 212. See the Contributions and Disbursements in the Appendix, No. X.

of the Waldenses; and that cavalry and infantry are quartered in the valleys. Lord Lockhart is directed to urge the grant of 1592, by Henry IV. of France, and to state the propriety of his majesty giving some part of his dominions to the duke, for the whole of the valleys to be annexed to France, as Saluzzo was transferred by Henry IV. to the duke for La Bresse.* On the same day, the Protector wrote to the king of France, by Lord Lockhart, urging his majesty to consider, that the peace of Pignerol was only a more concealed hostility, and that, bad as it was, the articles were not fulfilled; that the soldiers from the fort often plundered, and killed all they met; that the papists were desired to withdraw for a time, as if a new massacre of the Waldenses had been intended; that Henry IV. pledged himself not to deliver the Vaudois to any other potentate, except under condition of the new prince, making them as comfortable as under France; and, that the people are most anxious, if practicable, to become subjects of France.† To the evangelical cantons, Oliver penned a communication of the same date, calling their attention to what they knew better than he, namely, that all the articles of the peace had been violated; that he feared a second massacre was planned by those who seem never satisfied with bloodshed; that the papists would destroy also the Protestant Swiss, if in their power, as appeared in the late misunderstanding between the Reformed and Romish Cantons; and, that next to the help of God, the exertions of the Swiss seemed necessary to preserve the ancient stock of the Waldensian professors.‡ In the course of May 1658, the Vaudois so completely proved their hardships to Truchis and Servient, that an answer never was attempted.§

These letters, and the foregoing statements of the grievances of the treaty of Pignerol, shew the inaccuracy of Mr Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, || who refers to the interference of Cromwell with the Duke of Savoy in 1655, and thus writes on the authority of Bishop Burnet:—"Upon this, the persecution immediately ceased; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and restored their goods; the

* Morland, pp. 697—699.

† Morland, pp. 700—705.

‡ Morland, pp. 703—705.

§ Leger, part ii. p. 286.

|| Vol. iv. chap. iii. in Jones, vol. ii. p. 400, note.

poor people returned to their houses, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges."

In August 1658, Mr Morland presented to the library of the University of Cambridge, a valuable collection of Waldensian ancient manuscripts, either originals, or authentic copies, which he had picked up in the course of his travels.* Morland concludes his history this year, and declares his unhappiness to leave the inhabitants of the valleys as he found them, "among the potsherds, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them. They exclaim, 'have pity on us, O ye our friends, for the hand of God hath touched us.' To this very hour, they hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place. They labour under their cruel task-masters of the Church of Rome, who plow and make long furrows on their backs. They are forbidden traffic, robbed of their estates and goods, and are driven from their habitations. The shepherds of the spiritual flocks are banished, that the sheep may be more easily devoured by wolves. Their young women are ravished. They are mocked. They are threatened with a more bloody massacre. Of the large supplies sent from England, and other countries, they are often robbed by their adversaries, who snatch at every morsel they put in their mouths. The tongue of the suckling is ready to cleave to the roof of its mouth. The young children ask bread, and no man gives it them. Young and old often lie in the streets. No grapes are in their vineyards; no cattle in their fields; no herds in their stalls; no corn in their garners; no meal in their barrel; no oil in their cruse." He intimates, that the supplies provided by other nations are gradually wasting, and that unless He that turns the hearts of princes, as the rivers of waters, change the disposition of his highness, they must perish. The historian vindicates them from the charge of rebellion, and takes leave of them, in the words of an Apostle.† The death of the Lord Protector of England, on the 3d of September 1658, prevented any further exertions by the British Isles at this juncture, on behalf of the Waldenses of Piemont, or Bohemia.‡

* A Catalogue of these MSS. will be given in the Appendix, No. XI.

† Morland, pp. 708, 709. 1 Pet. i. 3—7. "Blessed be the God and father," &c.

‡ See p. 338. of this volume.

CHAPTER VII.

New Artifices to ruin the Waldenses—Defence of Leger's character—His banishment—Renewed persecution, and brave exploits of Janavel and his men—Treaty of peace—Vaudois church government, morality, and loyalty—Waldenses in the *Tirol*—The Duke to please the King of France, prohibits the assemblies of the Waldenses, who take arms, and defeat both the French and the Duke's armies—After the Vaudois are persuaded to lay down their arms, some fight manfully, but are at last in all the Valleys circumvented by false promises—Awful devastations, and 10,000 imprisoned, who either die or are compelled to leave the country in winter—They are kindly received in Geneva, Switzerland, Brandenburg, Holland, and the Palatinate of the Rhine.

IN order to destroy the Vaudois, false letters were written to foreign Protestants, the soldiers from the Fort of La Torre pillaged the country, schools were prohibited, and the leaders of the people were frequently summoned to Turin.* The first artifice was practised by a Jesuit, Languiel, who pretended he had come from Languedoc, and had renounced the Roman Catholic Religion. On this pretext he had obtained the school of Villaro in 1657. He entered into compact with Bertram, a coiner of base money, whose father had suffered death for the crime; with Vertu, who was under the greater excommunication for beating his father, and abandoning his wife; and with Magnan, a debauchee. In 1659, John Leger, the moderator, M. Escasier, a pastor, and James Bastie, of San Giovanni, were deputed to England, to attempt to secure the *sixteen thousand pounds* sterling, being the residue of the money collected by the late Lord Protector, and placed in funds for the support of the pastors and school-regents, students, and physicians of the valleys.† At this time, Languiel and his base associates told the Vaudois, that a great part of the sums collected for them were unfairly distributed, or were unjustly retained in Holland, Switzerland, and England. They read also forged letters from Leger to Bertram, and desiring him to send letters to the different countries,

* Boyer, pp. 120—124.

† Leger, ib. pp. 255, 570.

from the valleys, to complain of the injustice. Only three simple people believed him in the valleys, and forty persons in the different churches had their names forged at the paper. No pastor, or elder, nor any considerable individuals in the valleys were solicited to add their names. The reason is plain. Leger and his fellow-deputies had got the length of Geneva when they heard of these proceedings. Leger returned to the valleys, and heard on the road that his brother-in-law Pieronel had been inveigled by Languiel. As moderator, Leger called a general assembly. The impostors were cited and failed to appear. The individuals whose signatures had been forged, if unable to attend, gave a declaration to this purport to the consistories of their respective churches. These documents were sent to the assembly, and the three who had really signed, declared their detestation of the arts by which they had been entrapped. The assembly traced these base proceedings to the council for extirpation of heresy. M. Bourcet, pastor in Cluson, deputed from the synod of Dauphiny, for revision of the accounts of the subsidy, and Captain P. Martin from Pragela, were also present. The Waldensian synod drew up a minute stating these particulars. Leger possessed the depositions of about two hundred people, that they had been urged to subscribe the false paper.

Magnan and Vertu were joined by one Garnier, an incestuous person, who got part of the collections of Languedoc and Dauphiny into his hands, and in September 1660, carried a forged complaint to the provincial synod of Dauphiny, met at Dye, charging Leger and the other directors with embezzlement. The synod appointed a committee, who proceeded to the valleys, and in presence of all the deputies from the communes chosen by the heads of families, examined all the individuals to whom the collections had been assigned since the great accounts were balanced. Having faithfully executed their commission, the committee reported their proceedings to the synod at Veyne, 20th May, 1661, whose records subscribed by D' Izre the moderator, and his adjoint, as well as by the two secretaries, declare their satisfaction with the management of the directors of the valleys, and with the diligence of the visitors, as well as express detestation of the evil intended persons who raised the reproaches. The vener-

able Ulric of Zurich was staggered by the false reports, but on 10th October 1661, the consistory of Geneva sent him the characters of Languiel and Magnan.

The collections from Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, were usually sent to the consistory of Geneva, and distributed to the Vaudois through Francis Turrottin, and Anthony Leger, pastors and professors; and through Stephen Turretin. The contributions from France were transmitted through the consistory of Grenoble. Deputations from France were repeatedly sent, and, along with Balcet, notary in Pragela, were most careful in supplying the most needful. They examined all the individuals who could not write, and whose marks had been affixed to the statements sent to France as receiving the charity. They went from church to church for this purpose, heard complaints, and gave new supplies. The whole accounts were laid before the consistories of Grenoble and Geneva, the synod of Dauphiny, and the national synod of Lodun, 1659. A minute was written regarding the faithful distribution of the moneys from England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and France.

Magnan, Languiel, Vertu, and Garnier, seeing their impostures discovered in France, Geneva, and Switzerland, went to Turin, and presented to his highness a forged request in name of the deputies of the valleys, for an inquiry into the distribution of the money. The duke's secretary wrote the valleys, and received a reply that the directors were ready to show their accounts at any time. The design was to procure the banishment of Leger, Janavel, Belin, and thirty or forty more leading persons. Though by bribes and other means the deceivers gathered a number of outlaws against the pastors and directors, the whole ended in smoke. The report of these things did not prevent the Dutch, a year or two after, from making contributions for the Vaudois. Nay, even the king of England appointed a collection, and enjoined his ambassador in France to unite with the Dutch and Swiss on behalf of the oppressed. He also permitted two merchants to remit to the valleys the small portion of the collections of Cromwell, which was in their hands, but in regard to what remained in possession of the state, he declared "that he did

not mean at all to pay the debts of an usurper and a tyrant.”* These, and the foregoing statements, show the falsity of Guichenon’s assertion, that “England alone furnished to the Barbets two millions of livres, of which the minister Leger and his emissaries have had the principal profit, which caused afterwards the division among them.” In another place he writes, “that the Barbets went to ask pardon of the prince with the rope about their neck, submitting themselves to all the most rigorous laws which he chose to impose on them.” These things are falsified by the treaty, and by the ambassadors present, as well as by acts of the synods of the valleys, and of Dauphiny, of the consistory of Geneva, and of the clergy and evangelical cantons of Switzerland. But after Guichenon lied to God, and denied known truth for worldly advantage, we need not wonder if he reproach such as witness for that truth.†

Another artifice, to ruin the Vaudois, has been the fort of La Torre, as appeared in 1550 and 1603, as well as since 1655. Servient repeatedly told the Waldenses to petition the duke to demolish it, and he would do so, for he desired no better fort than the hearts of his subjects. It was indeed destroyed, but a stronger one built, but expected not to be garrisoned as expressed in the epistle of the four Swiss ambassadors to Leger and Lepreux, so far back as the 11th September, 1655. The vauntings of Guichenon, quoted by Leger, show that the duke always intended to keep a fort to annoy the Vaudois.‡ Instances of violence and bloodshed by the garrison in 1656 were formerly detailed. No redress was ever obtained.

A third scheme to ruin the people was summoning them to Turin, contrary to the treaty. Thirty-eight from Lucerna were thus treated. If they did not appear, they were condemned as guilty; if they answered, they were afraid of the Inquisition which defied the secular power. John Fina, confident of innocence, repaired to Turin, but was kept a year in prison before he was tried and acquitted. Many as contu-

* Leger, *ib.* pp. 254—262.

† Guichenon, pp. 1014, 1007, in Leger, *ib.* pp. 262, 263.

‡ Leger, *ib.* pp. 263—266.

macions were condemned to death, or to the galleys, and their goods confiscated. Such as would kill them were to have favour, or to be pardoned though doomed to capital punishment. The soldiers hanged people under pretence that they thought them condemned, as happened to the brave captain Belin. They plundered the houses, razed the buildings, and cut down the trees, as in the case of John Leger, and Captain Joshua Janavel, with various others.*

When John Leger was at Geneva in 1660, he met with Colonel Andriou, who had been several years in the service of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden. Andriou informed Leger that he had given the king full information regarding the state of the Vaudois, and of the deceits of their enemies; that the king was about to espouse their cause much more actively than ever; and, that he was anxious to see Leger, as he retained a most grateful recollection of Leger having dived into the lake of Geneva and brought up the prince, who to appearance had sunk to rise no more. When the prince was bathing in the lake, his foot had got entangled with an herb at the bottom, and Leger went down, and with a knife cut the herb. But had not a merciful providence conducted them to a bank of gravel, from which they got their heads above the water for a few moments, they would have been both drowned, because the prince held him fast. In 1660, when Leger was preparing for a journey to Sweden, the news of the death of Charles Gustavus arrived.†

On the 12th of January 1661, sentence of perpetual banishment and confiscation of goods was pronounced against John Leger, under pain of being hanged by the neck, till he be dead, in case of his returning. His six friends, Francis Denna, Syndic; Paul Favout, Michel Curt, Daniel Magnot, Counsellors; David Bianchi, Secretary; and M. James Bastie, were also banished, under the doom of serving ten years in the galleys, if they should again appear in his highness' dominions. The people continued to petition, and were grieved that their faithful pastor should be torn from them. Leger and his family were obliged to flee from one mountain to another, and to lodge in the fields. The supplications of

* Leger, pp. 268, 269.

† Leger, pp. 241, 360.

the populace were followed by an edict of the 31st May, but not published in the valleys till the 12th of August 1661, by which the exercise of the pretended reformed religion was prohibited in San Giovanni. Neither the catechism for children, nor any other instruction in the doctrines of the said religion, could be allowed in said territory, under the severest corporeal pains. The consternation through the valleys brought petitions from Lucerna, San Martino, and Perosa. The one of the 17th August stated, that on the 29th September 1603, the duke owned their liberty in "the tolerated limits of the three valleys," and San Giovanni was always included; that on the 20th June 1620, and in 1655, only the new building of Malanot was excepted in San Giovanni; and that his highness will not hinder them "teaching their children the truth of their religion, according to the oath which they have made at holy baptism;" and that, doubtless, his highness does not mean to hinder them from obeying God according to their vows.*

On the 13th September 1661, a general assembly of the Vaudois, convened at Melans, to disprove the accusations against Leger. The statement shows, that the synod had uniformly censured and excommunicated seditious persons; that such individuals as Villeneuve, had usually joined the Romish communion, and had sought vengeance on Leger and others; that Leger had always refused countenance to rebellious designs; that they had advised him not to appear personally at Turin, for fear of the same treatment from the inquisitors, in regard to his safety, which John Huss and Jerom experienced; that they wish his highness to send reporters to write Leger's defences in the valleys; that they would not employ a minister who would commit the crimes charged against Leger; that he fears God, reveres his sovereign, loves justice, and is a friend of good order; and, that if found guilty they will aid in his punishment. This paper was signed by John Leger himself, in the place of the signet; and by twenty-nine principal persons; who were consuls, counselors, syndics, elders, deacons, and other respectables. This document was conveyed to Pionessa, Truchis, Perrochin, and

* Leger, *ib.* pp. 272—274.

other leaders in the process. It was accompanied with a petition and remonstrance,* complaining as formerly of the infractions of the treaty of Pignerol, of people being condemned unheard, of the vexations suffered from the garrison of La Torre, of the attempts to divide the people, and of the bribes given to apostates. Though this remonstrance was drawn up under the direction of the intendant of justice, Perrachin, member of the council for extirpation, was appointed by his highness to make inquiry; yet he executed his work with so much artifice, that the duke believed the complaints groundless, and issued an order of 27th September 1661, by which the Vaudois who should proceed to Turin on any secular business, must make deposition before the inquisitor general, or, where there is none, before the ecclesiastical superior, who will grant them a licence to remain three days. If he remain longer he must have a written order from the prince. If these officials think the individual has spoken disrespectfully of his holiness, or mocked a saint, he will in all probability never again see his wife or children.† Truchis and Perrachin complained at one time to Leger, that the Waldenses put forced constructions on the different edicts, and they urged the new senses which the court of Turin attached to the ancient acts, but he showed that the Vandois understood the laws in their natural meaning.‡

Instead of a mitigation of sufferings, new threatenings were heard from Turin. In the beginning of October, Leger was commissioned to the evangelical cantons, and to others, to urge them to intercede with the duke and the king of France, yet a new sentence of death was pronounced against him at Turin, 1st December 1661. He was condemned as guilty of high treason, since the beginning of 1656, for having collected salt, taken money from the poor; for having formed magazines of arms, flints, powder, lead, corn, and bacon; for having animated the people to arms against his highness; and, for having written letters to foreign princes to supply them with men and money. If he return in the face of justice, he is to be publicly hanged till dead, and his body suspended by one foot for twenty-four

* Leger, pp. 276, 277.

† Leger, pp. 290—293.

‡ Leger, pp. 293—295.

hours on the gibbet. His head is to be cut off, and exposed at San Giovanni. His house is to be pulled down.*

On the 18th of January 1662, the six evangelical cantons wrote from Zurich, a letter to Charles II. king of Great Britain, to join in the Protestant alliance on behalf of the Vaudois, and recommended John Leger, "for his integrity, fidelity, indefatigable labour for the glory of God, and the preservation of the churches of the valleys, notwithstanding the most cruel and unjust persecution which he endures, and which is quite known to us." Leger's modesty caused him suppress, in his history, the rest of the letter. He intended at this time to visit Britain, but was obliged to return for a little to his own country.† On the 6th of February, the Elector of Brandenburg wrote on behalf of the Vaudois to England and the States-General, and six weeks after to France. On the 6th February, also, the Elector of the Palatinate of the Rhine wrote the Duke of Savoy, to fulfil the treaty of Pignerol, and employ impartial judges.‡ Near the beginning of February, when Leger was absent, the sentence of the preceding December was executed on his effigy. His houses were razed, his goods seized, and his farms dispossessed by the fiscal, chiefly, because "he had had recourse to foreign powers, that they might assist him with men and money, to undertake war against his prince." Only his wife and children had their lives for a prey. In the course of the month, while Leger was at the Hague in the course of his deputation, he heard of these proceedings, and not resting in the apology already made by the valleys, he addressed the States-General on the subject, who, on the 17th of April 1662, penned an epistle to the Duke of Savoy, to justify the Vaudois, and especially John Leger. They blame the council for the propagation of the Romish faith for the new persecution; urge the religion of the Vaudois, as a sufficient vindication from the charge of treason; show that the people are only seeking their ancient liberty of conscience; deny that any direct, or indirect application was ever made to them for men or money, to arm the Vaudois against their prince, though the United Provinces had contributed money

* Leger, pp. 276, 277.

† Leger, pp. 280—282.

‡ Leger, pp. 327, 328.

for such as had escaped the massacre of 1655; and beg his highness to appoint disinterested judges to hear the defences of the valley-men.* On the 17th of April, the Elector of Brandenburg wrote the Duke of Savoy, on behalf of John Leger, as he had done exactly a month before, in favour of the Waldenses, urging his highness not to injure their commerce, by taxing them higher than others, not to pronounce sentence of death against their pastors, not to banish others, not to compel them to go to Mass, and not to misinterpret the treaty of Pignerol. If these things should be granted, he would gratify the Elector.† Also on 17th April, the cantons addressed the duke, as in vindication of Leger.‡ On the 22nd of April, the Vaudois again remonstrated that the inhabitants of Turin were prohibited from granting them lodgings, and that they were hindered from teaching in San Giovanni, Garsillane, Fenile, and Bubiane, all which places were allowed to their ancestors, when driven from Saluzzo, Praviglelm, Barcelonne; as on the 29th September 1603, 20th June 1620, and 29th December 1653, in which there is no exception of San Giovanni, yea, not even in the patent of 1655. But in the edict of the 3d March 1661, every place not mentioned in the concessions is expressly forbidden, and this is the foundation of the perverse interpretations now urged. The people minutely reviewed the different edicts.§ On the 27th May 1662, the Landgrave of Hesse communicated to the duke, that the assertion regarding John Leger, and other Waldenses, applying to foreigners for aid to rebel against their prince, is notoriously false; and that his highness ought to enforce the treaty of Pignerol, and appoint impartial judges.|| On the 4th of June, Charles Lois, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, attested that the inhabitants of the valleys had never asked him, directly or indirectly, to support them in any way; and that he had never proposed to them any thing inconsistent with the duty they owe to their sovereign.¶

The Vaudois, understanding these applications in their favour by foreign princes, resolved to exercise a little patience, and to continue supplications to their misguided sovereign.

* Leger, pp. 277, 278.

† Leger, pp. 279, 327, 328.

‡ Leger, p. 321.

§ Leger, pp. 286—290.

|| Leger, p. 280.

¶ Leger, p. 278.

By the instrumentality of an advocate named Bastie, Pionessa persuaded them to agree to abandon catechisings in San Giovanni, under an idea that all their other privileges should be confirmed. Bastie solemnly promised, that their declaration to the above effect should never go out of his hand. On the 7th of June 1662, he wrote them from Turin, to obey according to their declared submission; and they had nothing to fear, for Pionessa was now old, and all the other ministers of his highness were favourably inclined to the men of the valleys. He stated that the duke would be even more indulging to them, without the mediation of foreigners. On the 23d of June, he gave notice, that if they would agree to erase from the new decree, "the articles regarding religion and commerce, it should be all settled to their satisfaction."* In answer to the letter of the cantons of the 11th of June, to Charles II. of Great Britain, he, on the 14th of July, wrote to the said cantons, professing his regard for the Reformed churches, "above all, towards our so grievously afflicted brethren of the Alps, and when you recommend to us to relieve their calamities, and to dissipate their dangers by our intercession with the Duke of Savoy. From this time also, we shall presently send one of our ministers for our affairs to that court, and we shall certainly not fail, as well by our petitions, as by our dignity, to labour with the said duke, our cousin,† in their favour, and for their relief, in order, that for the future, he may treat them with as much kindness as can be expected, and that they may be able, not only with confidence, but even with pleasure, to enjoy their pure and peaceable religion."‡ In the course of July, Holzhalb, envoy of the cantons, presented to the court of Turin, the intercessional letters from the States-General, the Cantons, Brandenburg, and Hesse; but his highness replied to all the powers, "that he had exactly observed to his subjects of the religion, all their patents," representing them as charged with all sorts of crimes, "and unworthy that any one should intercede for them."§ On the 27th July, Bastie again wrote the Vaudois to delete from their petitions the articles regarding the exer-

* Leger, p. 296.

† I believe the Duke was related to Charles.

‡ Leger, pp. 282—325, 326.

§ Leger, pp. 295, 296.

cise of their religion and commerce, but they refused to be accessory to their own ruin." * Since Leger was banished from his country, he had visited the Hague, Leyden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Narden, Hanau, Frankfort, and Geneva, where he remained for some time. † On the 1st of August 1662, the Dutch Lords from the Hague wrote the duke of Savoy defending the morality and loyalty of the Vaudois. ‡

Leger was now at Geneva, being banished from his country, on account of his fidelity to his Saviour, and Lord Boreel, head of the Dutch embassy at Zurich, addressed to him the following consolatory letter:—"Sir, and dear friend, do not believe that any one of the accusations drawn up against you at the court of Turin, to maltreat and defame you, should ever be able at all to harbour in my breast, or in that of our lords. We have only too much learned by experience, the deceits of that court, and you, Sir, do not be offended. It is the brightest gem in your crown: and the laudable cantons will neither ever abandon the care of your amiable person, nor of your honourable family." The date is 21st August 1662. § M. Leger had got several letters from Leyden, regarding a most unanimous call to the Walloon church, but wished to hear the sentiments of the Vaudois on the subject. The synod on the 29th of August, did not wish him to remove farther from them than to Geneva. But Leger not wishing to continue a pensioner on the bounty of the Swiss, accepted the call, and was installed on the 25th February 1663. ||

A new persecution was evidently planned, and De Bag-nols, governor of the Valleys, began by detaining numbers of all ages and sexes in the Fort of La Torre, and compelling them to sign depositions of the criminality of their brethren. None were allowed to administer support, because they were beasts. Stephen Franiesquin, being freed from fetters to give room to others, was placed under a guard, and fearing death by hunger, precipitated himself into a ditch, and escaped by the darkness to Angrogna. The governor granted licence to all to assassinate the Vaudois, and Stephen Chabriol, of La

* Leger, p. 296.

† Leger, ib. pp. 371—374.

‡ Leger, pp. 320, 321.

§ Leger, p. 265.

|| Leger, pp. 375, 376.

Torre, after receiving several shots, was dragged by the feet, and expired. The house of John Andrew Michelin, consul of La Torre, was ransacked, and a shot fired at a female servant, with another at a servant of Peter Rostain in the field. The silk worms of the poor widow of Bartholomew Bianchi, were cast to the street, when they were ready to be wound up, and from which she expected all her subsistence. When asked for his authority, he said it was "the mouth of the cannon, which would chase away the devils of Barbets;" and defied them to defend themselves. In the town of Lucerna, Captain Paul de Berges, was stationed, who had formerly perpetrated sixty or eighty murders, and now acted many barbarities with his three hundred men; and the troops of his highness were placed in San Giovanni, La Torre, Roras, and the Vineyards, whence the inhabitants were compelled to flee till harvest, and to seek refuge in the mountains, woods, and the lands of the king of France. For about two years, these families wandered from place to place. ANTHONY TUBIERE, from Dauphiny, though an intimate of the Count Reissan, father-in-law to the governor, had his house robbed, contrary to the word of honour given by the latter. An order of the 19th May 1663, in his highness's name, caused many return to their homes, but in twenty-four hours they were dragged away to the fort. STEPHEN GAY was beheaded, and his brother shot. The women and girls would have died of hunger, if some French soldiers had not secretly given them bread.* On the third Friday of May, the Vaudois near the temple Malanots, fought and defeated the duke's troops who had attacked them; and the letters of the actors and spectators bear, that "they were so quickly repulsed, and the vines, fields, and meadows, sprinkled with their blood, in a fashion so strange, that those of Briqueiras have often said, that in all the wars of the year 1655, for as many men as they lost against the Barbets, still they did not lose such a number as in this journey alone." Only Fina, of La Torre, on the side of the Vaudois, lost his life in this attack.† On the 26th May, they petitioned his highness, but did not mention religion and commerce. Consequently, the intendant general of

* Leger, pp. 297, 298.

† Ib. p. 303.

justice tried afterwards to persuade Baron de Bonsteten, ambassador from Berne, "that those of the Valleys did not any longer wish any thing regarding the exercise of religion." The people were scattered on the mountains, yet the duke uniformly wrote to the Protestant princes, that he was observing the concessions.*

On the 17th of June 1663, severe combats were fought at San Giovanni and La Torre, which continued the whole day. A letter relates, "that at San Giovanni, only three of ours were slightly wounded, and many were killed on the side of the enemy. At La Torre, those of Villaro and Bobbio, who knew nothing of this combat, found themselves in confusion with the enemy, killed a great many, went even to the convent of La Torre, there killed four on the spot, and retired without injury." Leger says, he dared not to publish all the engagements of this kind.

Rica, the duke's treasurer, collected some Vaudois at Pignerol, about the 25th June, and, like a crocodile, pretended to pity them, urging an order of his highness for the fugitives to re-inhabit their houses till the 9th of July, and advising them to send a deputation to Turin, fully confident that the duke would grant their desires. The marquisses of Fleuri and Angrogna, who were the Savoyard generals in Lucerna, persuaded the peasants, that if they would guard a convoy to the fort of Mirebouc, on the confines of France, they should all enjoy peace. Though this would weaken their army, and injure commerce with France during their absence, they consented. But while some were thus amused by Rica, and others employed by the marquisses, about eight thousand of the duke's troops under the two generals, entered the valleys on Friday, the 6th of July, by break of day, at four distant points, namely, San Secondo, Briqueiras, Chabas, and San Giovanni. Mirebouc being supplied with men and ammunition, the Vaudois were prevented trading with Dauphiny. The dwellers in San Giovanni were denounced as rebels, if not for the catechism, at least "for having continued to make particular prayers, where more than two hundred persons have been present, and for having continued to hold schools."

* Ib. pp. 298, 299.

They put themselves in the best posture of defence which their time would allow, and dispatched petitions to their sovereign, who refused to look at them, "because they still spoke of the exercises of religion and of commerce," as the answer declared. If they return to their habitations, they must contend against the armies of their foes. All these proceedings were doubtless acted under the council for the extirpation of heretics. Leger had the documents signed by the weeping widows and orphans of the murdered husbands and parents.*

The two marquisses, with four thousand men, attacked the fort of *Vachere*, but sixty Vaudois, in a narrow pass, called the gate of Angrogna, prevented them from executing this purpose, though they were able to construct an entrenchment of turf on a small eminence. Another body of four thousand of the enemy, under Bagnols, approached the Vaudois on three points to the main body of the Vaudois, consisting of six or seven hundred men, who retired to a better situation at *Rochmanant*, and higher up towards Angrogna. Under the shelter of rocks and some old walls, they stopped the enemy, who was repulsed with the loss of nearly three hundred men. Being panic-struck, they tumbled one upon another down the steep mountain. The cavalry in the plain, however, prevented the Vaudois from farther following the foe. Having returned thanks to God for the victory, they left two hundred men to guard *Rochmanant*, and five hundred men under Janavel proceeded to aid their sixty brethren, who were keeping the pass of Angrogna, and who were fatigued by having fought the half of the day. Taking fresh courage, Sergeant Biorat of Pramol, and a comrade, crept among the rocks, so near the enemy's entrenchments, that they killed two or three of their sentinels, and attacked the camp, exclaiming to the other Vaudois:—"Advance! advance! Victory! victory!" This they did with such vigour, that they killed numbers of the Catholics, and the rest fled. The two marquisses were not among the last to get out of the way of the Vaudois, who pursued their adversaries to Briqueiras. Of the Romanists of Pignerol, who had joined the duke's men

* Leger, pp. 298—300. Boyer, pp. 124—127.

for plunder, and with a view to obtain pardon of their sins by the blood of the Barbets, sixty were killed. The number of such persons from Piemont and Savoy, is not known. A prisoner of Villa-Frauca declared, that the Marquis of Fleuri had lost three hundred men by the time he arrived at Briqueiras, and declared that he "would never any more attack the heretics with fewer than ten thousand men." Altogether the duke lost that day about six hundred men killed, with many wounded, who, for the most part, afterwards died. The Waldenses had only five or six killed, and about twelve slightly wounded. Such were the exploits of "the sword of the Lord, and of Janavel," with his little troop of five hundred men, because two hundred had been left to guard the place from which Count Bagnols had been driven. The whole was concluded with thanksgivings to God. The Waldenses went in parties, and every day some of their enemies fell into their hands.

After some skirmishes, the people of Prarustin, in order to reap their vintage, purchased for money a truce of some months; yet, on the 3d of August, the enemy, not wishing to keep faith with heretics, attacked the village of Cardonnas and killed Philip Cardonat, a chief man of the place, who had no suspicion of the design. They also murdered Mary Bens, the wife of David Ugon the schoolmaster, N. Pilon, N. Rostain, and a nephew of M. Videt, a physician. The marquisses having received additional forces, ventured on the 10th of August to enter *Roras*, a community which consisted of only twenty-five families. They were a hundred to one, yet killed only twenty-three Waldenses, among whom was M. Dragon, a valiant French captain, and M. Beaufort. This was the greatest loss of the Vaudois in the war of 1663, and the bravest exploit of the generals of Savoy, who lost two hundred men. The Romanists tried to conceal their mortification, yet they were heard to acknowledge, "that they were quite astonished that one skin of the Barbets usually cost the Catholics six." Next day the enemy set fire to *San Margarita*, a small village of La Torre, consisting of twenty or twenty-five houses, which were entirely burnt. A few Vaudois in the mountains observing the flames, attacked the incendiaries with such promptitude, that they defeated them

and covered the ground with their dead carcases, which were more than the number of the houses destroyed, while none of the Waldenses received any injury. So great perturbation seized the Romanists, that they had neither hands to fight nor limbs to flee. On the 27th August, the simple Vaudois escorted a convoy of the duke's men to the Fort of *Mirebouc*. About the end of August, Janavel defeated an ambuscade laid at the *Vines* for him, and cut to pieces the whole party. At this time the council for propagation of the faith recalled the Marquis of Fleuri, and appointed the Marquis of St Damian in his stead. Though he had a greater army than his predecessor, he had less success, for the soldiers, on finding the Vaudois resist, fled in spite of the officers: nor was any more booty to be had, for the people were now nearly plundered of all their moveables. The Count of Envie was employed to propose peace to them, on condition of their laying down their arms, of their speaking no more respecting their religion, and of the communities petitioning singly and not in a body: but the Waldenses refused to listen to such proposals.*

During the present struggle, the Dutch showed their anxiety for peace, by their resolution of the 19th July 1663, to order Mr Boreel to press the king of France to enforce the treaty of Pignerol. To this and former intercessions of the United Provinces, the duke replied on the 17th of August, "that the Vaudois were not ill treated; that the patents of 1655 were well observed; that their complaints to the contrary were unjust; that they were rebels; and that the said lords ought not to interfere with their affairs, lest they seem to encourage rebellion." The Duke and the king of France, however, finding the war against the Vaudois so unsuccessful, secretly wished for peace. Accordingly, on the 26th of August, M. Servient, now at Paris, wrote to John Leger at Leyden, holding out the probability of the sentence of banishment being recalled and his property restored, provided he would influence the men of the Valleys to lay down their arms. Servient wished him to come to Paris in September, to treat of a settlement, pointed out the very street in which

* Leger, pp. 300—302. Boyer, chap. xviii.

he lived, promised a safe conduct from the king of France, and requested an immediate answer. Though the Vaudois would have acquiesced in this plan, yet some great personages dissuaded Leger from it, because ambassadors from England, Holland, and Switzerland, were expected to meet at Paris on the subject, and he might be blamed if he should have a treaty concluded without them. By their order of the 11th September, the Dutch lords ordered Boreel to join Mr Hollis, the British ambassador in France, and by a new order of the 14th, to unite with the Swiss deputies. On the 12th of November, their High Mightinesses addressed his Highness of Savoy, urging the propriety of princes keeping faith with their subjects, and bearing, that the Vaudois are not rebels, and have been misrepresented by designing men; that his highness should judge them by impartial persons; that the persecutors, under pretext of religion, have renounced the first principles of religion, charity, justice, and humanity; and, that if he secure the fidelity of his loyal subjects, he will render his character amiable in the eyes of the world, and especially gratify the United Provinces.* On the 22d November, the Elector of Brandenburg sent his highness a communication very similar to the one from Holland, with the addition, that if the Vaudois were refused justice and cut off, an impartial world would judge.†

The Swiss having heard of the movements among Protestants, and of the success of the Waldensian arms, thought this would be a good time to propose a treaty, and commissioned John Gospar Hirzel and Colonel Weis, who arrived at Turin on the 15th of December 1663. They sent their secretary to the Valleys to induce the Vaudois to appoint deputies to his highness. But the people objected, that they would thus be judged by the council for propagation, who had sworn their extermination; that they could not depend on a safe conduct, for they had often been imprisoned in spite of concessions and edicts; that no former peace was settled at Turin, but at Cavour, Pignerol, or Lucerna; that the clergy would stimulate the populace to insult the Swiss ambassadors, as they had formerly done; that the duke's promises had

* Leger, pp. 319—322, 303, 304, 376, 377. † Leger, p. 279.

been often retracted, as the syndic, John Malanot, found when he applied to the intendant of justice to have the public clock restored to San Giovanni, for he was obliged to conceal himself. Yet the Vaudois that day ventured to nominate deputies, and on their arrival at Turin, a solemn promise was made to them that no act of hostility should be committed during the negociation.* We wonder that the Vaudois were at this time overcome by fair words, for they had lost in this war only sixty men, while the duke had his army diminished by four thousand. By deceit, twelve hundred from Lower Piemont were, on the 21st of December, added to the army under the Marquis of Damian, and, in face of the promise to abstain from hostilities during the treaty, these banditti, on the 25th of December, by day-break, without warning, attacked *Tigliaretto*. The Vaudois of *Angrogna*, aided by *Pieronel*, who was defending *Chabas*, *Rochemanau*, and the road of *Vachere*, sent their brethren most seasonably one hundred men. The Waldenses compelled their enemies under Count *Bagnols* to flee to the town and Fort of *La Torre*, pursued them along the streets and returned uninjured. *Angrogna*, *Roccapiatta*, and *San Germano*, were likewise on the same morning assailed. At *Angrogna*, the Vaudois did not flinch one foot; the invaders, after much loss, fled; and the defenders encamped near the foe. On the side of *San Germano*, the people suffered some loss. *San Germano* is an important place, because it defends the passage betwixt *Lucerna*, *Perosa*, and *San Martino*, and was at this time unguarded, because the inhabitants had gone to seek victuals, trusting to the assurance that no harm should be suffered during the congress for peace. A man and two women were killed, and the rest of the people miraculously saved themselves. The houses were burnt, and the trees cut down; and similar devastations were committed in *Prarustino*, *San Bartolomeo*, *Roccapiatta*, *San Giovanni*, part of *La Torre* and *Roras*. That morning the enemy had eighteen hundred men, namely, six hundred under *Damian*, and twelve hundred *Piemontese*, who seem to have been led by *Bagnols*. The Vaudois had only seven hundred, and lost but six men,

* Leger, pp. 304, 305.

while the loss on the part of their adversaries extended to six hundred, among whom were Counts St Front and La Trinita, Captain Biala, and M. des Grands Maissons.* During the persecution of this and the following year, many Romanists obtained indulgences to persecute the Protestants, and had preservatives in Latin, written on slips of paper. They were often found on the bodies of the dead. Some of them ran:—"The power of God + the Father, the wisdom of God + the Son, the virtue of the Holy + Spirit, through the intercession of the most Holy Mother of God, and of the Saints Didacus and Salvator, the Lord deliver thee from all unforeseen death. Amen."†

Near the end of 1663, John Leger proceeded from Leyden to Paris, where he met M. Michelin, a pastor from the Valleys, and, through the ambassadors of Holland and Switzerland, laboured with the king of France to promote the peace of the Vaudois, who were again suffering severe persecution. Leger and Michelin wrote to England, Holland, and other places, asking further aid, and received answers, bearing that people were much discouraged on account of reports regarding the unfair administration of the alms. A statement, which will have weight, they obtained from M. D'Izre, who was authorized in this affair by the consistory of Grenoble, by the synod of Dauphiny, and by the national synod of France,‡ which had met at Nismes in the foregoing year.§ D'Izre admits the reasonableness of charitable contributors knowing how their bounty is administered, and refers to the accounts printed in England, and to the receipts collected by the synod of Dauphiny and presented to the next national synod. He stated that the synod of Dauphiny had appointed deputies, who spent three months in examining the accounts of the money, corn, clothes, linens, shoes, and other articles furnished to the people; that all these documents are in his possession properly signed and closed; that the agents of the house of Savoy wish by contradicting these statements to deaden the generous feelings of the benefactors; that John Vertu and his companions, led by Longueil, were proved liars by

* Boyer, chap. xix. Leger, pp. 304—306.

† Leger, p. 181.

‡ Leger, p. 260.

§ Quick's Synodicon, vol ii. p. 582.

the national synod, as the moderator Doillé and de Galinieres, can still testify ; that the sums collected by Mr Leger in Holland, have been consigned to Messrs Coimans of Haarlem, who have already transmitted sixty thousand livres to M. Got of Lyons, who has paid the money to the objects of the charity, and returned the receipts to the Coimans ; and that he (D'Izre) was still willing to take further trouble in the matter, and should be able to satisfy the Dutch gentlemen.*

Satisfaction having been thus obtained regarding the distribution of the charity, Mr Boreel from Holland, Mr Hollis from Britain, and the Swiss ambassador, laid a united memorial before the king of France, dated the 8th of January 1664, intimating, that for seven or eight years, the treaty of Pignerol had been violated, and the people persecuted by the garrison of La Torre ; that the Dutch, Swiss and British ambassadors wished for an examination of the matter on the spot by liberal men ; that the duke on the 21st of last month had ten or twelve thousand men in readiness to be employed in persecution, while the Waldensian deputies were discoursing with the Swiss ambassadors at Turin ; that they were surprised his majesty should have allowed the soldiers to pass through his territories ; that the three states begged his majesty to allow the Vaudois refuge and commerce in his dominions ; that the Waldenses, instead of being rebels, were ready to spend their blood and treasure for their sovereign ; that the king will not allow them to be judged by their sworn enemies ; and, that they looked with the greater confidence to his majesty, since not only had he made the treaty of Pignerol, but his father and grandfather, by the edicts of 1592 and 1630, had promised “ that neither they nor the kings their successors, should ever transfer them into another hand, except with the privileges and qualities which were then granted them, and with their ancient privileges,” which were also confirmed at Pignerol. This memorial was sealed and signed by all the three ambassadors, and left with Mr Hollis from Britain to lay before the king, as those from the cantons were to depart.†

* Leger, pp. 260, 261.

† Leger, pp. 319, 320.

On the last day of 1663, the Waldensian deputies at Turin complained to the Swiss ambassadors of the proceedings of the duke's army in the valleys, six days before, and wished them to intercede with his highness for liberty to the exiles to visit their families. But the earnest entreaties of the Switzers procured only a truce till the 12th of January, which was extended till the ambassadors and the king of France obtained a treaty of peace, dated the 14th of February 1664.* In this patent, the Vaudois are mentioned as pardoned rebels, and the concessions are never called a matter of right, but of pure grace on the part of his highness. The edict of Nantes was a matter of right, but the treaty of the valleys with Emanuel Philibert, after the wars of 1560, and 1561, has been denied as a right, because the original has been lost. Amnesty was granted only to Lucerna, Perosa, San Martino, Bartolomeo, Roccapiatta, and Prarustino. The treaty confirms the grant of 1655, and pardons the pretended infractions of it by the Vaudois, and appoints them, in satisfaction, to do what his "Christian majesty shall declare," whose father, the Waldenses, in time of rebellion, 1639, restored to his States in Piemont. Persons condemned for contumacy before April 1663, are exempted from the present pardon. This refers to Leger, Janavel, and twenty-six others who did not appear at Turin when cited, because such citation was contrary to the treaty of Pignerol. The present edict prohibits in San Giovanni holding a temple, preaching the public exercise of the pretended Reformed religion, keeping a minister to reside there, and instruction, or catechizing, as contrary to the concessions at Pignerol. But the following things were permitted in San Giovanni,—prayers in families, though other individuals may be accidentally present; the visitations of a minister twice a year to settle differences, or the like, provided he do not sleep there, except from necessity; the visitation of the sick by ministers at any time, and prayers may be made in presence of the friends, or of others who come accidentally, but no stranger is to be invited; and, the opening of a school supported by the duke, provided nothing in it is taught contrary to the Romish reli-

* Boyer, pp. 139, 140.

gion, but the Vaudois may have a school, and a minister at Chabas, or any place on the confines of Angrogna. In 1620, catechizing was allowed on Sabbath after mid-day. The Vaudois were grateful to the duke for paying a school regent, even though not altogether such as they could wish. The Vaudois have liberty of conscience in the places mentioned, 1655, but the Catholics are not to be allowed to change their religion. If the Vaudois have not among them a sufficient number of men qualified for the ministry, they may introduce strangers, on applying to his highness, and the persons taking the oaths of fidelity, which thing is reasonable. The ruined Romish chapels shall be re-built, but, as in 1655, the Vaudois were not to be compelled to attend them. The prisoners on both sides, of all sects and ages, are to be restored without ransom. All the bad usage, threatenings, and promises, never caused one to change his religion, though the torments inflicted would have drawn pity from a heart of a stone. All magistrates, and servants of government, are enjoined to see this edict observed, and it is to be interinated without any fee. Though the Vaudois expected good from his highness, they feared the influence of the clergy, inquisitors, and council for propagating the faith. The Swiss ambassadors, and the king of France, had been five months negotiating with the duke.*

Notwithstanding this settlement, the Swiss learned that new schemes were in operation against the Vaudois, under pretence of satisfaction for the past, and security for the future, which were expected through the arbitration of the king of France. Accordingly, the ambassadors of Britain, Holland, and Switzerland, united in representing the affair to Louis,† who probably wrote the duke. At any rate, his highness, in his letter to the Protestant cantons, dated 28th February 1664, engaged punctually to fulfil the patent.‡ In April, M. Servient, Count Truchis, Baron de Greisy, Per-rachin, and some members of the council for extirpation, met at Pignerol. By their letters of the 28th of April, the deputies of the valleys were cited before them, to promise what his majesty should be pleased to pronounce by his am-

* Leger, pp. 307—311.

† Leger, p. 323.

‡ Boyer, p. 140.

bassador, concerning the articles. No doubt the men of the valleys would be astonished to hear of new satisfactions to cover the reputation of his highness, and honour the king. The deputies attended, but the conferences commenced only on the 17th of May 1664, by a speech of Servient. On the 18th of May, the agents of his highness demanded satisfaction for the past, and security for the future. In regard to the past, they pretended that their master had expended in the war of 1663 and 1664, more than two millions five hundred thousand livres, which he demanded the Waldenses to reimburse. A detailed account was stated, and is preserved by Leger. A large proportion is for supporting the army, another part for expenses in works for attack and defence, and other sums charged for damage done to certain places and Catholic churches. They engaged to establish the people, on condition of these sums being paid in three months. At another sitting of the same 18th of May, the commissioners of his highness demanded, as security for the future, that the Vaudois never hold synods, colloquys, or other congregations, without the presence of a Romish officer appointed by his highness; that in civil affairs, the Vaudois ministers mix only with their own people, and the civil interests of each community be discussed by themselves; that the roads near the fort of Mirebouc be destroyed, except the one by the fort itself; that three or four small towers for soldiers be erected at the expense of the valleys; and that the king of France arrest all the Vaudois in his dominions as rebels, and deliver them to the officers of his highness. The Waldensian deputies made remarks on both demands of satisfaction and security, and agreed to admit a Romish commissioner, and to perform the other articles as far as they were able. But they spoke as to a deaf adder, though long discussions on all sides were continued till the 29th of May.*

In the course of June, notice was circulated by the cantons to Great Britain and Holland, regarding the behaviour of the court of Turin, and on the 1st July, the States-General communicated to the duke, that they were glad to hear of the peace; that they were on the point of sending a letter of

* Leger, pp. 312—314.

thanks to his highness, when they heard that the people were as much as ever vexed with unjust explanations of the treaty; that they never believed his highness expected any other satisfaction, than the inviolable attachment of his subjects; that the Vaudois are incapable of rebellion; and, that they ask only the fulfilment of the treaty, for which they will be grateful.* On the 2d of July, the evangelical cantons, by an act, complained of the perverse construction of the present treaty, and that the satisfaction and security now demanded, were not expressed in it, but only a general respect for the king of France and his highness. They demonstrate, that the Vaudois had no rebellious design. In short, the ambassadors of the Swiss were duped at the period of the patent.† On the same 2d of July, the Swiss ambassadors, John Gaspar Hirzeel, and Colonel Gabriel Weis, emitted a declaration in favour of the inhabitants of the valleys, as having nothing of the spirit of rebellion, as always demonstrating the highest respect for their prince, and as only excusing what they were unable to perform. The two personages also state, that the king of France had sent his highness a memorial from the ambassadors of England, Holland, and Switzerland; that they had hoped all differences would be removed, and his highness would be honoured by the people, through the agency of the king of France; and, that the good behaviour of the Vaudois would secure the respect of his highness. This declaration was signed by Hirzeel, secretary to the embassy, the 2d of July, and sent by the cantons, along with a letter to the king of France, 5th July 1664, owning the kindness of his majesty in interfering in behalf of the Waldenses, and relating, that they viewed the reserve in the treaty, as “only to preserve the reputation of his highness, and to show the greater respect for his majesty,” as the duke’s ministers explained it; but the new demands show, that the ruin of the people is in view; that the poor men on account of poverty, are totally unable to pay the money demanded as satisfaction; that they are good neighbours to the King’s city of Pignerol; that his majesty would maintain their religious rights, “which they shall enjoy as constant, faithful and

* Leger, p. 323.

† Leger, p. 312.

obedient subjects ;” and, that his majesty’s attention to this statement will draw forth the gratitude of all Protestants.

In the end of June, Mr Hollis, ambassador from his Britannic majesty, and Lord Boreel, from the United Provinces, had received orders from their respective governments, and presented a united remonstrance to the king of France at Paris, 6th of July 1664, which stated that they never conceived the satisfaction for the past, and security for the future, in the amnesty of last February, would trouble the repose of the poor Vaudois, since his highness’s ministers declared the expressions “only a formality for the honour of his royal highness, who wished neither their money, nor their lands ;” that yet immense sums have been demanded, under pain of their lands and goods being taken, and themselves banished ; that they are required to build four forts ; that they are required to abandon certain stations, which would deprive them of the means of subsistence ; that the Waldenses were never rebels ; that the ambassadors, in the name of their masters, pray his majesty to hear more fully the defences of the Vaudois, because their answers were not heard in the conferences of Pignerol and Turin ; and, that without a fair hearing, the good men will be ruined. This paper was subscribed by the two ambassadors, but we know not if the king ever made any further representation to the Duke of Savoy.*

Probably the remonstrances from distant places had considerable effect on the duke at this period, notwithstanding the tricks of the council for propagating the Romish faith. Be this as it may, God was pleased to soften the heart of Charles Emanuel II. This was partly effected by his looking back on the history of the Vaudois. He found that they were not so odious as they had been represented ; that on various occasions they had testified their loyalty to his predecessors, especially in 1638 and 1640, when the cardinal of Savoy, and his uncle Prince Thomas, aided by troops from Spain, had led the greater part of his dominions to revolt, had seized Piemont and Turin itself, and had besieged Madam Royal, his mother, in the citadel ; and, that without

* Leger, pp. 315—318.

the help of the Waldenses, and the succours of Louis XIII. his uncle, by the mother's side, he himself, Charles Emmanuel II., had been in all probability deprived of his entire principality.* The Vaudois enjoyed peace for twenty years.

The influence of John Leger at Leyden continued to procure collections in that city, as well as in Utrecht, Hague, Haarlem, and Alkmar. Nay, the entire provinces of Zeeland and Frisland, by orders of their states, collected for their ancient mother churches. Through the Messrs Coymans of Haarlem, the various sums were sent to the Turretins of Geneva, to transmit to the Valleys. Through the Coymans or Mr Leger, all the cities and provinces obtained their receipts from the Turretins, signed by the consistories and heads of families in the Valleys, after examination of the accounts. Mr Loodestin, pastor at Utrecht, published all the distributions and receipts, to satisfy the donors and the world. A solemn assembly in the Valleys at Pinachi, on the 4th of September 1665, and with the assistance of Stephen Turretin of Geneva, and of M. Bourcet and M. Papen from the synod of Dauphiny, all invited for the special purpose, spent ten or twelve days in reviewing the accounts. The three commissioners gave under their hands a solemn declaration of the 26th September 1665, stating that they had visited the Valleys, and having examined the accounts of the sums sent by Messrs Coymans and others, had found them correct; and that the pastors and deputies had all signed a document of the same import.

At the meeting of the synod of the Walloon churches of the United Provinces at Amsterdam, in May 1667, for the satisfaction of the said churches, who had for the most part contributed even of their necessities to assist the Vaudois, an article was drawn up, and appointed to be read in all the Wallon consistories, bearing, that their dear brother, John Leger, had been detained from the former synod by indisposition; that he had now appeared and had given an explanation of the distribution of the collections for the Valleys; that the company praised him for his great diligence and cor-

* Boyer, pp. 140, 141.

rectness in distributing the money according to the wish of the donors; and that the churches of the Valleys greatly regretted the want of his presence. This is extracted at large into Leger, and subscribed by Nicolas de la Bassecour, moderator, and by Carré, clerk.*

In a former page of this volume,† a promise was made to resume the discussion on the Waldensian church government and discipline at 1669, because this was the year in which Leger published his History at Leyden, and the further information which we find in his work, on the above subjects, has respect to his own time. The colloquys treat of differences among church members, which the consistories are not able to settle.‡ Nothing is carried to the general synod, except by appeal from the colloquys, or by reference. The consistories censure severely such members of the church as raise processes before popish judges. All brethren are to lay their quarrels before the elders of their quarters, and if these are not able to accommodate matters, they are laid before the consistories, who usually bind the parties to a promise, signed by them all, to submit to arbitration under the penalties mentioned. If the arbiters disagree, the moderator of the churches is supreme arbiter, or, in his absence, the pastor of the church. If the affair is not then settled, it goes to the colloquy, and from thence, if necessary, to the general synod or congregation, in whose judgment the litigants commonly acquiesce. But if they refuse, the popish judges and notaries commonly ruin them.§

Pastors are not received till after the most rigorous examination of their life and doctrine. Students are tried in Latin, French, and Italian, at two meetings of the colloquy. In two days they must render two propositions before the synod in the three languages. The synod then enters on a strict

* Leger, pp. 324, 325. † Page 363.

‡ A Consistory is similar to a Kirk-Session, and a colloquy analagous to a Presbytery in Scotland.

§ Du Thou states that the first civil process ever known among the Waldenses was in the sixteenth century, when the son of a rich peasant went to study Law at the University of Turin. The young sprig of the Law, prosecuted a neighbour, before a popish Judge, for payment of some cabbages which his goats had eaten. Leger, part i. p. 189.

examination of their life and doctrine. If after these trials the pastors and deputed elders judge them worthy to be ordained to the holy ministry, the moderator addresses to them a long exhortation, and demands from them the customary solemn promises. He then causes them kneel down before him, places his hands on their heads, and by a fervent and judicious prayer, implores an abundance of the gifts of the Spirit on the person or persons called to the ministry. In the end, the moderator gives him or them the hand of fellowship. Each individual ordained is afterwards presented to the church to which he is destined, as in France and Holland.

On the Sabbath before the meeting of synod, each minister, after sermon, stops with his consistory, and the heads of families, and the people elect an elder to attend the synod as their deputy. The pastor also retires from this meeting, and the oldest elder or syndec of the community takes the chair, and collects the suffrages on the question, if the church is still satisfied with her pastor and with his family. In this case a letter is written to the synod to confirm the relation between them, which is ordinarily done unless some strong reason appear, or the synod appoint him to another charge. If a church give good reasons for wishing a change of pastor, and name the one she desires, the synod sometimes grants the petition. When a church is vacant, she nominates two or three ministers whom she favours, and the synod decides which of them is to be settled in that situation. Every church is obliged to support a sufficient number of schools, for teaching children to read, and to understand the fundamental principles of religion. Since almost no business exists in the country, writing is not much learned. Many collectors of taxes make a private mark on a square piece of wood for the name of the individual, and a cut with a knife for the sum received. In the valleys is a general school, where such as are destined for the ministry, and others, learn philosophy without attending any college. Such as are admitted elders of the consistory, are strictly examined, and due intimations made in the church. One of the elders is appointed Deacon in each church, who distributes money according to the orders of the consistory, or a mandate from the pastor. The Holy Supper is celebrated four times a year. At Christmas or

Pasch, every pastor makes a review of the members of his church in this fashion : Each village has one, two, or three elders, according to its size ; and on a day intimated from the pulpit, men, women, and children convene at each elder's house, where every one having the smallest knowledge is catechised. The pastor inquires if any one has been overlooked ; and if any one is forgotten, he considers the examiner as injuring him. The pastor terminates differences if any exist. He visits some quarters twice in the year, and others at least once.

At certain times the minister convenes the consistory, and begs them to state if they have any thing to object against him. He retires for a time from the company, and on being called back, the senior elder declares freely whatever they approve and disapprove without flattery, because of the solemn oath by which they are bound in every case to avoid what is uncharitable, to have no respect of persons, and not to divulge the individual who advances any thing against another.

When a person is guilty of gross scandal, such as adultery or murder, he is for a long time suspended from the Holy Supper, and from presenting his children for baptism, or from being godfather or witness. After a long course of amendment, he appears in the public assembly three sabbaths, on a seat immediately before the pulpit. On the first sabbath, the preacher before he pronounce the blessing, intimates that such a person appears to make public reparation for such a fault. The penitent casts himself on his knees, and the speaker points out the horrid nature of his crime, and the judgments of God which he has deserved. On the second sabbath the pastor states the necessity and the fruits of true repentance. On the third sabbath the penitent continues with a loud voice to ask pardon of God and of the church, and promises an edifying behaviour for the future, to counteract the scandal he has given in times past. The minister in the name of God announces the remission of his sin, and his re-union to the church. He ardently exhorts the people to take heed lest they fall, and concludes the whole with prayer. For simple fornication the party appears two sabbaths, or a sabbath and a work day. A person who has abjured his religion and attended mass, makes public reparation by one Sabbath's ap-

pearance in the church. Romanists who join the Vaudois publicly, abjure popery in the face of the church. The same regulation, for public satisfaction is in force regarding blasphemers, but Leger declares, that for twenty-three years that he exercised the ministry in the Valleys, and twelve that he was moderator, he never heard of one charged with profane swearing, and believes one might live an age among the Waldenses, and never hear such a crime. Profaners of the day of sacred repose, are subjected to the same discipline, such as when they bake bread, or carry burdens, especially if before sun-set.

Games of chance, such as cards and dice, are banished, and transgressors must make reparation according to the circumstances of time, place, and persons. All dances are kept at a distance, and offenders are censured either publicly, or by bowing the knee before the consistory. Such as only witness popish dances, are subjected to this discipline. Leger knew a minister's wife who was led by a relation of her's from Dauphiny to witness May-Pole in Lucerna, where people danced. Her husband called another pastor to preside in the consistory to censure her, though she did not join in the dance. Through the Valleys, however, men exercise themselves in the quoit, the tennis, the race, the sling, and especially the musket. Prizes are awarded to him who excels in the last exercise, and he is honoured with the appellation of king of the hand-gun.

Such is a specimen of the discipline of the Waldenses when Leger published his history, which has been of such immense use in the composition of these volumes. No reformed church was better acquainted with the papal controversy; other heresies were little known in the Valleys. In no Christian community were people better instructed in the Holy Scriptures,—was discipline better enforced, or pastors more venerated. Leger allows that the desolations of 1663 and 1664 had been injurious in various respects. To preserve discipline and purity, he urges to study *unity* like the bundle of arrows, in opposition to Satan's maxim, divide and rule; to shut the ear like the serpent against the flatteries of such as would ruin them and shed crocodile tears; to act as

good subjects to his royal highness, who was now displaying to them his good will, and had delivered them from Bagnol and other tyrants; to labour in preaching and catechising, that old and young may be fortified against error and vice; to enforce discipline by pastors, elders, and deacons, as well as by agents of communities, and all in authority; and, to seek after the establishment and sufficient maintenance of the ministry and of schools, for which a deficiency sometimes was found even before 1655 by scanty crops, by the vines being frozen, by default of the chesnuts, and by overcharge of taxes. The people were unable to pay the regents, and the poor pastors asked from the peasant a little corn, a few chesnuts, some oil or cheese, to subsist their families. Mr Morland, Van Ommeren, and the Swiss, did what they could to prevent these evils, but Charles II. of Great Britain uniformly replied to the Waldensian deputations, urging the payment of the sums settled by Cromwell, that he “pretended in no way to execute the accounts of a usurper and a tyrant, nor to pay his debts.” The devastations of 1663 and 1664, having prevented the sowing of the lands, the inhabitants were plundered and reduced to the lowest poverty, so that pastors and teachers frequently wanted two or three years salary. Such was the condition of these churches when John Leger in 1669 finished his historical researches.*

In 1672, war broke out between the Duke of Savoy and the Genoese, but the Marquis of Pionessa, son of the Marquis of 1655, the general of his highness, was rather unsuccessful. The Waldenses, however, served with such courage in this war, that the prince praised their fidelity in a letter to them, dated 5th November 1672. In the course of providence, this circumstance tended greatly to improve the situation of the Vaudois, and the duke continued till his death in 1675, to confer on them many marks of his good will. His widow, Madam Royal, regent, also treated them with great sweetness, and, by the epistle of 28th of January 1679 to the Protestant cantons, engaged herself to maintain the Waldenses in the free exercise of their religion, and in all their

* Leger, part i. pp. 207—212, 189, 190.

other privileges and immunities. In 1684, the Vaudois served with zeal in the war against the Mondovi.*

In April 1685, five hundred persons of different ages passed the Swiss town of *Coire*, who described themselves as having been inhabitants of a Valley in TIROL, mostly belonging to the archbishopric of Salzburg, but some of them were from the dioceses of Trent and Bresse. They seemed to be a remnant of the ancient Waldenses. They worshipped neither images nor saints, and believed the sacrament to be only a commemoration of the death of Christ. In many other points, they held peculiar opinions different from those of the Church of Rome, and knew nothing either of Lutherans or Calvinists. The Grisons, though their neighbours, had never heard of their nearness to the Protestant religion. They at one time attended mass, but some years ago a few of them who had gone to the Palatinate for work, were better instructed, and brought the Heidelberg catechism and other German books into their Valley. Being of a candid disposition, they deserted the mass, and adopted a more scriptural worship. Some of their priests concurred in the change, but others persisted in the error, and informed the archbishop of Strasburg, who raised a persecution, and the people refusing to violate their consciences, abandoned their homes, and two thousand persons divided themselves into several bodies. One division had proceeded to Brandenburg, another to the Palatinate, and five hundred who were at Coire, intended to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The Swiss Protestants were much pleased with the simplicity and modesty of these strangers. They desired only a little bread to support them on their journey, and a collection was made for them.†

About 1685, Victor Amadeus II. arrived at majority, and by letter to the Waldenses, expressed his satisfaction with their conduct in the war of the preceding year. They expected therefore a continuance of tranquillity, but as Louis XIV. of France this year had revoked the edict of Nantes, and had raised a most dreadful persecution against the French

* Boyer, pp. 142, 143. See the Duke's letter of 1672, in Jones, vol. ii. p. 424.

† Burnet's Letters from Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, pp. 89—91. Milan, 1st October 1685.

Protestants, he enjoined his highness to abolish the church of the Vaudois. On the duke showing reluctance, the king proposed to do the work with fourteen thousand men, and to keep the valleys for his trouble. Not to offend Louis, Victor, on the 4th of November 1685, issued an order, that no stranger remain longer than three days in the country of the Waldenses, without his permission. The people saw the design of this law was to prevent them from affording an asylum for the French refugees, who were dispersed over all Protestant Europe. Many settled at London, Edinburgh, and other towns of Great Britain. *

The mystery of these proceedings was cleared by an edict of the duke on 31st of January 1686, for the extermination of the Waldenses, declaring, that this is done in compliance with the wish, and the holy example of the king of France, and the council for propagation of the faith; that all assemblies or conventicles of the pretended Reformed religion are condemned, under pain of death, and confiscation of goods, notwithstanding former toleration; that their churches, granges, and houses, be razed to the foundation; that ministers and schoolmasters in a fortnight remove from the duke's territories, under pain of death, and confiscation of goods, unless they become Roman Catholics; that all children for the future be instructed only in the Romish religion; that ministers becoming Romanists, shall have one-third larger salaries than they had, while Protestants, and their widows have the half; that if parents who do not send their children to the priests for baptism, the father be doomed to five years in the galleys, and the mothers to be whipped; that French Protestants in his highnesses dominions must in a fortnight depart under pain of death and confiscation of goods, or else become Romanists; and, that they may, in the course of two weeks, sell their goods to Catholics only. †

The Vaudois petitioned the duke four times to revoke this order, but this procured only some delay, that it might be more severely executed. They considered the matter as nearly hopeless after they learned that Louis of France, their mediator in 1655 and 1664, had not only obliged his

* Boyer, p. 144. Acland, pp. 14, 15.

† Boyer, pp. 144, 145.

highness to the present measures, but had sent troops towards Piemont to aid in the persecution. The evangelical cantons, as usual, befriended the inhabitants of the Valleys, and, at an assembly at Basle in February 1686, appointed a splendid embassy to the court of Turin. In that city these deputies arrived in the beginning of March, and presented a memorial to Victor Amadeus,* bearing, that the Vaudois had professed the same religion eight centuries ago, even before the Dukes of Savoy were princes of Piemont, and had never separated themselves from the religion of their prince; that the people in 1620, paid six thousand French ducats to have the declarations of 1561, 1602, and 1603, enrolled by the parliament of Chambery, as the act of enrolment mentions; that the terrible declaration of Gastaldo was counteracted by the patents of 1655 and 1664; that if public engagements of princes were to be annulled under pretext of necessity, nothing would be secure, and Protestant princes might as lawfully destroy Catholics in their dominions, as Catholics extirpate Protestants; that a prince persuaded of the truth of his own religion, wishes to persuade his subjects to embrace it, “but religion enters into our hearts by means of persuasion, and not by force; that to convince one of the divine truth, there ought to be employed nothing but instruction, sweetness, and exhortation, according to the practice of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles; that kings and princes, though they are masters of their subjects, yet they have no empire over their consciences, which are subject alone to God;” that previous to the present edict, the Vaudois had done nothing to offend his highness; that the patents of 1655 and 1664, not only concerned religion, but had a chief respect to it, because Gastaldo’s order had called the people to change their religion, and the Swiss intercessions had a respect to it.†

The duke’s reply in a few days did not even attempt to overturn the reasoning of the memorial, but stated, that his engagements to the king of France prevented the success of the present negociation; that, like the Swiss, in some cases, he

* Boyer, pp. 145, 146. Acland’s Preface, p. 15.

† See the Document at large in Jones’ Appendix, No. II.

was obliged to submit to his powerful neighbour; that the grants of 1655 and 1664 were mere toleration to the Waldenses, without a positive right to their profession; that the Protestant cantons acted a similar part to Romanists; and, that though the Waldensian profession was prohibited, he in no respect meant to force conscience. The ambassadors answered, that the patents were not mere tolerations, but irrevocable laws; that they were monuments of public faith; that his highness's letter of 4th September 1684 showed he was satisfied with their fidelity; and, that it was impolitic and unjust to allow his dominions to be laid waste. The only answer the Swiss received was, that the duke was bound to extirpate the Protestants in the Valleys as Louis was doing in France, and that the same methods must be used in both cases. Two men, proceeding to the Valleys to inform the Vaudois of these proceedings, were seized by the court. The Vallevmen only knew by report that the Swiss had come to Turin, but were ignorant of the details, and dared not go to Turin for inquiry, as the time to conform to the order had elapsed. The Marquis of St Thomas suggested that the Vaudois might make a show of submission to the edict, and this might likely please the court, but the Swiss showed that such dissimulation is contrary to their doctrine. The two ambassadors perceiving that no good was to be obtained at Turin, and convinced that the Waldenses were totally unable to maintain war against both Victor and Louis, when leagued against them, proceeded on a journey to the Valleys to give their advice, having obtained a letter from his highness to the governor of the country to treat the Swiss with respect.*

On the 22d of March, the Swiss ambassadors arrived in the Valleys, and next day the deputies from the communities were astonished at the news of the unsuccessful negotiation, and were convinced that the only plan for them was to petition the court of Savoy for leave to dispose of their property and retire to some other country. A general assembly must, however, be called, before an ultimate resolution could be formed. The Swiss returned and informed the marquis, who

* Boyer, *ib.* pp. 147—150.

thought the plan would be agreeable to the court. As no Waldensian durst appear at Turin, the ambassadors sent their secretary to know the result of the meeting. But the secretary had only to inform his masters that the people could not agree to any resolution. The ambassadors wrote to their friends in the Valleys to take their advice, and send their determinations in writing to lay before the court. At a second general meeting on 28th March, the difficulties of leaving their possessions, and the consequences of a bloody war, were both discussed, but the multitude could not agree, and remitted for answer that the matter was left to the prudence and conduct of the Swiss. This paper was subscribed by the moderator Adjoint, secretary, seven ministers, and seven deputies. The ambassadors used all their efforts to obtain time for the Vaudois to dispose of their goods and remove. But the duke had now changed, and would grant nothing except to the people themselves, whereas formerly he would make no concession except to the Swiss. Probably he wished the Swiss not mentioned, that they might afterwards have no pull on him. The mediators obtained a safe conduct for some Waldensian deputies, and wrote to the Valleys to select them. The Vaudois met, and some of them instructed their deputies to insist for all their rights, and others, only to ask the liberty to leave the country. In their letter of the 4th April to the Swiss, they stated their division of sentiments. M. Bastie, on the same day, addressed the Swiss, lamenting their divisions. On the deputies from the Valleys arriving at Turin, the Swiss dissuaded them from appearing at court in their divided state, procured a delay of the execution of the order of the 31st of January, and by the deputy from Bobbio, they sent to his countrymen a judicious address on the necessity of union, dated 5th April, urging them not to be too much attached to the soil of their country, to consider themselves as strangers and pilgrims, to think how grateful many of the French Protestants of high rank would have lately felt to have had liberty to depart merely with life, and to view suffering rather than fighting, to be like the primitive Christians.

Mean time, enemies were employed in fomenting these divisions in the Valleys, that the flock of Christ might be easily

devoured. The Swiss, by correspondence with the Marquis of St Thomas, 8th of April, procured for the poor creatures time to meet for deliberation. The following day, the Val-ley-men assembled, and, in two letters to the Swiss, stated, that the greater number seemed unwilling to leave their habitations, though the ministers were willing to acquiesce in the advice of the ambassadors. But the duplicity of the court of Turin again appeared, because, without the knowledge of the mediators from Switzerland, a new edict was framed, and dated on the 9th of April. It was enrolled on the 10th, and published in the Valleys on the 11th of that month. It characterized the people as rebels for not obeying the order of the 31st of January, it forbade all associations and conventicles of the pretended reformed religion; ordained that sums be levied from the goods of the reformed to indemnify the Romish missionaries and others who may have suffered; enjoined the people to remove, and to take their goods, or sell them to the Romanists; commanded them to remove in eight days, but allowed agents to remain three months for the sale of the goods; that they should all meet and depart without fire-arms, through Savoy or the Valley of Aste, namely, those of Lucerna, to meet at La Torre on the 21st of April; those of Angrogna, San Bartolomeo, Roccapiatte, and Prarustino, to meet at San Secondo on the 21st, and both divisions to depart on the 22d; those of San Martino and Perosa to convene at Micadole on the 20th, and to remove on the 23d; and promised pardon on the above conditions for all the excesses committed since the 31st January, in face of the great clemency of his highness. The people were called in eight days to demolish their temples, to banish their ministers, to have their children baptized in the Romish fashion, to receive the friars, to exercise no soldiers, and to admit the Catholic army. On the 11th, the ambassadors wrote the Valleys to learn the ultimate resolution, and addressed to the duke a memorial to beg a mitigation of the edict, because sufficient time was not allowed them to arrange their affairs for departure, and because pregnant females and the sick could not move so soon; they also begged the liberation of the prisoners. But the court of Turin replied, that nothing could be expected for the Waldenses, till they should

lay down their arms, and the Swiss, in a letter of the 13th, communicated this notice to the Valleys, informing them also of the purport of the memorial laid before his highness.

On the 14th of April, the communities assembled at Roccapiatto, and resolved not to accept of the conditions offered by his highness. 1st, Because the edict did not revoke, but rather confirmed the order of the 31st January, which enjoined them in eight days to demolish their churches. But space is not allowed of sufficient duration to dispose also of their property. 2d, They were called to lay down their arms, and retire in eight days. But in 1655, they were desired to quarter some troops only two or three days, as a mark of submission, and they knew what followed. Laying aside their arms would only cause them be massacred with the greater ease. 3d, They were obliged to leave their country in three divisions without arms, and in places where the duke's men are encamped. 4th, Not till after their retreat could the sales be effected to Romanists, and by popish trustees:—And then out of the price would be paid all pretended damages sustained by friars, Missionaries, and all Catholics, ancient and modern, which would be reckoned higher than the value of the goods. 5th, They had reason to suspect the sincerity of their superiors, because the order of the 31st of January was not revoked, and too little time was allowed to demolish their churches, and to depart. 6th, The Swiss ambassadors were not named, and they had no foundation to plead for the fulfilment of the edict. 7th, The duke was not his own master, but obliged to please the king of France, who, since the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had dreadfully persecuted his own Protestant subjects. 8th, The Waldenses were viewed as most wicked for disobeying the order of the 31st of January, which removed their liberty of conscience, and forced them to sacrifice their children to idols. They conceived that the duke was invading the empire of God, who alone is sovereign of the conscience. 9th, The dukes of Savoy became princes of Piemont only in 1233, when Thomas, earl of Savoy, made himself master of Pignerol, under pretence, that the princes of Piemont were extinct; but long before that period, the Waldenses had pro-

fessed the same religion in these parts, and had possessed valleys ever since they were first inhabited. From these valleys, they had their names like Greeks from Greece, and Italians from Italy. They had their religion, from father to son, since the time of the Apostles. Sovereigns have no more right to deprive unoffending subjects of their liberties, than the subjects have to deprive the princes of their rights.*

About the same day, the Vaudois were confirmed in these resolutions, by being informed that fifteen or sixteen persons had asked from the judge of the valleys, a passport to remove, which was refused, unless they would change their religion. The applicants declining compliance, they were thrust into prison, where some of them died, and others were detained seven or eight months.† On the 17th of April, the pastors of the Valleys addressed the Swiss ambassadors, stating, that though they disapproved of the resolution of the people, yet they viewed their duty called them to remain among them. They begged the Swiss to accept of cordial thanks for all their good offices, and not to forget them at Turin, and after their return. Several pastors also wrote to the cantons of Switzerland, acknowledging the fatherly affection of the cantons, in regard to the order of the 31st of January. They lament the backwardness of the people, but it arose from a wish to preserve their religion in their native country. They see nothing but ruin in this world, but leave all to their excellencies under God in Christ. They beg them to pity their families, and little children.‡

On receiving a letter from the Swiss ambassadors, the communities held a second assembly at Roccapiatta on the 19th of April. The former resolutions were confirmed, and, in case of attack, for conscience sake, the patriots determined not to desert public worship, and like their forefathers, to stand in their defence. All agreed that the ministers should preach, and dispense the Lord's Supper next Sabbath. This appointment was executed through all the Valleys, except in San Martino, though the people had acquiesced at the as-

* Boyer, pp. 150—162. Most of the letters alluded to, are inserted in Jones' Appendix, No. 3—13.

† Boyer, pp. 162, 163.

‡ Jones' Appendix, No. 14, 15.

sembly. One of the directors of the church of Villasecca, in that Valley, on the 20th of April, gave notice to the Swiss, just about to leave Turin, that the inhabitants were willing to leave the country according to the edict, and desired a safe conduct. One of the ambassadors travelled to the camp, but the passport was refused under pretext, that the time had elapsed. This circumstance caused the Waldenses persist in their agreement to resist, by force, any attack of their enemies. The duke's army, under his uncle, Don Gabriel, and the French, led by Catinat, were both ready to invade the Valleys.* In cavalry and infantry, the French troops amounted to fourteen thousand men, and the barracks in which they lodged at Pignerol, were standing on the 6th of June 1825, as a monument of papal intolerance.†

The Vaudois prepared for defence, and their number amounted only to two thousand five hundred armed men. They possessed part of Lucerna, all San Martino, and part of Perosa. They were fortified by entrenchments of turf and stone. Their officers were inexperienced, and improperly resolved to guard all the posts. They ought to have abandoned some of them. On the 22d of April, the French, desirous of the honour of first assailing the Waldenses, marched by torch light, two hours before day, towards Perosa, and San Martino. A detachment of infantry, under Villeville, crossed the Cluson by a bridge, and entered Perosa, on the side of Piemont. He seized the village of San Germano, which the Vandois had abandoned. He drew two hundred from an entrenchment after some resistance. The retreaters took possession of another entrenchment, and the enemy's power was augmented by cavalry, so that the French were ten to one. The Waldenses were within pistol shot of the foe, but for ten hours returned the fire, and then rushing on their assailants, sword in hand, compelled them to re-cross the Cluson, where a bridge prevented many of them from being drowned. The French lost five hundred men and officers, though the Vaudois had only two

* Jones ib. p. 445. Arnaud's Preface to the Glorious Return, by Acland, p. 16.

† Jackson, p. 24.

killed, and a few wounded. Villevieille fortified himself in the temple of San Germano, defended himself boldly, and refused quarter, though he lost a number more of his men. Night put an end to the conflict.*

On the same day, the duke's army on the plain of San Giovanni, in various divisions, attacked divers entrenchments of the Vaudois in Lucerna and Angrogna. The cannon caused the defenders retire from the open entrenchment to a stronger one above Angrogna, in which were five hundred men. The invaders burnt the houses, and depopulated the country; but the Waldenses kept their fortifications the whole day, with the loss of only five men, while the enemy lost three hundred. The defenders, however, thought it proper to retire to a more advantageous station, about two hundred paces higher. When waiting the approach of Don Gabriel, they heard a false statement, that their friends in San Martino had yielded to the French, who were about to attack their rear. Not knowing the exact state of matters in San Martino, the Vaudois entered into a treaty with Don Gabriel, who, though he promised them in writing the conditions of the 9th of April, if they should lay down their arms, and submit to the clemency of his highness, yet as soon as the Waldenses complied, he refused them liberty to sell their goods, and retire from the country. The soldiers took some prisoners, under pretence of conducting them to submit to the duke at Lucerna, where he then was. The military also seized the Waldensian posts in Angrogna, pillaged and burnt the houses, put multitudes to the sword, assaulted the females, and committed the most inhuman actions. On hearing of these cruelties, such as had escaped to the woods refused to surrender themselves. By a man of San Giovanni, the people sent a petition to Don Gabriel to release such as had been imprisoned contrary to his promise, but nothing was done. Don Gabriel caused one part of his army under the Marquis of Parelle take possession of the high places of Angrogna, and the Vaudois delivered up the Meadow of the Tower, in which were some ministers, a great number of sick, aged, children, and cattle. He had given his word of

* Boyer, pp. 165—173, 174.

honour, that, on submission to his highness, all should be allowed to dispose of their property and retire from the country. But no sooner were the soldiers masters of the tower, than all in it were made prisoners, and the country was devoted to be plundered by the banditti of Mondovi and others. Such as were unable to flee were cast over precipices.*

On the 23d of April, the French in San Germano were relieved by some troops from Pignerol. The Vaudois entered their entrenchments, and for a day or two no firing was heard. Mean time the main body of the French repassed the Cluson to the Fort of Perosa on the side of France. Catinat sent a detachment of cavalry under Melac, to possess the heights between Dauphiny and San Martino. About the 24th or 25th of April, the French under Catinat attacked the village of Rioclarretto in San Martino. The people of San Martino had united with the rest of the Valleys to resist their foes, but afterwards changed their minds, submitted to the duke's edict of the 9th of April, and were to leave the country. They had laid down their arms, and expected no assault, as the time for departure was not elapsed. But the French, enraged at their defeat before San Germano, pillaged Rioclarretto, butchered old and young, and burnt the houses. The changes of resolution in San Martino, the strongest of all the Valleys, ruined their own liberties, and caused the other Valleys despair. Leaving some troops in San Martino, Catinat encamped at Rua of Pramol in Perosa. Malac sat down for the night on the eminences of San Martino, and exercised great cruelty. About fifteen hundred Waldensian men, women, and children, were now at Peumian, and were joined by such as had so bravely defended themselves against Villevielle. These defenders had been told that they alone stood out, and that the inhabitants of Lucerna and Angrogna had acquiesced. They missioned, therefore, deputies to Catinat to proffer submission on condition of obtaining safety. Catinat, with oaths, promised life, liberty, and even the continued enjoyment of their lands. But no sooner had they on the 25th of April laid down their arms, than they were separated

* Boyer, pp. 164—172.

from their wives and families. Instead of their being sent home as promised, Catinat marched them as prisoners to Don Gabriel, then encamped at Vachere, and thence to Lucerna. They were robbed of their money, the women and daughters were abused, and they were all driven to prisons. The other dispersed Waldenses were also collected and put in confinement. Members of families in Perosa were separated, and the children dispersed to be educated in the Romish religion. Thus, the persecutors violated their public faith, and burst the bonds of nature. Some of the French at Vachere returned to San Martino, and by compelling the prisoners to discover or to write letters to such as were concealed in the woods, or had not joined the treaty, induced them to submit in expectation of clemency, and they were all either imprisoned or massacred. In Lucerna, above the tower, the Vaudois still possessed Chamrama and Jaimet. These two places covered Villaro, and in them a thousand old men, women, and children, protected themselves. A division of the duke's army, and some Mondovians, laid siege to these fastnesses, and the Waldenses for a whole day defended themselves and killed numbers of the besiegers, among whom were the Mondovian captain and other officers. The defenders had only six killed and six wounded. The assailants finding their ammunition nearly exhausted, some officers in the evening approached Chamrama, laid down their hats and arms, exhibited a handkerchief on a pole, and showed a paper, pretending it was a proclamation of peace through all the Valleys. The Waldenses yielded the place to their foes, and many who were at the tower surrendered themselves. The defenceless peasants were instantly imprisoned. Though the Vaudois in Jaimet had not agreed to the treaty of Chamrama, they were obliged to retreat to another post near Villaro. The enemy followed and encamped at Bonnet, on the avenues of Villaro and Bobbio. The Vaudois had four or five hundred men. In two days, the Romanists, as usual, made large promises in case of their submission, but the fate of the people of Chamrama caused the greater number to decline. Some who were cajoled became prisoners.

The Waldenses were now so weak that they were compelled to allow the enemy to possess Villaro. On the 4th of

May, the papists having received reinforcements, made an attempt on Bobbio, where they were repulsed, and several officers, with many soldiers, killed, by a hundred and fifty Vaudois, who had posted themselves in the mountain of Subjusque. On the 12th of May, they, with uncommon valour, defeated the united armies of French and Piemontese, who sustained an immense loss. Next day, the Marquis of Parelle, from the Valley of San Martino, passed an almost inaccessible mountain, and attacking the Waldenses from above, obliged them to quit Bobbio, and retire to the woods and rocks. He and the Count Brichanteau having taken the deserted posts, tendered an offer of peace to such as still remained in their fastnesses. Part of the persecuted remnant being oppressed by famine, assented to the proffer and lost their liberty. Some surrendered to the governor of the Fort of Mireboue, on promise of life and their privileges, but he paid their confidence by rigorous confinement. Those posted on Vandelin fought manfully for some time, but were deceived by the written promises of De la Roche, governor of the Valleys, for, instead of allowing them to return to their houses as he had written, he forced them to re-deliver the paper, which bore his own signature, and incarcerated them. A few who preferred famine and other miseries to the mercies of such foes, he pursued by his troops, and some were massacred, others hanged. In the latter class, was Mr Leidet, a minister of San Martino, who died in a most Christian manner. Such as led a languishing life among the woods and rocks, lived on roots and wild herbs, which they gathered on the mountains. In this sad condition, some continued a month, and others the double of that time. On the whole, during these troubles, the persecutors killed upwards of three thousand, deprived about ten thousand of their liberty, and carried away more than two thousand children. The oppressors conceived they had finished their work, and commenced the confiscation of the goods and lands of the Waldenses.*

After the French and Mandovians had retired near the end of June, about eighty people, peasants of Lucerna, and some

* Boyer, pp. 173—193.

women and children, ventured from their lurking places, and seized a post which their enemies had quitted. In excursions they obliged the occupiers of their lands to furnish them with provisions, and frequently defeated parties of the Savoyards. Distrusting the court of Turin, they rejected all proposals of submission. For the sake of their brethren in prison, however, they agreed to leave the country with arms and baggage, in two divisions, on condition of the duke's captain, Perret, giving a hostage to the one company till the other should be safely conducted to Switzerland. And, indeed, the Vaudois of Lucerna had reason for deep regret that they did not sooner begin to act with this precaution. Fifty people of San Martino also defended themselves with such courage, that they obliged their enemies to grant them a safe passage to Switzerland. If these different detachments of the Vaudois had been aware of the proceedings of each other, probably the relief of their imprisoned brethren might have been procured.*

The Protestant cantons held an assembly at Arau in September, and appointed two deputies to the Count de Govon, the duke's resident in Switzerland. He corresponded with his highness, and in October a treaty was signed on behalf of the Vaudois. The eighty persons from Lucerna, and the fifty from San Martino, had now arrived among the Swiss. The agreement settled, that all the prisoners be clothed, have their travelling expenses defrayed, and be conducted to the frontiers through Savoy, near Bern, by the duke. The Swiss would there receive them. For their release, the most urgent necessity existed. The prisoners amounted to ten thousand, of all ages and sexes. They were in great wretchedness, dispersed through fourteen prisons and castles, and subsisting on bread and water. The bread was often very scanty, and very bad, from its having been baked with impure materials. The water was frequently defiled, and the quantity insufficient. For beds, they had to use the bricks of the pavement, or if they were allowed straw, it was so full of vermin, as to prevent sleep. Closely cooped up, they could hardly stir, and when mortality diminished their

* Boyer, pp. 193—197.

number, others were thrust among them. Their skin mortified in a manner that cannot be described. In summer, and the opposite season, they experienced the extremes of heat and cold. Women in labour, and their children, frequently died from the want of skilful treatment. Notwithstanding these hardships, only a few were induced to change their religion. Under various pretences, the departure of the Vaudois was delayed till near the middle of winter.*

Writing on the Vaudois at this period, HENRY ARNAUD states, that "no sooner had these unfortunate people laid down their arms, than they recognised their error. Fourteen thousand persons were thrown into prison, of whom a greater number was destroyed, than would have fallen in the rudest war. Eleven thousand souls perished in thirteen prisons, from cold or heat, hunger or thirst. Such a destruction may appear incredible; but it is indisputable, that only three thousand again saw the light, and these only to be banished from their property and country."

The duke wished these surviving prisoners to move in distinct companies, and his proclamation for their liberty was announced at different times at the various places. They pled the rigour of the season, and sought protection from the cruelty of the soldiers. The prisoners from *Mondovi*, were ordered to march at five in the evening of the same day their liberty was published to them. Many of them were sick, yet that night they were forced to march four or five leagues among snow and ice. Consequently one hundred and fifty of them died. Their friends from *Tossan* were in a similar situation. At night, they halted at the foot of Mount Cenis. Next morning, they pointed to a terrible tempest of snow on the mountain, but the inhuman officer, having less pity than the rocks, ordered them to proceed on their journey. Consequently the old, sick, and some children, with some others, to the number of eighty-six, died, and were buried in the snow. Their relations were forced to make a sorrowful departure from them, and to leave them for food to the wild beasts. Some merchants afterwards saw their bodies, and

* Boyer, pp. 198—203.

† Arnaud's Preface to the Glorious Return, translated by Acland, p. 18.

some children in their mothers' arms. At *Asti*, and some other places, the prisoners were cruelly whipped, because they refused to change their religion. The following companies, however, were used more mercifully, probably in consequence of the complaints of the Swiss deputies at Turin. Yet the promises of the duke were in various particulars violated, by separating children from their parents, by not properly clothing the emigrants for winter, and by detaining their ministers prisoners.

About Christmas, they all arrived at Geneva, in small divisions. A most amiable example of Christian sympathy was now displayed: For as soon as the Genevans heard of their approach, a large proportion of the citizens went to meet them, and every one strove who should conduct the greatest number to his home. They viewed them as men, and as Christians in distress, who brought blessings to the city. Some of them dropped down dead betwixt the gates of the city, "finding the end of their life in the beginning of their liberty." Some from sickness, were expected to die every moment in the arms of the charitable Christians who supported them. The tongues of others were benumbed with cold, and many were hardly able to move another step. Some were unable to stretch out their hands to receive the charity offered. From day to day, the companies reached the bridge of the Arve. After a little repose, such as first appeared in the city, went back to seek their relations in the next company. The father inquired for his child, or the child for his parent; the husband for his wife, and she for the partner of her cares. In *Piemont*, the prisoners had amounted to upwards of ten thousand, but all that reached Geneva were only two thousand five hundred. The others had died in prison or on the road. Many of the survivors were almost naked, and were clothed either at the expense of such as received them, or by the bounty of the Italian church, the directors of which, from the beginning, were particularly active in the work of Christian compassion. In February 1687, the refugees had all arrived.

The Waldenses never took arms except either to fight for their prince, or in self-defence, according to the law of nature and of nations. Not they, but the Dukes of Savoy vio-

lated the treaties. In 1686 they displayed the simplicity of the dove, but not the wisdom of the serpent. They attempted to defend too much of their country, for had they stationed themselves in some of their best posts, and deserted the rest, they would have starved and destroyed both the French and the duke's army. They also erred in not demanding hostages for the accomplishment of promises, and were at a loss from the want of skilful commanders like Janavel or Jayer.* Arnaud, in his first chapter, recommends Boyer's account of the Vaudois expulsion.

On the Swiss hearing of the arrival of the Vaudois at Geneva, they held a general assembly at Arau, and agreed in the mean time to receive them into their territories in the following proportion:—Of every hundred, Zurich was to provide for twenty-eight; Bern forty-four; Basle thirteen; Shaffhausen nine; and St Gallen six. Zurich admitted seven hundred, the other cantons acted according to the above scale, and the whole number is exactly 2500. The cantons, however, were unable to continue the support of so great an influx of strangers, and negotiated for them in Germany and Holland.† At this period, some of the Vaudois proposed, without leaders, and almost unarmed, to force their way to the Valleys, but the bailiff of Lausanne prevented their embarkation.‡ The elector of *Brandenburgh* offered considerable tracts of land for colonies, and ample provision for their establishment. About a third part proceeded to the dominions of this elector, Frederick William, who received them with great kindness. Some of their descendants are now settled at Buckholtz, near Berlin, enjoying all the rights of Prussian subjects. These are supplied with ministers from the successors of the French refugees who settled in Prussia after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. A considerable number of the Vaudois settled in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, though at first some difficulty was felt, as the people of that place were strict Lutherans, and a book was published on the danger of re-

* Boyer, pp. 203—211.

† Planta's History of the Helvetic Confederacy, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227.

‡ Arnauld, chap. i.

ceiving persons who had no written confession of faith. But the strangers adhered to a confession of faith. They were not allowed the "free exercise of their religion in any place incorporated with the ducal territory, but might enjoy it in one dependant on the duke."* In 1687, two hundred men of the Vaudois were allowed to assist in the harvest in Wirtemberg, and, through the intercession of the Swiss and States-General, they were allowed to settle near Malbrun. In consequence of an attack of the French on these parts, they were, in autumn 1688, returned to Switzerland. Next spring, 1000 marched to Wirtemberg, where they were indifferently received, though they agreed to purchase their provisions beyond the dutchy, "lest any scarcity should be felt by his highness's subjects, for the sake of a handful of Calvinistical sojourners," as the demand declares. A number of these afterwards returned to the valleys, under Arnaud, though eighty of them at first were seized in an attempt to return in the canton of Uri, and sent in chains to Turin. Other colonies of the Waldenses were introduced into the dominions of the Margraves of *Dierlach* and *Hesse Dramstadt*, of the Count of *Hanau*, and of the Dutchy of *Baden*. In all, fourteen Vaudois churches were formed, which, together with the Reformed French church of Constadt in Wirtemberg, composed a synod.† Contributions were made for these destitute people in *England*. The *United Provinces* made for them a generous collection, which was distributed among them according to their necessities.‡ At this period, thoughts were entertained of transporting these wanderers to settle in far distant lands, for M. Bilderbeck, in an epistle still extant, wrote: "A letter from the Hague, bearing date, May 31, 1688, informs me that Messrs. the States-General, have destined the sum of 39,000 livres for the transport of the Vaudois to the Cape-of-Good-Hope." The reason of the abandonment of this plan, is not mentioned in any record. Probably the cause was, that although some of the Waldenses assented, yet many of them showed a re-

* Authentic Details of the Waldenses, pp. 397—399.

† Arnaud's Preface.

‡ Boyer, p. 212.

pugnance, since they still entertained the idea of returning sword in hand to their valleys.*

Thus the valleys of Piedmont were depopulated of their ancient inhabitants, and the long contrived wicked designs of the council for propagating the faith, triumphed over the simplicity of the Waldenses. To prevent such as had become Roman Catholics from assisting the exiles in any attempt to return, the duke, contrary to his promise, transported them to Verceil. The whole of the valleys were now peopled by Romanists, and if the persecuted flock should attempt to return to their own land, they must cross the Lake of Geneva, travel over all Savoy, pass defiles, climb high mountains, and force passes, in which ten men might stop an army. In the end, they must expel the popish inhabitants, and take possession of the valleys.† Yet these seeming impossibilities were accomplished under Henry Arnaud, as we shall detail in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

Failure of an attempt of the Waldenses to return to their Valleys—Under HENRY ARNAUD, Nine Hundred of them secretly leave Switzerland, and after a concealed and difficult march of fourteen days through Savoy, arrived in the Valleys—Solemn oath to be stedfast and united—Heroic warfare to expel the Duke's troops and the French, from their usurpation of the country—When the Vaudois are on the brink of ruin, the Duke proclaims war against the King of France, and takes them under his protection—A number more of the Waldenses return—Duke settles them in their ancient lands—King William of Great Britain grants a salary to the thirteen Vaudois clergy—Multitudes of them leave Switzerland for various countries.

IN JUNE 1688, the Vaudois in Switzerland sent three men to trace the best rout for their endeavouring to return to the

* Details, p. 399.

† Boyer, pp. 212, 213.

Valleys, and to engage some friends by the way to prepare bread for them, which was commonly baked of the hardness of sea-biscuit by the inhabitants, to preserve it for a length of time, and was called glises. The three searchers were seized as robbers in a wild part of Tarentaise, and with difficulty got disentangled. Their report recommended the return by Valais, and St Bernard. The great body expected to be able to rendezvous in the plains of Bex, and to march unknown to the Swiss, but the governments of Berne, Zurich, and Geneva, got information by some sixty Vandois deserters. Boats were not in readiness to take them across the Lake of Geneva, and their enemies in Savoy and Valais were on their guard. The number of the Vaudois was six or seven hundred men, and Frederic Torman, or Toronan, governor of Aigle, convened them in the temple, and exhorted them to leave off the present enterprise, since it was discovered. Their pastor and commander, HENRY ARNAUD, added an exposition of the words, "Fear not little flock." M. Torman generously procured for them bread and lodgings, and lent them two hundred crowns to assist in their return to the distant parts of Switzerland. The council of Vevey acted differently, by prohibiting the inhabitants to give them lodgings or provisions, under pain of the most rigorous punishment. One poor widow, however, at the risk of having her house razed, carried them some supplies in a meadow, where they were encamped. Shortly afterwards, almost the whole of Vevey was destroyed by fire, while the woman's house remained providentially unhurt, though situate in the very centre of the town. The duke of Savoy charged the cantons with encouraging the above attempt, and with bad faith in regard to the treaty. This was a cause, among others, why the Swiss, as related in the foregoing Chapter, made arrangements for transporting about eight hundred men, women, and children, to Brandenburg, though they manifested reluctance to leave the genial climate of the cantons. The Swiss became cold to the Vaudois. Some of them went to the Grisons, and others to the frontiers of Wirtemberg, and the Palatinate.*

* The Glorious Return, in the Details, pp. 268—276, and by Acland, pp. 5—18.

Meantime Captain Besson and Henry Arnaud visited William, prince of Orange, afterwards king of Great Britain. Arnaud was born at La Torre, 1641, and studied classical learning at the Latin school in that place. As he intended the holy ministry he probably studied at Basle, Geneva, or Lausanne. The troubles of his country, however, caused him in the meantime change his employment, and enter the service of William of Orange, where he attained the rank of Captain. He seems to have had considerable influence both with the prince, and with the Dutch government. Previous, however, to the desolations of 1686, he had returned to the study of theology, and had been ordained as a pastor. He was now one of the exiles, and aided in supporting their drooping spirits. The States-General entrusted him with large sums of money, for the support of his exiled brethren, and he was one of the commissioners to arrange their settlement in Wirtemberg.*

At the present interview, Arnaud communicated to the prince of Orange, and to some other nobles, his design of attempting a return to the Valleys. The prince approved of Arnaud's zeal, exhorted him to keep together his little troop, and advised him to unite courage and patience. He also defrayed the travelling expenses of Arnaud, and Captain Besson. The wars between the duke of Orleans, and the elector Palatine, induced the Vaudois in the Palatinate, from fear of their French enemies, to return to Switzerland, and to leave their crops to their foes. The Swiss perceiving the necessity of their case, received this company with ardent affection, which was in some measure the effect of an appeal by M. Speyseiger, a secretary, and M. Daude, a minister and refugee from Languedoc, to Shaffhausen, Zurich, and Berne, on their behalf. Their diligent labour with their hands, and honesty, recommended them. Only one instance of improper behaviour appeared in a soldier having stolen a gun. They learned that the duke of Savoy had withdrawn his troops from the Valleys, since the spring of 1689, that the prince of Orange was now king of Great Britain, and that France and Britain would likely go to war. They re-

* Life of Arnaud in the Details, pp. 247, 248.

solved to return to the Valleys, and to conceal their intention even from the Swiss, lest they be charged with connivance. The Vandois met at the wood of *Nion*, near the Lake of Geneva, but one hundred and twenty-two coming from the Grisons, and Wirtemberg, were discovered, robbed of five hundred crowns, abused in Friburg, and other cantons, and sent prisoners to Turin, where four of them died, named Daniels.

Thursday, the 15th of August, was a public fast in Switzerland, and when the devotions were hardly finished, from eight to nine hundred men, after prayer by Arnaud, between nine and ten o'clock, embarked in nineteen boats, all except four belonging to persons collected by curiosity, on hearing the whisperings of the enterprise. Prangin having joined in the prayers, traitorously informed the French envoy at Geneva, who ordered dragoons from Lyons to intercept the Vaudois. After landing, they sent back the boatmen for two hundred more of their people, but they were not brought over, for the boatmen fled.* On the 16th, in the Chablais, Arnaud divided his regiment into nineteen companies. Six companies were French refugees from Languedoc and Dauphiny; three companies were from Angrogna; two from San Giovanni; one from La Torre; one from Villaro; two from Bobbio; one from Prarustino; one from San Germano and Pramol; one from Macel; one from Prali; and a company of volunteers. These were under chosen Captains; and the whole regiment was divided into the advanced guard, the main body, and the rear-guard. Arnaud was aided by M. Chyon, a French minister, and M. Montoux, a pastor of Pragelas. They joined in prayer for divine guidance, after which, M. Chyon was taken prisoner, when in search of a guide, and was sent to Chamberry. The inhabitants of *Ivoyre* were obliged to allow the Vaudois a free and secret passage. Their harmless conduct, which is well attested,

* On the 11th of September, these two hundred men, joined by eight hundred idle persons, under M. Bourgeois of Berne, proceeded to follow the others, but being disorderly, and too public, they were obliged on the 17th of September to return. Their leader, on the 12th of next March, was beheaded at Nions for disobedience to the Swiss orders, by undertaking the Expedition. Arnaud in Details, pp. 382—384.

procured the good-will of the inhabitants. Even the Romish minister of *Filli* gave them free refreshment, and the prisoners taken from some who attacked them, acted as guides. They received much kindness at *Viu*, in *Foucigne*, and at the town of *St Joyre*, halting at *Carman*. On the 17th of August, they passed the bridge of *Marni*, and forded the Arve at *Cluse*. After some opposition, they were allowed to pass by the intercession of a hostage with the magistrates. The *Vandois* found among them a man with a letter to the people of *Salenche* to attack them in front, while those of *Cluse* were to assail them behind. They commonly took hostages to secure the fulfilment of promises. At *Salenche*, they were opposed, but they forced their way without bloodshed, and took two capuchins, as hostages, who were afterwards useful, as the inhabitants respected them. *Cablau* was their resting-place for that night. August 18th, being Sabbath, they did not move. On Monday, they sounded trumpets, and marched. At *Beaufort*, or *Migeves*, the people were under arms, but offered no molestation. The hostages wondered the *Vandois* soldiers did not plunder. They would have paid for bread, milk and cheese, which they took, but the owners had fled. After great toil, they were on the summit of *Haute Luce*. The rain was troublesome, but was followed by a fog, which, a guide said, God had sent to conceal the *Waldenses*. Some false guides led them through a frightful passage cut in the rock like a ladder, where twenty persons might destroy twenty thousand. They descended in a sitting posture, and lodged at the miserable hamlet of *St Nicholas*, where they could get no fire, but by unroofing the cottages covered with wooden shingles, as they are at this day. Next day, the French Captain *Chien* deserted, and they climbed *Bon Homme* with the snow to their knees, and while the rain poured on them. Their enemies had last year erected entrenchments, but being tired waiting for them, had deserted the post. For this the *Vandois* gave thanks to God. Though they marched two and two in a narrow valley, frequently crossing the *Serpentine Isere*, the armed peasants only looked at them. Though the alarm-bell was rung, the people who assembled, and even the cure, helped to clear a bridge that was stopped. At *Sez*, they obtained

abundance of provision for two sous a pound. Wednesday 21st of August, they travelled along the Isere. Arnaud at *St Foi* took some flattering people along with him. They passed between two high mountains, arrived at *Rougy*, where they seized a cure and some peasants, who were trying to escape. They passed *Eutigne* on a plain, and encamped in a field near *Laval*, where Arnaud and Montoux were hospitably lodged, and slept three hours. On the 22nd, they were kindly treated on Mount *Iserand*, or *La Maurienne*, but some of their hostages escaped. The violence of the inhabitants of *Besas* caused the Vandois seize some mules, the curate, and some other persons. On the 23d, they reached Little Mount *Cenis*, and sent some men to seize the post horses on the summit, who in returning, met, and took some mules laden with the luggage of Cardinal Angelo Ranuzzi, who by another road, was on his way to Rome. Every article, however, was restored to the muleteers, except a curious watch, which was not discovered till too late. The Vaudois did not read any of the papers, though the cardinal was mortified, from jealousy that they had learned all his secrets. They seized two of the armed peasants, who waited for them on Little Mount *Cenis*. With great difficulty, they descended Mount *Tourliers* by a precipice. Through fog and darkness some lost their way, but the main body arrived at *Jailon*. On the 24th, they resolved to march by *Chaumont*, above *Susa*. Captain Pelene, and an escort, went to treat for a passage with some Frenchmen and peasants, who were rolling stones down the hill. He and his men were all seized, except one. An attack by the enemy was made, *Sieur Caffarel* of *Bobbio* was taken prisoner, and the Waldenses with difficulty reached the top of the mountain. They lost some of their people, Captains *Lucas* and *Privet*, with Messrs *Melanet*, and *John Muston* of *San Giovanni*, surgeons, who were both sent prisoners to *Turin*. That day they fought two hours with the enemy at the bridge of *Salabertran*. The Vaudois lay flat on the ground, and an old officer of *Savoy*, one of the hostages, declared he never saw such a fire take so little effect. The *Marquis de Larrey*, commander of the French, fled to *Embrun*. The Vaudois watchword was *Angrogna*. The French could only say, "*Grogne*." This

cost two hundred French their lives. In short, the Vaudois had only twelve wounded, and fifteen killed. The French were twenty-nine hundred strong, yet were defeated by an infatuation, for had they destroyed the wooden bridge over the Dora, they would have defied the Vaudois, who had thirty-nine hostages, but thirty-two of them escaped during the engagement, and a cure was killed. The victors with difficulty ascended Mount *Sei*, in the direction of Pragela, by moonlight. They afterwards learned that about one hundred and sixteen of their men had been sent prisoners to Grenoble at different times, but the French had lost six hundred in the battle.

On Sabbath, 25th of August, Arnaud, from the top of *Sei*, showed his army their native mountains, and gave thanks to God. After divine service, they descended into *Pragela*, crossed the Cluson, and encamped near the temple of *Traverse*. The priests fled from the mass. Some dragoons retired on sight of the Vaudois, who passed the night in *Jaussaud* and bought some provisions. On the 26th, the troops of his highness fled, and left their baggage without firing a shot. The Vaudois spent the night above the hill of *Dalmian*. On Tuesday they refreshed themselves at *Balsille*, in San Martino. They fought, took and killed forty-six of the duke's men. Having passed the night at *Macel*, they, on the 28th marched to *Prali*, destroyed a popish chapel, stripped the temple of its Romish ornaments, and Arnaud preached on the 76th and 129th Psalms, which the people sung with great spirit. This was the temple in which M. Leidet was minister, who for preaching the true faith and singing Psalms under a rock, was executed at St Michael about Whitsunday 1686. On the 29th of August 1689, Arnaud and his men, after public prayers, got possession of a good position at the *Col de Julien*, before the Savoyard troops could have time to occupy it. The enemy called out, "Come, ye Barbets of the devil, we have seized all the posts and are three thousand strong." After firing half an hour, they abandoned their posts, left baggage and ammunition, and retreated to the convent of Villaro. At the Passarelles of Julien, the Vaudois killed thirty-one more soldiers, stopped near *Aiguille*, and had just lost one man. On the 30th of

August, they pursued the enemy to *Bobbio*, and quartered in some barns at *Sibaud*. The following day they divided into two bodies. They were now obliged to kill the prisoners they took in *Bobbio*, because they had neither prisons to hold them, nor men to guard them, and if they had been allowed to depart, they would have published their feeble force. The Vaudois allowed one John Gras to escape, and he published many things injurious to them. Sabbath, the 1st of September, Montoux and Arnaud performed divine service in the open air, the latter preaching from Luke xvi. 16. This day they all swore "before the face of the living God, and at the peril of their souls," to keep united; to avoid parley with the enemy without the council of war; to obey officers; to touch no booty but by appointment; to see that blasphemers or swearers be punished; to be faithful to one another in their different stations; and, to observe the present oath. In swearing, all raised their hands to heaven. On Monday, they took *Villaro*, and by rolling barrels before them blockaded the convent, but lost three men. They took fourteen baggage mules bearing provisions to the convent. Next day, they were obliged to abandon *Villaro*—were separated into two bodies, and some of them were killed. Eighty men miraculously reached their companions at *Vandelin* above Angrogna. Arnaud with six soldiers, three times gave himself up for lost. Montoux was taken prisoner at *Cruzzel*, and sent to Turin till the peace. On the 4th of September, the main body at *Bobbio* sent a reinforcement to Arnaud. On Thursday, this detachment received notice from Arnaud, that he would meet them as soon as he could with safety; and he with six men seized some mules with provisions, and seems to have proceeded for the main body. The captains agreed that no one was to be killed fleeing, lest they should butcher their own. On the 6th of September, they captured two men, whom they examined and put to death. A woman, who, to please her popish husband, had changed her religion, gave them thirty-four loaves of four or five pounds each. This small company marched to *Vachere*, where two hundred men from *Bobbio* joined Arnaud, who gave thanks to God, and gave orders to a party that killed one hundred of a division attempting to gain a post above *Vachere*. A number of Vau-

dois now arrived, who had passed two days without eating. A battle of seven hours happened at Vachere that day, and the Vaudois retreated to a hamlet called *Turin*, within a quarter of a league of the enemy's camp. On 7th September, they were much enfeebled by hunger, and retired to *Perrier*, and on the 8th they reached *Prali*. Being Sabbath, Arnaud administered the Lord's Supper to the people of *San Martino*, and proceeded to *Bobbio* for the same purpose. They seem to have rested on Monday, and took one hundred and eighty sheep from some apostates, who were busy in helping the enemy. On Tuesday, fifteen Vaudois dispossessed the enemy from the hamlets near *Perrier*; the day after, one hundred and thirty-two Waldenses took the post at *Macel*. On Thursday, they learned that eight thousand French were encamped at *Salabertran*, but the reason was, they had fled from *Cazal* on the approach of the Spaniards. This was good news, and the Waldenses sent eighty men to *Angrogna* to force their foes to quit *Bobbio*. On Friday, they reached *Angrogna* before day, but learning that three hundred men had come to the convent, and cavalry were at *San Germano*, they did not attack, but remained in some barns above *Angrogna*. On Saturday, they were about to proceed to *Bobbio*, but perceiving five hundred of the enemy in possession of the heights, they advanced in spite of a heavy fire and defeated them. On Sabbath, this detachment rejoined the main body in *San Martino*. On the 16th of September, the Marquis of *Parelle* burned *Villasecca* and some other places. Nay, to distress the Vaudois, he burnt the corn in *San Martino*, but they were able to collect much victual. At this time, Captain *Turel* and two other officers deserted the Waldenses, but he was afterwards taken at *Embrun*, sent to *Grenoble*, and, after seeing twelve others hanged, expired on the wheel.*

The little band of eighty heroes who were separated from their brethren on the 3d of September, encamped at *Vandelin*, and M. Arnaud left them on the 5th for the main body, promising to visit the small body as soon as he safely could. They were much exhausted by hunger, and on the 7th, fifty

* *La Rentree Glorieuse*, part i. in the *Details*, pp. 276–334, and by *Acland*, pp. 19–110. *Boyer*, chap. xxv.

of them took seven or eight hundred cattle and sheep at *Queiras*. Soon after, they received the sacrament at *Serre de Cruel* from *Arnaud*, and restored some apostates from *Queiras*, on making professions of penitence. They prevented their enemies from posting themselves in *Villaro*, and, on the 20th of September, sacked the convent and took it. On the 24th, they fought and beat the enemy, who lost a great number, and they had only one killed. The Savoyards remained in the entrenchments at *Bobbio*, and the Vaudois commanded the country. One day in an affair at *Roras*, they killed thirty men, and destroyed the church in sight of the garrison of *St Michael*. On the 6th of October, they defeated an ambuscade of the enemy at *Cercena*, and had victory in several other skirmishes. They durst not venture far down for the cavalry, and, on the night of the 12th, they burnt the barns full of forage near *Bobbio*. On the 13th, they were attacked and kept the advantage. The main body of the enemy desolated the country. The Vaudois were now reduced to sixty, and one night dislodged the enemy from *Cibaud*, who had thirty-four killed, demolished the town and fortification and fled. In the end of next week, the Vaudois being attacked, left *Pausettes* for the rocks of *Aiguille*, which the officers improperly abandoned, and thus the *Col de Julien* was in the power of the foe, who found a Waldensian journal and sent it to *Turin*. It ultimately got to *Geneva* to old *Joshua Janavel*. The Vaudois lay long concealed among the rocks of *Vialles*, and were nearly discovered, but got to *Bastier* through a narrow pass, which happened providentially to be unguarded. Some of them had got to *Angrogna* from *Aiguille* by *La Combe Guichard*. On the same day that the sixty were obliged to abandon *Aiguille*, the main body of Vaudois were driven from *Rodoretto* in *San Martino*. The enemy had ten thousand French troops on one side, and twelve thousand Piemontese on the other. In face of the solemn oath at *Bobbio*, nine or ten French refugees deserted. Plans to deceive the Vaudois were unsuccessful, and their foes were alarmed by seeing a party of them near *Guichard*. At *Essert*, they defended themselves bravely in an old building, and escaped by the drains. Next day, the man who managed so well at *Cibaud* was killed, after fighting long alone with the enemy. The Vaudois remained con-

cealed to the great mortification of the papists. They united and fought near *Malpertus*, and were at last found by their brethren of San Martino. Twelve, however, who had concealed themselves near Essert, on moving to seek provisions, were attacked on a Sabbath by one hundred and twenty-five peasants, of whom they killed twelve. The twelve Vaudois marching almost in despair, by a kind providence met a party of friends from San Martino in quest of them, but in mistake shot one of their brethren, supposing them to be enemies. Tears of joy were shed, and they joined the main body at La Balsille.

On the 16th of October, Arnaud dispensed the sacrament, and the Marquis of Parelle fired the country from Villasecca to Perrier, and on the 22d burnt some places near Balsille. Same day the French entered San Martino with two thousand men. Captain Fonfrede, his lieutenant, and twenty soldiers, deserted the Vaudois, yet, with one exception, they were all caught and hanged by the enemy. The Vaudois had with great difficulty come from Rodoretto to *Balsille*, where they entrenched themselves and lived in huts scooped in the earth. Arnaud preached twice every Sabbath, once on Thursday, and said morning and evening prayers. They constructed ramparts and formed sixteen terraces above one another. The mill wanted the stone, and one Poulat recollected its having been cast into the Germanaseo three years ago, in expectation it might be of future use. On search, the stone was found, and the mill set a-going. They had another mill at Macel. On Monday, the 1st November, the foe attacked Balsille, but lost sixty men, while the Vaudois did not lose one. In some days, the French, led by an apostate, came to the mill of Macel, but killed only two sick refugees, and took a man who attended them. He prayed with fervour before execution, and said God would soon raise five hundred Vaudois for one. *Sieur François*, and Captain Sient from France, were also very steady. The enemy retired to Perrier and Mancille.* At the time the Vaudois had left Rodoretto and Prali, they were about to reap the harvest, and the snow fell so deep, that the enemy could not cut the corn. By a wonderful providence, it remained under the

* *La Rentee in Details*, pp. 334—352 in *Acland*, pp. 110—145.

snow all winter, and the Vaudois reaped it in the spring, in a condition to be wholesome provision.* One day the Vaudois killed sixty of the enemy at *Bourset*, destroyed the place, and another village. Towards the end of January 1690, the Vaudois took the higher places of San Martino and Bobbio which the enemy had deserted. They also found a man with despatches to the governor of Miraboue, by which they got important information. In February, the Waldenses declined some deceitful proposals of the enemy for negociation. A detachment from Balsille penetrated to San Germano, killed one hundred and twenty foes, and captured some cattle. They heard that the Vaudois in Switzerland had been driven to Wirtemberg. On the 22d of March, offers of pardon by the French to the refugees, if they would lay down their arms, proved fruitless. On the 17th April, Arnaud, in name of all, answered propositions of the Marquis of Parelle, that the Valley-men had possessed the lands from time immemorial; that they had always paid the taxes; that they had constantly obeyed his highness; that at the time of their expulsion, no criminal process existed against any one of them; and, that they never meant to spill blood except in self-defence. On Sabbath, the 30th April, they saw the French, and one thousand four hundred peasants, clearing away the snow, so that an attack was apprehended on *Balsille*, which was situate on a steep rock with three tiers or levels. On the top is a flat space, where the Vaudois formed a barrack. Only on one side at a rivulet can it be approached, and Arnaud fortified that part with palisades and parapets of trees. Now, ten thousand French and twelve thousand Piemontese, were in the Valley. Catinat ordered five hundred French to assail the first bastion, but the trees were deeply fixed, and the Vaudois killed all these besiegers in the approach or the flight, except one hundred, and lost not one man. About six thousand five hundred of the enemy were near the spot, but dared not approach. Parat, the commander, was wounded, taken, and the three hundred and sixty-seven Vaudois kept him till recovered. On Thursday, Arnaud preached as usual, and they all shed tears. On the bodies of the dead were found

* Ib. in Details, p. 353. Acland, pp. 147, 148. Neil's Puritans, vol. v. p. 128.

written and printed charms, with the mark of the cross to protect them from devils and malicious persons, signed by inquisitors and other officaries.

On the 10th of May, the French under Feuquieres besieged *Balsille*, and the Vaudois distrusted and refused the offers of peace, with five hundred Louis-d'ors to each man to depart. They replied to the French, that they did not want money for M. Parat, but they would permit his friends to send him provisions; that they were not subjects of the king of France; that they hoped in the God of armies to occupy the inheritance of their fathers; and, that the French cannon might thunder, but their rocks would not be afraid, and they would hear. May the 14th was the day of the grand attack, and, by noon, the French had expended one hundred and twenty-four shots of twelve and fourteen pounds weight, and the breaches in the walls obliged the Vaudois to leave the lower part. They told Parat, that if the place should be taken, they would be obliged to kill him, and he promised to forgive them his death. The Waldenses being obliged to abandon *Balsille*, one of the last who retired, shot him through the head. Captain Poulat, a native of *Balsille*, conducted away the Vaudois during a fog across a frightful precipitous ravine. Down this chasm, they followed him, some on their backs, and others on one knee, holding by the branches of trees. They took off their shoes to be sure of their footing. On the morning of the 15th, the French saw them ascending *Guignevert* in the direction of *Salse*, where they rested. They did the same at *Rodoretto*, and seeing a detachment of the enemy approaching, they retreated to the top of *Galmon*. Leaving Parat's surgeon with the wounded in a valley, they proceeded to *Prali*, and under a fog to *Casage Major*. Being in want of water to boil their soup, Providence sent rain. On the 16th, after prayers, they proceeded by *Roche Blanche*, or white marble rocks, to *Fayet*, being often obliged to lie on the ground from fear of the French sentinels. On Saturday, the 17th, they marched to *Pramol*. They took the village of *Rua*, after killing fifty-seven of the French, while the Vaudois had only three killed and three wounded. *Vignaux*, in giving up his sword, told them the Duke of Savoy had only till next Tuesday to decide, whether he would remain with

France, or take part with the allies. On Sabbath, the 18th, they were at the mountain of *Angrogna*, and *Meadow of the Tower*, and found envoys announcing peace on the part of the duke, and offering provisions. They were told also, that the governor of La Torre wished to speak with them, and replied they would meet with him on Monday morning, desiring a surgeon to be sent to three lieutenants among the wounded at Pramol. The governor, however, did not attend. In taking Balsille, Feuquieres was mortified that he was unable to capture the Vaudois. The French were now their only enemies, and, on the 22d, Arnaud's men took sixty guns and as many doublets from the foe. All the 23d was spent in skirmishing. On the 24th, they got a supply of bread from Gautier, a brother-in-law of Arnaud. In a few days they heard a letter read, which the governor of Mirabouc had received, instructing him to allow the Vaudois a free passage, as the duke of Savoy had broken with the king of France. On the 3d of June, they heard of some of their separated comrades, and found twelve of them in Perosa. On the 4th of June, they were attacked by the French, of whom they killed a great number and only lost two. Soon after, the duke's men gave the Vaudois possession of *Villaro* and *Bobbio*. The Waldenses released Vignaux and the other prisoners on their word of honour, and, in a few days, received from Turin the two ministers, David Mondon and Captain Pelene, with twenty others. Palavicino, the duke's general, attacked the French in *Queiras* on the one side, and three hundred Vaudois, after prayer, assailed them on the other. The victory was gained, and the Vaudois presented most of the booty to his highness. The inhabitants of La Torre, who had changed their religion, joined the Vaudois at Bobbio. After some days skirmishing, a French courier was taken, and Arnaud and two others were sent to Turin with the despatches. In the beginning of July 1690, he returned with the confirmation of his highness's good will, as he had said to the prisoners when they were liberated, "You have but one God and one prince to serve. Serve God and your prince faithfully. Till now we have been enemies, henceforth we must be good friends. Others (Louis XIV.) have been the cause of your misfortune, but if now, as you ought,

you expose your lives for my service, I will expose mine also for yours, and while I have a morsel of bread, you shall have your share." The whole history of this expedition shows the interposition of the Almighty in favour of the Waldenses. Without the aid of heaven, nine hundred inexperienced peasants under Arnaud, who had never seen war but against Satan, could never have succeeded against the combined force of France and Savoy. And, when the Waldenses were on the brink of destruction, God, in his providence, turned France and Savoy against one another, and thus wrought deliverance for his people.*

In June 1690, the Waldenses were restored to a church state, and liberty granted to such as were scattered in foreign lands to return. Some think the dreadfully increased persecution in Britain for three or four years before the Revolution of 1688, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, 1685, and the awful havoc of the French Protestant churches for several years, and the persecution and removal of the Waldensian churches for three years and a-half, from 1686 till 1690, to be the termination of the twelve hundred and sixty days in the Revelation, when the witnesses were to lie dead in the street of the great Romish city for three days and a-half. These writers think also the accession of William to the throne of Britain in 1688, the cessation of the French persecution, and the return of the Waldenses to the Valleys in 1690, to be the resurrection of the witnesses. These authors admit the prevalence of many troubles in the vials of God's wrath being poured out on Antichrist, but are of the mind, that after that period, no such sufferings for conscience sake should be endured, though the spirit of persecution should be manifested in various places.† On 20th October 1690, the duke, king William, and the Dutch, settled the Vaudois.

About seven hundred of the Waldenses from Brandenburg, and one hundred from Wirtemberg, met near Schaffhausen, proceeded through Rheinthal and the Grisons, and being

* *La Rentree in Details*, pp. 354—388, in *Acland*, pp. 148—203. Boyer, pp. 220—227.

† Boyer, chap. xxvii. Jurieu, and D. Robertson, on *Rev.* xi. 3—12.

well treated on their journey, arrived in the Valleys. Probably a number of these were the wives and children of such as had returned under Arnaud. Owing to the devastations of the Valleys, the Swiss made a handsome contribution on their behalf, an example afterwards followed by England and Holland.*

By advice of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene, the duke of Savoy formed the Waldenses into a regiment, under command of Arnaud, to expel the French from Piemont. Though Charles II. and James II. of England, refused to pay to the Waldenses, either principal or interest, of the sixteen thousand pounds which Cromwell had left for them in the hands of the British government, yet William and Mary took the affair under consideration. The sum of £500 a-year, usually called Queen Mary's grant, was contributed by the English government. Of this donation, £266 were given to support thirteen ministers, affording fully £20 a-year to each. The surplus was expended in salaries for schoolmasters, aid to widows, and other useful purposes.† William also sent a regiment to be under Arnaud as Colonel, to aid the duke of Savoy.‡ King William's commission of Colonelcy written on parchment, dated 14th May 1691, is still preserved in the family of Appia at La Torre.§

In 1694, the Swiss consulted with Viscount Galloway to procure a situation for the Waldensian and French refugees in the British Isles, as the cantons were unable to maintain so many. Galloway thought Ireland the best place, but nothing seems to have been done. || That year, May 23rd, the duke Victor Amadeus, granted an edict favourable to the Waldenses, and recognised the one of 1690, and was obliged to flee from Turin from the French in 1696. He was advised for safety to conceal himself among the Vaudois of Roras. In time of need, he thought them the most trusty of his subjects, ¶ and presented his silver cup to the man who hid him. **

* Planta, ib.

† Sims' Introduction to Peyran, p. xlvi.

‡ Morgan's Sketch of the Vaudois. § Gilly's Excursion, p. 90. || Planta, ib.

¶ Sims' Introduction, p. xxxiii. and his "Apology for the Waldenses," p. 31. Gilly's Researches, p. 556.

** Gilly, pp. 359, 360.

In 1698, about three thousand Vaudois from other countries, were added to those already sojourning in Switzerland, and deputies from them and the French refugees were missioned to England, Holland, and other countries, to solicit aid. In the spring of 1699, with a view of carrying them to other countries, the cantons supplied them with money. At this time, Zurich alone contributed four hundred thousand florins from the state, besides considerable private donations. This specimen shows that the strangers must have been very numerous. Indeed, the country was unable to support so many, and large companies departed for Wirtemberg, Hessa, Brandenburg, and Holstein, where colonies still exist, and retain their religion, pastors, and language, distinct from the inhabitants of these provinces.*

* Planta, ib. pp. 226—230.

HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK VIII.

EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

CHAPTER I.

Excellent conduct of Arnaud and the Waldenses, with the Duke's favour for them—Yet Arnaud is banished for life, and the Vaudois in Pragela expelled—Plot against those of Villaro—George III. of Great Britain procures a Contribution for the Waldenses—Cruel Massacre of the Vaudois planned, and providentially defeated, when the French were invading Piemont—Owing to the prevalence of the French, the Vaudois Clergy have their Pensions from England suspended, but an equivalent is given by the French—Humanity of the Waldenses to the wounded of all sides in the war in a striking instance.

ARNAUD continued faithfully to serve the duke, who still adhered to the allies against Louis. While the Duke of Marlborough remained in the Netherlands, Prince Eugene passed through Savoy into France. Consequently, the king drew a number of troops from the Rhine to oppose the prince, who secretly withdrew by the Tyrol. Arnaud and his Waldenses so dexterously masked this retreat, by attacking the French from the mountains, that Eugene had joined the allied armies in the low countries before his absence from the dominions of the Duke of Savoy was known to the enemy. Thus, Arnaud and his troops contributed to the victory of Hockstett, or Blenheim, 2d August 1704.*

* Life of Arnaud in Details, pp. 248, 249.

In a treaty with Queen Anne of England, in 1704, on the basis of those of 1690 and 1694, Victor Amadeus of Savoy agreed to leave the inhabitants of Pragela "in the free exercise of their religion," should that Valley be ceded to him by France. In 1708, Victor became king of Sardinia. In 1709, by letter to Anne, he engaged to the same thing as in 1704, but he afterwards acted a very different part.*

Meantime, Henry Arnaud persevered in fidelity to king Victor. Since Arnaud's restoration to his country, he had taken a vast deal of trouble in the settlement of each of the Vaudois in his own paternal habitation, and the difficulty was increased by the return of numbers supposed to be dead. Some invidious persons persuaded the king that Arnaud wished to excite the Vaudois to rebellion, and to form a republic. No explanation or defence was of any avail, a high price was set on his head, and, in 1709, he left the Valleys in disguise never to return. He proceeded to Wirtemberg, and made himself useful in arranging the affairs of the Waldensian colonists in that province, and spent the remaining twelve years of his life as minister at Shonberg. As he had formerly declined the invitations of king William to live in splendour at London, so he now preferred the humble duties of pastor, to the kind solicitations of Prince Eugene and Queen Anne, to live at their courts. He died in September 1721, worth £226 sterling. His tomb, with a suitable inscription, is still shown. The temple in which he preached is much in want of repair, and only forty people remain as a congregation.† In 1825, M. Goante of Angrogna, had a portrait of Arnaud, with an inscription that he both preached and fought.‡

In 1713, the Duke of Savoy had *Pragela* granted to him by France, on condition of respecting the rights of his Protestant subjects; but instead of fulfilling this agreement, or respecting his promises made to Queen Anne, he obliged every Protestant either to become Romanist or to expatriate himself.§ In 1707, or 1717, the present Pyrani's maternal

* Gilly's Researches, chap. xv. xviii.

† Arnaud's Life in Details, pp. 249—253.

‡ Jackson, pp. 94, 95.

§ Gilly, ib. chap. xv.

grandfather received ordination by Dr Robinson, bishop of London, and was licensed by the same prelate as tutor in the family of a nobleman.* In 1717, a proclamation from Turin forbade any person not a Protestant to enter a Vaudois church.† Mr Hedges, the British ambassador at Turin, was a most anxious friend of the Waldenses, and in 1727, he reminded king Victor of the treaty of 1701, and of his letter to Queen Anne in 1709. But the answer shows the duplicity of the Roman Catholic sovereign, namely, that he could not fulfil the agreement with Anne in 1704, because, so far back as 1696, he had pledged himself to the king of France to exterminate the Protestants in Pragela, provided that Valley were conferred on him. Mr Hedges was soon recalled, his successor did not interest himself in the matter, and Victor seems to have accomplished his design, as not a vestige of the Waldensian church is now to be found in Pragela, except that some persons secretly favour the Waldensian faith, occasionally travel to San Martino to attend public worship, and desire to possess Bibles. The mountain, Col Albergian, in Pragela, is still recognised by that name.‡

The plans of the Romanists against the Waldenses were not confined to Pragela, for, about 1729, the papists introduced a quantity of powder below the church of Villaro, which powder was to be fired by a train from a monastery, to blow up the Waldenses when engaged in divine service. But a Protestant woman received, from some humane person, a written note, containing a description of this gun-powder plot, and urging her not to attend church that day. In this manner, the diabolical stratagem was detected.§ In the year 1740, a destructive inundation took place on Bobbio, and, to prevent the like disaster in future, a breakwater or mole was erected by the contribution of £2503 from England. M. Muston of Bobbio, showed Mr Gilly the accounts still preserved.|| In 1746, the edict of 1653 was renewed, which limits the number of Waldensian notaries to six, and they

* Gilly's Excursion, p. 77.

† Jackson's Remarks, p. 181.

‡ Gilly's Researches, chap. xv. See vol. i. p. 422.

§ Gilly, chap. vii.

|| Gilly's Researches, p. 350.

were not allowed to practise where one of the parties is a Romanist.*

In 1768, George III. of Great Britain, issued letters patent in favour of the Vaudois churches of Piemont, soliciting contributions from well-disposed persons "to enable them to maintain the ministers, churches, schools, and poor," which they were not able to support in any tolerable manner. His majesty directed that the money be paid to the incorporated society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and by them invested in government securities. The interest was to be paid to the inhabitants of the Valleys. Consequently, not only the salaries of the thirteen pastors over the thirteen churches continued to be paid, but attention was given to other pious purposes.†

In the beginning of May 1794, the Waldenses were accused by the papists of surrendering Mirebouc in Lucerna to the French, though only one of them was in that place, who protested against the measure. On this pretext, the Catholics planned a second St Bartholomew in San Giovanni and La Torre, to be executed on the nights of the 14th and 15th of May 1796, by murdering the people at home, while all that were fit for arms were nine miles on the mountains under Godin, opposing the invading army of France. The Romish Curé, Brianza of La Torre, refused to join in the plot. Eight hundred papists swore to exterminate the Protestants of Lucerna. The French had twenty-five thousand men moving to Pignerol and Saluzzo, and fifty thousand men were to march towards Turin. The Vaudois on the other passes had driven them back. A detachment passed between Mount Viso and Col d'Aliries or Abries, and appeared before the fortress of Mirebouc, and the place was given up, but not by the Vaudois. The assassins were to assemble in the garden of the Romish clergyman. "Revenge! revenge!" was to be the word. Captain Odetti of the Piemontese militia, a Catholic, who had information of the stratagem, gave intimation to the people, and sent notice to

* Jackson, p. 181.

† Gilly's Excursion, p. 84. Mr Jackson, p. 182, dates this in 1770, and says the interest amounted to £262.

General Godin, a native of Switzerland, and a Romanist, who could not believe the fact till after seventeen messages, and some distinguished persons had thrown themselves at his feet. He then sent some companies of Waldensian militia, and himself followed with another division to protect the defenceless families. As the day for the bloody deed was come, they hastened over hills and rivers, with prayers to heaven, and eager exertions, conceiving the business of death begun. Awful torrents of rain increased their difficulties. They heard the tolling of the convent-bell at Recollets, which was said to be the signal for the murderers. But how grateful were their feelings, when they found, that providentially the rain had prevented the papists from assembling at the hour in any considerable number. The Vaudois sought no revenge, yet a list of the conspirators was sent to the king, but not one of them was punished, and the brave Godin was tried for leaving his post. He was acquitted, but removed to another station, and got no recompense for his long services.*

Previous to this period, many of the children of Protestants had been stolen, immured in an hospital at Pignerol, and compelled to abjure the faith of their parents. Complaints on this subject were now laid before the king, and recommended by Zimmerman, successor to Godin. Victor Amadeus finding that he needed the aid of the Vaudois against the French, issued on the 4th of June 1794, an indulgent edict, which was wrung from him by dire necessity. The practice of taking away children, to compel them to become Catholics, is forbidden, but girls at ten, and boys at twelve, may enter voluntarily the hospital at Pignerol, "under the direction of the ecclesiastical judges: but no difficulty will be made in permitting parents to see their children, provided proper precautions are taken." But the "precautions," in fact, virtually prevented the parents from seeing their children, or rendered their visits of no avail.†

By the events of war, the French, under Napoleon Bonaparte, got complete possession of Piemont in 1797, and the

* Gilly's Excursion, pp. 112—119. Morgan's Sketch.

† Gilly's Excursion, pp. 65—117—118.

Waldensian pastors and others lost their annuities from England, arising from the grant of king William. The Waldenses appointed a deputation to wait on Napoleon, who thus addressed Pyraui, one of the number. "*Nap.* You are one of the Protestant clergy? *Pyr.* Yes, Sire; and moderator of the Vaudois church. *N.* You are schismatics from the Roman church? *P.* Not schismatics, I hope, but separatists from scruples of conscience, on grounds that we consider to be scriptural. *N.* You have had some brave men among you. But your mountains are the best ramparts you can have. *Cæsar* found some trouble in passing your defiles with his legions. Is *Arnaud's La Rentrée Glorieuse* (Glorious return) correct? Yes, Sire; believing our people to have been assisted by Providence. *N.* How long have you formed an independent church? *P.* Since the time of *Claude*, bishop of Turin, about the year 820. *N.* What stipends have your clergy? *P.* We cannot be said to have any fixed stipend at present. *N.* You used to have a pension from England? *P.* Yes, Sire; the kings of Great Britain were always our benefactors and protectors till lately. The royal pension is now withheld, because we are your Majesty's subjects. *N.* Are you organized? *P.* No, Sire. *N.* Draw out a memorial, and send it to Paris. You shall be organized immediately."*

Napoleon ordered the Vaudois to be enrolled with the clergy of the French dominions, and lands were allotted them, which yielded one thousand francs yearly, to each of the parochial pastors. These lands were made over to *Messieurs Vertu and Brez*, as trustees for the payments. And besides this, two hundred francs were paid to such of the ministers as took the charge of making out certain copies of registers and returns of the population, when there was no regular secretary of the commune, to whom the business properly belonged. These arrangements ensured to the pastors from £40 to £50 sterling each, with the sums which their congregations were able to add. *Mr Jackson* seems to say, that though the royal grant of king William was at this time suspended by *Mr Pitt*, yet that the national bounty founded by *George III.* was still paid, and calculates each of the stipends

* *Gilly's Excursion*, pp. 80—82.

of the thirteen ministers at £63, in all, while under the French. *

An instance of the humanizing influence of genuine religion, appeared in the conduct of the Waldenses, in regard to the disabled men during the war between the French and the Allies in Italy. The commune of Bobbio, at the recommendation of their late worthy pastor, M. Rostan, furnished volunteers, who carried over the Alps, three hundred sick and wounded soldiers, on beds hung upon poles, and each litter borne by four men. For this difficult but honourable service, they received the acknowledgments of the grand army of Italy, 29th December 1799, signed by Suchet, general of division. The priests represented this admirable conduct as flowing from their political opinions being favourable to the French, though the Russians and Austrians met with a similar reception and treatment from these generous benefactors, who never, in the smallest instance, interrupted the most perfect liberty of conscience. The truth of these statements appears by the testimonials received from Marshal Suwarrow, and prince Bagration, or Procraton, who showed the Vaudois the greatest favour; from prince Kevenhuller; from general Niemsell; and, above all, from the brave general count Nieper, who was always their friend. In 1800, the Waldenses were placed on the same footing as other French subjects, and the three Valleys belonged to the department of the Po. The government abolished several Romish cures which were unnecessary, and bestowed their salaries on the Protestant pastors.†

* Jackson, pp. 182, 183. Gilly, p. 82.

† Morgan's Sketch of the State of the Waldenses, Sims' Introduction to Peyran's Letters, pp. 31, 32, Gilly's Excursion, p. 165.

CHAPTER II.

State of the Waldenses under the French—Brought under the King of Sardinia at the Peace—They are much oppressed—New Confession of Faith—Erection of an Hospital near La Torre—FELIX NEF—Formation of a Committee in London, for relief of the Vaudois—The British Government restore the grant of King William—Present state of the Churches in the Valleys, in regard to Church Government—Religious Worship—Public Instruction—Morals and Orthodoxy—List of Pastors.

EVEN when the Waldenses received from the government of France the same temporal support as the Romish clergy, they had the spirit in their discourses to express their gratitude for the kindness formerly displayed towards them by the British. Of this fact, a remarkable example appeared in a sermon of Peter Bert, in October 1805, when the French prefect was present at the time their liberties were proclaimed.* In consequence of freedom of conscience being declared, the temple of San Giovanni was rebuilt,† after it had been prohibited with little intermission, since the treaty of Pignerol in 1655. Napoleon had no notion of sinecures either in church or state. Accordingly, we find that in one of his most active campaigns, namely, at Moscow, in 1812, he signed an order for the suspension of a negligent Vaudois pastor.‡

In 1814, at the termination of the war, the Waldenses again fell under the king of Sardinia. Foreseeing the consequences of this event, they deputed Mr Paul Appia, then judge of the peace in La Torre, and Mr Pyrani, pastor of Pramol, to wait on Lord Bentinck, commander of the British forces at Genoa, requesting him to recommend them to the king, Victor Emanuel, on his return to Piedmont from Sardinia, and to urge his Majesty to place them on the same footing with his other subjects, with this exception, that they were in nowise desirous of being admitted to any exercise of political power in the State, and in the government of their

* Gilly's Researches, chap. xviii.

† Morgan's Sketch.

‡ Gilly, ib.

country. They conceived, that since Victor had been so much indebted to the British nation, he would listen to the British commander; but the behaviour of the king showed what degree of gratitude glowed in his breast. His Sardinian Majesty arrived at Genoa, while the Waldensian deputies were there, and Lord Bentinck had the goodness, about the 18th of May, to recommend them to his notice. The king, however, was cold towards that people. When Mr Gilly was in the Valleys, one of the Pyranis pointed to Lord William Bentinck's portrait, and remarked with a grateful heart, "If any thing could have been done for the Vaudois, Lord William would have effected it; but the restored king was deaf to his intercessions." His lordship had spoken to Victor before he reached his capital, when we would suppose him overpowered with respect for the English, as his deliverers, yet, having got to Turin on the 20th of May, he, on the 21st, published a manifesto, enforcing the edicts of his predecessors against the Waldenses, depriving the pastors of the salary they had enjoyed under the French, and refusing all the privileges the Protestants had possessed during his dethronement. Pyrani of Pramol, survived this interview only about three months. By a patent of the 13th, or 30th of September, the king ordered the intendant to compel the Waldenses to shut up the church of San Giovanni, as not being within the limits. The intendant wrote the moderator to this effect on the 25th of November. On the Vaudois remonstrating, three conditions of re-opening the church were proposed, and the one accepted by them, was, that a screen should be erected before it, that the Romanists might not be offended with the sight of such a temple of abomination. A similar concealment was built before the Vaudois school, that the ears of the pious Catholics might not be assailed by hearing the heretical children repeat their lessons. In San Giovanni, the papists are nearly forty, and the Protestants, seventeen hundred. The Waldenses at this time were deprived of public employments, such as being receivers of contributions, collectors of salt duties, secretaries of the communes, and judges. They cannot practice as physicians or advocates, because at the University of Turin, gentlemen of these professions must swear an oath, declaring the pope's supremacy.

In the army, no Protestant can be promoted above the rank of a sergeant, except in the militia, in which the Waldensian ministers are obliged to serve. Under the late French government, three Vaudois in the army attained to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; two or three to that of Major; a number of the places of chief of battalion, Captain, and Lieutenant; and many received decorations.* The afflictions which the Roman Catholic kings suffered during the French revolution did not render them wiser, or more liberal. "They repented not of their deeds."

On the 16th of March 1815, a vice-judge of the government of La Torre, who owes his existence to the benevolence of the Waldenses, enforced against them the edicts of 1626 and 1730. On the suggestion of General Count Nieper, the Vaudois sent to M. Count Bubna, a list of their requests to be presented to the king, namely, that they may have liberty of conscience along with the other subjects of his Sardinian Majesty; that they may be admitted to civil and military offices; that they may retain all the property which they have acquired; that they may be allowed to settle in any part of his Majesty's dominions; that the salary given to the pastors by the last French government, may be continued by his Majesty; that the church of San Giovanni be kept open, others built, and schools kept by the Waldenses themselves; that they may have liberty to print and circulate their books; that they be allowed to practise as physicians, apothecaries, surgeons, advocates, and notaries; that in the municipal councils, where the population is mixed, no strangers or indigent Catholics, receive appointments without their consent; that they be permitted to enclose their burial places, and build edifices for public worship or instruction; that their children under fifteen years, who are liable at present to be forcibly taken from their parents, and shut up in convents, may not be compelled or induced to change their religion; that the people may not be forced to observe the Roman festivals; that they may participate of all the privileges of Catholic subjects, in the same manner as after the

* Morgan's Sketch. Gilly's Excursion, pp. 82—86—92. 119. Jackson, pp. 183—186.

revolution; and, that the Waldenses may be established in the same state as in January 1813.

In presenting this reasonable petition to the king, M. Count Bubna was not successful. Neither was the English envoy, Mr Hill, to whom a deputation of the Vaudois was sent, consisting of M. M. Meille, Pergran, and Rostaing, ministers; Brezzi, and J. P. D. Vertu. Mr Hill applied to the government on their behalf, but he seems to have been coldly received. The queen refused even to see the deputation. The king, indeed, received them, but granted no relief. At this time the families of the pastors were in great distress from the want of support. Their salaries were lavished on the Romish clergy, though, in some communes, hardly any Catholic population existed. They were required to refund sums which had been long ago expended. The remittance which they received from Holland for the support of schools, the relief of ministers' widows, and the aid of superannuated pastors, was, after the year 1810, diminished two-thirds, and at this time amounted to only £100 sterling. The committee of the three denominations in London applied to the British government, requesting the attention of the Earl of Liverpool to the practicability of renewing to the Waldenses the grant of William and Mary, and the application was favourably received. The committee also, in the mean time, sent to their necessitous brethren some pecuniary relief.* On the suggestion of the Reverend T. Sims, editor of Peyran's Letters, a Bible association was formed in the Valleys in 1816, in connection with the British and Foreign Society, which sent from London a liberal grant of five hundred Bibles.† About this time, the sum of £400 were granted in the mean time from the British Government during the king's pleasure, to be divided among the Waldensian pastors.‡ On the 14th May 1817, Christiana Smith, wife of T. Allan, Esquire, Edinburgh, died in the Valleys, and was interred in the Vaudois temple of La Torre, with a short inscription.§

* Morgan's Sketch.

† Sim's Introduction to Peyran, p. 59.

‡ List of Places, Pensions, &c. under the British government, extracted from the Extraordinary Red Book, p. 46, line 15, from the bottom. Newcastle.

§ Gilly, ib.

As the doctrines of the Waldenses had been often misrepresented, and, as a great variety of changes had lately taken place in their circumstances, the pastors conceived they had a call at this time to emit a new confession of their faith, dated 20th of February 1819.* Formerly mention was made of the Victor Amadeus hiding himself from the French among the Waldenses. At that time the concealer received a present of the king's silver drinking cup, and leave to enclose a burying place. But had the individual betrayed his unfortunate monarch to the French, he would have received immense sums of gold. About 1819, the cup was still in possession of his descendants, who were in poverty, but fearing, because Protestants, to go with it to Turin, they sold or pawned it in Pignerol for twelve francs.† A Romish curé at Geneva, wrote in defence of the worship of saints and images, and Peyrani wrote a reply. From poverty he was unable to publish it, but, Mr Lowther, on a visit to him in 1820, undertook the publication. So complete was the answer, that the papist called in all the unsold copies of his work.‡ In 1821, Peyrot, pastor of Roras, was drawn in the conscription, and received a peremptory order to join his regiment as a private soldier. Count Truchsess, ambassador of the king of Prussia, interposed and got him exempted, not as a clergyman, but as above the prescribed age.§ Though this and other oppressions already mentioned, flowed from the tyrannical spirit of the established religion, yet the king was convinced of the excellence of the Waldenses, for, on hearing some insinuation against them in 1821, he said to Count de Crotti, governor of Pignerol,—“ I know that I am loved of the Waldenses; I have carried on war in the Valleys; I have sometimes with pleasure dwelt in the midst of them; their attachment was known to me; now I am delighted to learn from you, that in these last circumstances, they have not lost their character.”|| In 1822, M. Coquerel at Paris, published an account of the state of the Vaudois, and stated their grievances nearly as they had been since

* See Appendix, No. xii.

† Gilly's Rerearches, pp. 359, 360.

‡ Gilly's Excursion, p. 97.

§ Gilly, p. 86.

|| Sim's Introduction to Peyran, p. 34. Gilly, p. 118.

1814. He estimated their population at eighteen thousand in twenty-two communes.*

William Plenderleath, Esquire, when residing in the Valleys for a summer, suggested the propriety of endowing an hospital, and in the following year, 1822, remitted two hundred and seventy francs, being part of a sacramental collection by the English congregation at Rome. The king of Sardinia granted liberty to apply for help to foreign countries. A subscription in 1823 was opened in Switzerland for the hospital and the support of schools. Count Truchsess applied to his master the king of Prussia, who granted ten thousand francs for benevolent purposes at his excellency's discretion, and appointed a collection for the hospital in the churches of his dominions, which produced one hundred ducats. Mr William Allen, a benevolent member of the Society of Friends, suggested to the Emperor of Russia the claims of the Waldenses, and his imperial Majesty intrusted Count Truchsess with twelve thousand francs, of which four thousand were appropriated to the hospital. This liberal donation was acknowledged in a letter to Alexander from P. Bert the moderator, 4th September 1823. The Reverend P. Appia of Frankfort was deputed by the Vaudois to the Low Countries to solicit subscriptions for the hospital, and was patronized by the king of Holland. M. P. Appia visited France, Wurtemberg, Dramstadt, Saxony, Hanover, Baden, Switzerland, and Frankfort. In England, the Earls of Liverpool and Clarendon, the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, and the Bishop of London contributed liberally. The late Bishop of Durham bequeathed £500 to the Vaudois.† In the course of 1823, Mr Sims found that the Waldenses were unable to defray the expenses of carriage, custom-house dues, and the like, in selling the five hundred Bibles; and the society authorized the ministers to distribute the unsold copies gratis among the poor.‡

In 1823, FELIX NEF, a young Swiss probationer, after declining ordination at Geneva, and obtaining it from Messrs

* Scotsman for July 30, 1823.

† Sim's Introduction to Peyran, pp. 49—51. Edinburgh Advertiser for September 30, 1823.

‡ Sim's, ib. p. 59.

Wilks, Cook, and other English dissenters, penetrated the most secluded Waldensian retreats in the High Alps. In Frassiniera and Queiras, some of the witnesses remained from the thirteenth century, and some notice of them has been taken in the course of this work. They escaped the persecutions under Louis XIV. and XV. The refugees from Piemont had often gone to Dormilleuse, the highest habitable place in Europe, and there built a village on the edge of the glacier, where they subsisted with only a few copies of the Scriptures without school or pastor. In the neighbouring mountains were many families who called themselves members of the primitive church, and lived in seventeen or eighteen remote villages, over an extent of fifty miles in diameter. They frequently received baptism from the Romish priests, but had little other connection with that church. The village of Dormilleuse is the only one that never submitted externally to the Romish church. No individual ever bowed his knee to an image. The people long received visits from the Waldensian ministers, and on the edict of liberty to Protestants by Louis XVI. in 1785, these mountaineers more openly avowed themselves. Then did "the inhabitants of the rock sing." HENRY OBERLIN, son of the celebrated pastor of Ban de la Roche, ministered several months in this place, but his premature death at Waldbach, 16th November 1817, in consequence of a severe cold caught in the South of France, terminated his visits in Frassiniera and Queiras. Here was the scene of the labours of Mr Nef, who for five years preached, taught, and administered sacraments in these parts. He often travelled by steps cut in the ice. The people being obliged to labour all day, attended him at night. Numbers travelled forty miles to hear the gospel. In many instances, families live for seven months in the year quite beside the manure of the cow-shed or stable, which is cleaned only once a-year. Clothes are dirty and the diet coarse. The bread is made of unsifted rye meal, baked only once a-year. In La Comb, the sun is never seen for six months. The inhabitants speak Patois, and at first they fled from Mr Nef, but he attracted them by music. He pleased them much by teaching them to form a canal to water the meadows. He founded a school,

in which he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, always beginning and ending with religious instruction. Some of the people did not even know of the existence of other countries. This indefatigable, most devoted, and self-denied servant of God, sunk under his extraordinary exertions. After his decease, Mr Gilly and M. Bonjour visited these parts, and Mr Gilly afterwards published an interesting Memoir of Mr Nef, who was succeeded by Mr Herman, now at Avrieux.*

In 1824, the Table obtained a formal grant from the king of Sardinia, to erect the hospital, and the contributions from the different countries were found to amount to one hundred and five thousand francs, which were invested in the funds of England, Prussia, and Holland. Besides the hospital in Copia, near La Torre, a dispensary was erected at Pomaretto, in San Martino. The funds produce £150 from England, £150 from Prussia, £100 from Holland, and £13 yearly rent of a farm, named Airals Blancs, which the proprietors of the hospital bought. Thus the annual income is nearly £500. The building has twelve rooms, the smallest of which is sixteen feet square. It stands in the midst of two acres of ground, is well aired, clean, and properly attended by a commission, consisting of president, secretary, treasurer, and five members. The internal management is under the physician, M. Coucourde, who has only five hundred francs, with rooms in the house, and the produce of a garden. The ward-keeper receives one hundred and fifty francs, and the matron, one hundred and twenty. The salary of the surgeon is three hundred francs, who visits the house at stated periods, and occasionally when his presence is required. The hospital admits fourteen patients, and the dispensary eight. The expense of each patient is one franc, or tenpence a-day, which provides food, medicine, fuel, and wine. About two hundred persons a-year are admitted into the two houses. The common complaints arise from old age, inflammation, accidents, rheumatism, and slow fevers, which are caused from low and

* Gilly's Researches, chap. xiv. The reader will be highly gratified, if he can obtain a perusal of the Memoir.

poor living. Regular tables are kept of the whole management. The farm consists of fifty-six acres, and yields all kinds of grain, timber, grass, and wine.*

The narrative of Mr Gilly's excursion among the Waldenses excited considerable attention, and on 26th May, 1825, a committee was formed in London for their relief, including the names of a respectable number of nobility, bishops, clergy, and gentlemen.† This season, Sereno E. Dwight, an American minister, visited the Vaudois, and in a letter from Rome, described them as having preserved the pure doctrine from Christ and his apostles. He estimated their number at twenty thousand in thirteen villages, and imagined he saw in them a strong resemblance to the fathers, who originally settled in New England. He stated the disadvantages under which they were labouring, on account of their religion. He was pleased with Mr Bert, as a godly minister, who, though poor, yet possessed seven or eight hundred volumes, and was a man of general intelligence. Mr Dwight was much pleased with the solemnity and sincerity that prevailed at a religious meeting he attended with Mr Bert.‡ This year, Mr Jackson performed a tour among the Waldenses, visited all the pastors, and on his return to England, induced the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to grant a new donation of seven hundred Bibles to the Vaudois; and the Paris Bible Society gave three hundred copies.§ The inhabitants of the Valleys, however, have not only received the bounty of others, but have been disposed to exercise Christian benevolence. Accordingly, in a communication from count Truchsess, to Mr Sims from Turin, 18th of August 1825, they are mentioned as having contributed three thousand francs for the Hollanders, who had suffered by an inundation.|| On Saturday, the 26th of March 1826, a deputation of the committee for relief of the Vaudois, consisting of the Earl of St Germain's, Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, the Rev.

* Gilly, *ib.* chap. vi. Jackson, pp. 32—34.

† Sims, *ib.* p. 47.

‡ Evangelical Magazine for July, 1825, p. 280.

§ Sims, p. 59.

|| Sims, pp. 32, 33.

Dr Sumner, Mr Hamilton, and Mr Gilly, held an interview with Lord Liverpool, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by appointment at Fife-House; and stated the claims of the Waldenses to the restoration of the grant of William and Mary. Both Lord Liverpool and Mr Robinson expressed themselves favourably inclined to a renewal of the grant, and the object was ultimately attained.* Consequently the Vaudois clergy receive from this fund, £266, and £292 from the English Society for Propagating the Gospel, raised from the £10,000 collected under the paternal care of George III. in 1768. A Dutch bounty is also paid. By the urgent application of the Prussian and Belgian ministers at Turin, his Sardinian majesty granted the Waldensian pastors a pension of five hundred francs each. But this was not a donation either from himself or from the public funds of the kingdom, for the money was raised by a tax raised exclusively on the Vaudois, and by a charge of from forty to one hundred francs imposed on each commune where they inhabit.† Doubtless this part of the support of the ministers would be more scriptural, were the government not to interfere at all, but to allow the Waldenses themselves to give the five hundred francs to their ministers. The other parts of their income did not arise from funds raised by compulsion, because Oliver Cromwell and George III. collected the money to found the salaries by voluntary contributions.

Besides the above sums, the different congregations add a further help to the income of their pastors, by voluntary contribution, varying from one hundred to two hundred francs a-year. The synod has resolved to give more than one-third of the royal bounty to other purposes than the temporal advantages of the pastors. Two new parishes have also been added, by separating Macel, or Maceglia from Maneille, and Roderetto from Prali. A Dutch bounty aids ministers a little. The royal bounty which had been agreed to be restored in 1826, was, in 1827, paid to the ministers; and their

* Scotsman, April 1, 1826. Edinburgh Advertiser, April 4, 1826. Sims, p. 48.

† Gilly's Excursion, p. 83.

stipends, which for sometime had amounted to barely eleven hundred francs, or about £40, were now raised to between £50 and £60 each, with a dwelling-house, called a presbytery, because the presbyter resides in it, as also a garden, and sometimes a little rural. At present, fifteen churches, and fifteen pastors, are in the Valleys.*

In regard to *church government*, the highest ecclesiastical authority among the Vaudois, is the *synod*, which the moderator cannot convoke without the consent of the churches. He must have also the special permission, by patent, of the king of Sardinia, after the subjects to come before the court have been submitted to the minister of the interior at Turin. The intendant of the Province, and the secretary, are always present in the synod, which prevents freedom of discussion. Formerly, it used to convene every third year, but at present, five years sometimes intervene betwixt its meetings, because the expense of obtaining a patent amounts to £50 sterling. The synod has power to reprove, or remove a pastor from his charge for unfaithful preaching, or a vicious life. The moderator has no power out of synod, and even in it, he is only the first man among equals.† The late moderator, Peyrani, thought his office essentially Episcopalian, though from poverty he claimed no other authority, except what his brethren voluntarily conferred.‡ The Waldenses had never any other bishop, except the bishop of Turin. Though Mr Gilly appears to think they had a bishop to ordain and censure, after they declined subjection to Turin, yet we have no evidence of such episcopacy, for since that period, the moderator has been always viewed to be the highest ecclesiastical individual among them. “At present,” says Mr G. “their moderator does not even ordain, nor does he seem to exercise any authority, unless in conjunction with the table at the synod, as president.”§ This much could be asserted of the moderator of any presbyterian synod, nay more, because he takes the lead at ordination, in “laying on of the hands of the presbytery!” Dunrig the interval of the synod,

* Jackson, pp. 37—62, 63, 101, 102—104. Gilly's Researches, chap. xviii.

† Jackson, pp. 57, 58—228.

‡ Gilly, p. 72.

§ Gilly, ib. p. 363

the Waldensian moderator is "to watch for the observation of the synodical articles, of the ecclesiastical discipline, and over the administration of the poor's money." To these duties, he attends in connection with the Table, or sub-synod, composed "of three pastors, of whom the one is the moderator; the second, the assistant moderator; the third, the secretary; further, there are two laymen," who have been added only of late.* These have generously declined taking help from Mr Gilly for travelling expenses. When we consider the long time that elapses between the meetings of synod, some such committee or commission seems necessary for conducting the ecclesiastical government, and indeed this is somewhat analogous to the commission of the General Assembly in Scotland; only in the Valleys, the table consists of the same individuals, while in the Assembly, a new moderator, and a new commission are appointed every year. Before 1630, the Vaudois moderator had more power than sometime afterward, but Leger speaks of the necessity of continuing the annual visitations of the moderator to each church.† The moderator is not mentioned anciently as ordaining, without the authority or company of synod, or colloquy, though some seem to hold this view. Ministers are now ordained in Switzerland, but they must be recognised by the table and synod, and called by the congregations.‡

No *colloquys*, or meetings of *presbytery*, are now held in the Valleys as anciently. But besides the synod, each congregation has its *consistory*, or *session*, which is composed of minister, elders, and deacon. The elders are elected in the different quarters of the congregation, and the number varies according to the extent of the parish. One of these elders is called the deacon, who, under the pastor, distributes to the poor such alms as are collected at the communion, or at other times. The consistory manages the temporal and spiritual concerns of the church. No parish receives a pastor, but by its own consent. In some cases, indeed, parishes, for the sake of peace, have acquiesced in appointments made by the table and synod, when they were not altogether satisfied,

* Jackson, pp. 57, 58. 226, 227. Gilly, chap. viii.

† See pp. 362, 363 of this volume.

‡ Gilly, ib. p. 384.

but still their consent was implied. Prali and Maneille formed the first class or smallest of the parishes, and probably since the erection of Rodoretto and Macel, into new parishes, these will also belong to this class. The remaining eleven belong to the second class. By a regulation of synod, when one of the eleven falls vacant, one of the ministers from the small parishes succeeds if he pleases, with the consent of the new situation. The last ordained minister succeeds to the small charge.* The appointment of a pastor by the table is only provisional, till the synod confirm the deed. The minister having been formerly ordained, is introduced to the congregation by the moderator, by his assistant moderator, or by some pastor already established.†

The *church service* commences by the reader at nine o'clock reading the Scriptures, in the time of which, the minister enters, and the regent, or schoolmaster. Then the pastor gives a short exhortation to confession—supplication and confession from the liturgy—a psalm sung—extempore prayer—sermon from memory, as no read sermons are tolerated among the Waldenses—form of prayer for magistrates, and all orders of men—the Lord's prayer—the Apostles' creed—a psalm—benedictory address, and exhortation to alms-giving—dismissal with the blessing. No organ is used in the Valleys, except in La Torre. This forenoon service is all that the pastor of La Torre is expected to do, and is finished in an hour and a-half. Mr Gilly thinks, and justly, that the minister ought also to conduct the afternoon service, which is performed by the regent in reading Scripture lessons—leading the psalmody—reading the prayers. He reads the service also on Thursday, and exhorts at funerals in absence of the pastor. Though extemporaneous prayer has been always used among the Waldenses, yet they seem to have been long accustomed to a liturgy. In one of the Cambridge manuscripts, which cannot be older than a little before the close of the fifteenth century, as the earlier ones have disappeared, the Waldenses say, “we have here inserted the very expressions of that prayer, which we make use of before the communion, as they were written in our liturgy, or form of celebrating the Holy Supper, and

* Jackson, pp. 228, 229. Gilly, p. 383.

† Jackson, pp. 37, 38—59.

in our public catechism.”* The catechism of the twelfth century has no form of prayer attached to it in any of the copies given by Perrin, Leger, or Morland. In 1825, Mr Jackson saw at Geneva “a short liturgy in the Vaudois dialect, a small octavo in vellum, bound in crimson velvet.”† The old Genevan liturgy of 1754 is read in the Valleys by seven pastors, the Neufchatel by six, and the Lausanne by two. The pastors have appointed a large committee to draw up a new liturgy, selected from these three, in connection with the English one, the expense of publication to be defrayed by the English Vaudois committee, who have also granted five thousand francs, to aid in building the new college at La Torre, and two thousand francs for books.‡ Our space will not here permit a discussion of the arguments for and against the use of a liturgy. A directory for worship, such as that attached to the Westminster Confession, guides only in the materials for prayer, but a liturgy contains also the form of words. The liturgy is used at baptisms of infants in the church, or in private houses, and at marriages which are consecrated in the church. In some parishes, public sermons are performed during summer in the mountains.§ According to the articles of the synod in 1822, “each pastor must keep a register of catechumens, whom he receives to the Holy Supper; and if they are not in a state to render a reason of their faith, at least for the more simple articles, he must not inscribe them, nor consequently admit them to the ratification of the vow of baptism.”||

In regard to *public instruction*, one grammar school is taught at La Torre, and in each of the fifteen parishes is a great school, which ought to be taught ten months in the year, but owing to the smallness of the teacher's salary, and the children being employed in various ways, these are frequently open for only five or six months. In the Valleys are one hundred and twenty-six smaller schools, which are common-

* Gilly's Excursion, p. 110. Researches, chap. iii. Jackson's Remarks on La Tour, 12th June 1825.

† Jackson, p. 276.

‡ Gilly, chap. xii.

§ Jackson, pp. 59, 60.

|| Jackson, pp. 103, 104. Mr Bert, Moderator, allowed him in 1825, to copy the above from the Records of Synod.

ly taught from three to five months in winter. When the winter is open, however, the children attend the sheep and goats to pasture. From this cause, only seventy-six of these schools were attended in 1826, and one hundred and twelve in 1830. The London committee support four girls' schools, and charitable individuals support four more. Patois is the language of the country, but the schoolmasters use French, though they cannot use it very fluently. They are at a loss for books of arithmetic, for slates, and pencils. Arithmetic and writing are taught on detached pieces of paper, which mode is rather expensive for parents, yet they write well, and some make considerable progress in arithmetic. The older scholars are classed, but each young one gets a distinct lesson. Reading is taught by a spelling-book, and the children read the Old and New Testament, as well as Osterwald's Catechism. Two small familiar catechisms are learned, and many of the scholars have Osterwald's by heart, though it consists of one hundred and twenty-five pages. It is according to the old edition of 1753, and not from the Genevan edition of 1814, which leaves out such parts as would offend Socinians and Arians. It is quite sound on the Trinity, and on justification by faith, embracing the righteousness of Christ. Thus, "What is justifying faith?—That by which we are justified before God. How does it justify us before God?—By embracing and applying to us the righteousness of Jesus Christ. What do you understand by the righteousness of Jesus Christ?—The merit of his obedience and of his death, by which he has appeased God towards us, and has expiated our sins. What is embracing the righteousness of Christ?—It is to believe that he died for us. What does the word "justify" mean?—To declare one just who was held for guilty. How are we justified in Jesus Christ?—Because the righteousness of Christ has become ours. How is it made ours?—Because, by grace, our believing on him is imputed to us." Four acts of justifying faith are then stated, thus: "What is the first?—To know and believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that, having become the son of man, he has done and suffered all that was necessary to acquire salvation for us. What is the second?—It is to run to him and to find all our salvation in him. What is

the third?—It is to apply to ourselves all that he has done and suffered, as if we had done and suffered it in our own proper persons. What is the fourth?—It is to assure ourselves, that because we have all our recourse to him, God will grant us grace. How are we assured of being received into favour by running to Jesus Christ?—Because the Lord has declared that he will not reject those who come to him, John vi. 37. What advantage do we receive by this assurance?—The feeling (sentiment) of our peace with God, the hope of eternal salvation. On what is that assurance founded?—On the promises of the gospel: ‘Believe and thou shalt be saved.’”

The annual contributions from Holland are in a great measure expended on the schools. These sums vary, and, in 1829, they amounted to nine thousand six hundred francs, or £384 sterling.* The Dutch allowance to the great schools is from fifty-five to one hundred and fifty-five francs each: To the small schools, from twelve to forty-eight. The regent of La Torre has four hundred, or £16, including his salary as catechist and reader in the church. The regent of Rodoretto has one hundred and twenty-eight francs. The teachers of the small schools, in some instances live with the people in the cottages, by rotation, in the hamlets, where they teach. The government prohibits such systems of education as Dr Bell’s. Elementary books are good if the children understood French, which has been encouraged since 1630. Only Luke and John are in Patois.†

Italian books on Protestantism are prohibited in the Valleys. To the spelling-book, are added prayers on entering and leaving the church, graces, the Lord’s prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments. The two familiar catechisms

* The distribution that year was made thus:—To the poor of the fifteen parishes, thirteen hundred and forty francs:—To widows of ministers, two hundred and ninety:—To particular objects of bounty, one hundred and forty:—To retired pastors, four hundred:—To a suspended pastor, two hundred and fifty:—To five doyens, or senior pastors, four hundred and fifty:—To Latin schoolmasters, six hundred and fifty:—To rewards, thirty:—To fifteen great, and one hundred and twelve small schools, thirty-four hundred and fifty-six:—To the hospital, twenty-five hundred:—To the pastors of Prali and Maneille, and casualties, ninety-four. Total, ninety-six hundred.

† Gilly’s Researches, chap. ii.

are from an edition of 1759. The schoolmaster's salary varies from £6, to £16, arising chiefly from the liberality of the Dutch and English. The parents, in many cases, give a small sum to the teacher. At the girls' schools, reading, writing, sewing, knitting, and other female works are taught. Several of these exist in the Valleys, and the salary is £12, in those of San Giovanni, Villaro, San Germano, Clots in Villa-secca, and La Torre. Two-thirds of the income of the first of these are furnished by the Countess of Fontana, and all the rest by the London Committee. The salary of the others must be much lower. The pastor is to be consulted at the admission of each scholar. In summer, the hours are from eight to eleven, and from one to four. In winter, from nine to twelve, and from one to three. The female teacher begins and ends with prayer every day. One child reads the New Testament, while the others are sewing, knitting, and the like. The work of one day in the week is devoted to the hospital and dispensary. Colonel Beckwith's school at Bobbio, was opened on 2d of January 1829, in presence of pastor and elders, with a suitable prayer, and address to the mistress and children. Mr Sims wishes similar schools at Angrogna, and Prarustino, and indeed a want of girls' schools is felt in the Valleys. The people are much attached to the old plan of control and hamlet schools.*

The *Grammar School* is kept in the presbytery of La Torre. Latin, and a little Greek, were usually learned here before the students went to Geneva, Basle, or Lausanne. The edict of 1602, and others, were against this school. Cromwell's salary of £20, was withdrawn by Charles II. As the fund of £10,000 provided by George III. was meant partly for schools, the London Committee obtained in 1829 from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, £28, or £30 a-year, with £12 more from private funds for the grammar school at Pomaretto, as the Dutch committee had written they were unable any longer to support it. By recommendation of the table, the son of the late moderator, Peyrani, was appointed teacher in May, 1830, and discharges his duties in a creditable manner. M. Monastier is teacher of

* Gilly, *ib.* and chap. ix.

Latin, Greek, and Sacred Literature at La Torre, with a salary of £35 a-year, of which £27, or 650 francs are from Holland, with thirty francs for prizes. There are twenty-two boys, from nine to fifteen and a-half years of age in five classes. The first class learn writing, arithmetic, and Latin grammar. The next read *Christomathia*, or selection of easy Latin sentences. The third, the more difficult parts of the above collection, with *Phædrus*, and the Greek Grammar. The fourth, *Cæsar*, *Quintus Curtius*, *Ovid*, and the Greek Grammar. The highest class read *Cicero*, *Sallust*, *Livy*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, Greek Testament, and Geography. No prosody, or scanning, nor dictionaries, unless lent by the master, who gives a system of geography to copy. In summer, the hours are from seven to ten, and from two till four. In winter, eight to eleven, and from two to four. Some of the scholars travel a considerable distance. The master can furnish bed, board, and washing, for twenty francs, per month. In the midst of all these disadvantages, the boys are well grounded in their education.*

No traces of the ancient Waldensian college are now to be found in the Meadow of the Tower in Angrogna. Leger and Brezzi describe the place as grassy land on the edge of the Angrogna torrent, surrounded by rocks, and almost impregnable. Mr Gilly found in it a new Romish church.† The want of this *College* has been long felt, especially of late, as the Waldensian students were in great danger of being corrupted by the Arian and Socinian doctrines taught in Geneva, Basle, and Lausanne. A *New College*, however, has been established at La Torre, for languages, mathematics, and divinity. This has been founded by an act of private munificence, not by the London Committee, as stated in p. 551, and the necessary funds were entrusted for this purpose to Mr Gilly. M. I. Revel, formerly pastor at Macegaglia, or Macel, is principal of the college, whose salary, with

* Gilly's Researches, chap. vi.—xviii. The price of books is discouraging. The Latin grammar from Lausanne, costs 2 francs. Gr. Gram. 3 francs. *Christomathia*, three francs. Selection from *Livy*, *Sallust*, and *Cicero*, 3½ francs.

† Gilly, chap. xiii.

that of ten students, as exhibitors, commenced in 1831. For the present, this institution usually receives the appellation of the superior school. Fears existed, that the Sardinian government would prohibit theological lectures, but this difficulty seems to be removed.*

Before the year 1825, twelve hundred and seventy Bibles and more Testaments had been distributed in the Valleys by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and by the institutions of Basle, Lausanne, and Geneva. One-third of the Waldensian families thus had the Bible, and nearly the whole possessed the New Testament. In 1826, eleven hundred more Bibles were sent from London, and three hundred from Paris, all free.† Consequently, about two-thirds of the families must have been then put in possession of the whole Bible. The Edinburgh Bible Society have a design of publishing a new edition of the Patois Bible for the use of the Waldenses, and others who speak that language. The moderator keeps an account of all the bounties granted from every country. Besides the British grants already mentioned, he has inserted some books from generous individuals, and £200 from the Baptist Society.‡

Religion has had its crisis during the war of the French Revolution, but better days are returning. The happiest effects may be anticipated so far as the unadulterated Bible is circulated. Practical Christianity is at least not declining. Drunkenness is almost unknown,§ as well as quarrels and loose language. The Lord's day is in general decently observed. About the half of the people attend the church, where men and women occupy different divisions of the house. All young people are anxious to receive the Lord's Supper, and solemnly prepare for it. Though exceptionable things are found among them, their morals are more pure than the generality of other professed Christians. A decency is observed even in their amusements, yet they sometimes profane the Sabbath by these. One of them killed another in contention, but the man-slayer was not the aggressor. The shepherds on the mountains meet on the turf for wor-

* Gilly, chap. xviii. xix. and private letter.

† Jackson, pp. 105, 106.

‡ Gilly's Excursion, p. 86.

§ Jackson, pp. 56, 139, 140, 220, 221.

ship on Sabbath. Du Thou's account of the intelligence of the Waldenses holds true at this day.* Religious services are observed at marriages and baptisms, but not at funerals, excepting a short prayer.†

The present Waldensian territory is about fifty square miles, a great part of which is occupied with mountains, and some of them are cultivated with great industry. Little terraces are formed on the shelves and crevices of the rocks, which bear a scanty crop of potatoes and buck-wheat, introduced about thirty years ago. These productions, with chestnuts and rye, form frequently the principal food of the inhabitants. Yet common wheat and vines are produced in many places.‡ On the tithes, Mr Arthur Young made particular inquiry, when in Italy, and on Piemont he writes:—"Throughout this principality, tithe is an object of no account. I made inquiries concerning it everywhere: The greatest part of the lands pay none; and upon the rest, it is so light, as not to amount to more than from a twentieth to a fiftieth of the produce." In Milan, he states that tithes are "confined to lands anciently in culture." In the ecclesiastical States, tithes are next to nothing. "All I conversed with in Italy," says Mr Young, "on the subject of tithes, expressed amazement at the tithes we are subject to."§ In Angrogna, and probably in other places, the pastor has often been interrupted on Sabbath by the papists surrounding the church, and making a noise, which proceedings are stimulated by the Romish priest.|| Other disadvantages of the present Waldenses have been already stated.

When we consider the fact that the Vaudois for a long period sent their students to Geneva, Basle, and Lausanne, for education, and that in these places Arianism and Socinianism have been openly taught since the peace, we could hardly expect the Valleys to be altogether uninfected. On the 3d of May 1817, the pastors of Geneva prohibited all ministers from preaching on "the divinity of Jesus Christ,

* See pp. 254—257 of this volume.

† Gilly's Researches, chap. i. Excursion, pp. 126—129.

‡ Jackson, pp. 98, 99. Of the formation of the terraces on the mountains, see vol. i. p. 288.

§ Morning Chronicle, January 21, 1830.

|| Gilly's Researches, chap. iv.

original sin, the operation of grace, and predestination.” Since that period, only one of twenty-two newly elected ministers, has ventured to preach the divinity of Christ.* Preaching these fundamental doctrines was the cause of Cesar Malan and others being driven from the Genevan church. An evangelical academy, however, has been lately instituted in that city. The Waldensian students who studied at Geneva were, after all, kept wonderfully orthodox by the pastors in the Valleys, and by their noble lesson and catechism. Mr Gilly† tells, however, that the late Pyrani of Pomaretto, one of the Vaudois pastors, was not clear on the Calvinistic doctrine of absolute predestination and election. The late M. Mondon of San Giovanni, had been educated at Geneva, and was a greater enemy to Dr Malan and his associates than he was to the Genevan pastors. He denied them to be Socinians, but admitted they were mostly Arians. Mondon did not cordially admit the divinity of Christ, original sin, the atonement, the need of a spiritual renovation of heart, and justification by faith alone. Messrs Bert, Gay, and Muston, were much better ministers.‡

In consequence of these unsound doctrines, a number of serious people through the Valleys were dissatisfied, and suffered much abuse from some, especially in San Giovanni. These sufferers endured with much patience and docility the violent proceedings used against them. They applied to the Table for liberty to restrict their communion to those churches whose pastors were known to believe and to preach the true divinity of our Saviour’s person, and this petition was doubtless intended to free themselves of the ministry of Mondon; but as the liberty asked was refused by the Table, they felt that their duty called them to separate, and to hold communion among themselves. At this time Mr Gay, a young man lately ordained, returned to the Valleys, examined the grounds of their separation, saw them suffering for righteousness sake, openly attended their meetings, and espoused their cause. Consequently, the pulpits in the Val-

* Gilly, *ib.* chap. iii. *Memoir of Nef*, p. 82—86. Edinburgh Christian Instructor for February 1833, p. 139.

† Excursion, p. 80.

‡ Jackson, pp. 80, 81.

leys were generally shut against him, and the Table did not appoint him to a church. Soon after, a number of the Waldenses in San Giovanni, notified to the civil authorities their intention to form a separate assembly for the observation of all divine ordinances, and the Lord's Supper was for the first time administered to this new secession body at Whitsunday 1831. The authorities continued to protect these conscientious persons in the exercise of their religious rights. They have been exposed to mockings, and individuals have undergone domestic persecution. They have no other resource to support their minister and the poor, but their own voluntary contribution, and if they are at all able, we cannot doubt their willingness to do both. Families in other communes are disposed to imitate this example, but are not sufficiently numerous to hold separate assemblies, and those of San Giovanni are not allowed to act beyond their own commune. This is the richest district of the Valleys, and their example of worldliness is pernicious* Some pious persons, seemingly of Mr Gay's congregation, met for prayer, and conversation were interrupted, so that the authorities were called to interfere, in order to prevent one part of the Waldenses from persecuting another. These proceedings, however, have been confined to one spot, and the accounts have been much exaggerated.† San Giovanni is the richest commune of the Valleys, and this makes their example pernicious. Mrs Blanc, a pious widow, and mother of Mr Blanc, pastor of the reformed church of Mens, had come to the Valleys for the sake of enjoying a Protestant ministry, and saw her duty called her to join Mr Gay's congregation. She died on 19th December 1831, and only after the interference of the civil authorities, did the congregation of Mr Mondon allow her to be interred in the burying-ground after dark, and among such as had committed suicide.‡ Justice requires the statement, however, that the great body of

* Evangelical Magazine, p. 25, and Edinburgh Instructor, both for January, 1832.

† Evangelical Magazine for August, 1831. p. 359. Letter from Mr J. Cobbin.

‡ Instructor for February, 1832, p. 138, 139. Evangelical Magazine for February, 1832, pp. 70, 71.

the Waldensian pastors disapprove of the violence in San Giovanni. Mr Bert has published a catechism and the confession of 1655.* Mr Mondon is dead, and Mr Bonjour his successor is decidedly evangelical. Students need not now be sent to Geneva, if the college established in the Valleys succeeds. We therefore hope, that the grounds of Mr Gay's secession will soon be removed. A list of the fifteen churches and of the fifteen pastors, as they presently stand in 1833, with a few remarks, will be given at the close of this volume.†

* Instructor, ib. p. 68.

† Appendix, No. XIII.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—[See pp. 174, 175.]

THE APOLOGY of the Brethren here forms the First, and their CONFESSION the Second Number of this Appendix.

To the Most Serene Prince, King LANCELAUS. To the Dukes, Barons, and the most Ancient Kingdom. The Small Flock of Christians falsely called by a false name, Poor Waldenses * Let grace be in God the Father, and in Jesus his Son.

AMONG other things, they (adversaries) publish, like angry barking dogs, that this is a law among us to say, Yield thyself to whomsoever shall demand thee, and that we take our pleasures in dark and obscure corners with her, who shall meet us, be she our mother, our daughter, our wife, or our sister, whereas God has in such a manner guarded and preserved us, that for more than forty years past, no fornication or uncleanness has been heard of among us, which has been unpunished, so much that our life and morals condemn the life of those who accuse us. “ The sin of luxury is very pleasing to the devil, displeasing to God, and injurious against our neighbour, because in it man obeys the vilest part of his body rather than God, who has preserved it. A foolish woman not only takes from a man what is good, but his ownself. He who is given to this vice, does not keep faith with any one, whence David caused kill his faithful servant to have his wife by this means. Amon defiled his own sister Tamar. This vice consumes the heritage of many, as is said of the prodigal, that he wasted his goods by luxurious living. Balaam chose this sin to provoke the children of Israel to sin, on which occasion 24,000 persons died. This sin was the cause of the blindness of Samson. It perverted Solomon, and many have perished by the beauty of a woman. Prayer and fasting, and the distance of place, are the remedies against this crime. For we may overcome other vices by combating them, but in this a man is never victorious but by flying from it, of which we have an example in Joseph. We ought, therefore, to pray daily to

* Though the Bohemians owned their original relation to the Waldenses, yet they declined at this time to be called by that name, because in many cases the latter yielded too far to Romans. The present Version of this Apologetic letter to the King is made from the copy in Perrin, b. 1 chap. iv. Geneva edition, 1618. Leger, part i. pp. 186, 187, gives the first three paragraphs of this Apology.

the Lord, that he will keep far from us the sin of luxury, and give us understanding and chastity." *

Against the second calumny regarding a man having power to put away his wife, they say: "Marriage is a knot that cannot be dissolved but by death, except for fornication, as Christ our Saviour says. And St Paul, 1 Cor. vii. says, 'Let not the wife depart from her husband, and let not the husband put away his wife.'"

To the third calumny respecting the community of goods and wives, they answer, that "Marriage was ordained in Paradise, and is a remedy to avoid fornication: And St Paul speaking of it, says, 'Let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. Likewise, that the husband ought to love his wife as Christ loved his church, and that the married ought to live together in holiness with their children in the fear of God.'" †

The fourth reproach was, that they denied the baptism of little infants, and they quote their own words: "The time and place of those who ought to be baptized is not ordained, but the charity and edification of the church and congregation ought to serve for a rule in it, &c. And, therefore, they to whom the children are nearest allied, are under obligation to present the infants to be baptized; as are the parents, or those to whom God has given such a charity." ‡ On this article, Perrin remarks, that when the Waldensian pastors were absent on the service of the churches, the children were long kept without baptism, and though some parents for several centuries in such cases allowed the Romish priests to baptize their children, yet they detested the human additions to the divine ordinance, and deferred it, waiting for the return of their own ministers. The Roman Catholic clergy perceiving this, reproached them with denying the baptism of infants.

The fifth false aspersion was their adoring their pastors, which is easily answered by reading their exposition of the first commandment.

The sixth reproach was, that they denied the lawfulness of swearing. But "they say there are lawful oaths tending to the honour of God and the edification of our neighbour, alleging what the apostle St Paul says to the Hebrews, that men swear by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife. They likewise allege that the people of Israel were enjoined to swear by the name of the Eternal in the sixth of Deuteronomy. And the examples of the oaths made between Abimelech and Isaac, Gen. xxvi. and the oath of Jacob, Gen. xxxi." §

The seventh calumnious assertion was, that they said the pope sinned mortally by sending expeditions with the sign of the cross as the coat of arms against the Turks. "For their justification, we must remark, that they do not complain of the enterprise of war against the Turk; but of this, that under this pretence, the popes spoil the church of the goods of fortune, and of divine favours: deceiving the ignorant by their bulls and benedictions, who too willingly receive the lies of the pope, buying them at a dear rate. They have also reckoned the

* From the book of the remedy against luxury, chap. xxi. The large quotations by the Brethren from the Waldenses, show the connection of the former with the latter people.

† These two Extracts are taken from the Waldensian book on Virtues, in the chapter on marriage.

‡ Spiritual Almanack, fol. 45. Mr Jones, vol. ii. pp. 70—75, gives professedly the most important parts of this Apology, but omits this article. In some instances, he seems to mistake Perrin's remarks for the words of the document.

§ Spiritual Almanack on the Third Commandment.

matter hard that the pope has caused pilgrims under the crusades to fall on them to pursue them as heretics, without having heard them, or convicted them to be such." *

The eighth slander is, that they used no reverence for holy or consecrated places. In reply, they have said, "that neither the place nor the chair makes the man holy, and they have maintained that those greatly deceive themselves, who comfort themselves because of the dignity of the place. For what place was higher than Paradise? and what place was more secure than heaven? And, nevertheless, man was banished from Paradise for sinning there, and the angels were cast from heaven, to the end that they might be an example to those that should come after, that they may learn that not the place nor the grandeur and dignity of it makes a man holy, but the innocence of his life." †

Ninthly, they are calumniated with teaching that magistrates ought not to condemn any man to death. Here they say, "that it is written that we are not to suffer a malefactor to live. And that without correction against vice, doctrine serves no purpose, neither would judgments be acknowledged nor sins chastised. And that, therefore, just anger is the mother of discipline, and patience without reason the seed of vice, and permits the wicked to prevaricate." ‡

The tenth article in which the enemies of the Waldenses slandered them was, that they said a layman in a state of grace has greater authority than a prince. "Against this imposture, they have said that every one ought to submit to those who are established in authority, obey them, love them, have peace with them, honour them with double honour, in subjection, in obedience, in readiness, and in paying them what is their due." §

In the eleventh place, because the Waldenses asserted that the Pope has no authority over kings and princes, their enemies call them Manichees, as maintaining two princes or principles. "Against this imputation, they have said, We believe that the Holy Trinity has created all things, visible and invisible, and that He (the Three One God) is Lord of all things, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; as it is said in St John, 'All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made.' " ||

The twelfth calumny is, that the Waldenses hold that whatsoever is done with a good intention is good. "And to show that they held no such belief, that thing is sufficient, which they have said against antichrist: that he has introduced into the church his errors under the colour of good intention, and under a show of faith." ¶

The thirteenth calumny is, that they maintain a man may kill the priests or detain from them their tithes, without scruple of conscience. Perrin remarks, that if the Waldenses had possessed power to employ the tithes to better purpose than feeding lazy, deceiving priests, they would have done so, but that we have no account of their ever stating any objection against the payment of the tithes. In regard to revenge, they say, "The Lord knowing that we shall be delivered, says, 'Beware of men.' But he does not teach nor counsel any of his own to kill any one, but rather to love their enemies. When the disciples said to him, 'Wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?' Christ answering them, said, 'Ye know not what manner of

* Causes of Separation from the Church of Rome, p. 235.

† Causes of Separation, &c. p. 125.

‡ The Light and Treasure of Faith, fol. 214.

§ Causes of Separation from the Church of Rome, p. 41.

|| Treasure of Faith, Article 2.

¶ Causes of their Separation from the Church of Rome, p. 173.

spirit ye are of.' And, besides, the Lord says to St Peter, 'Put up thy sword into thy sheath,' &c. Likewise, temporal adversities ought to be despised and patiently endured: for there happens nothing in that which is new. While here we are the Lord's floor, to be beaten as grain when it is separated from the chaff." *

The last slander † of enemies was, that being retired among the Alps, they became besom-riders and sorcerers. No other answer is necessary in reply to Rubis, who thus reproached the Waldenses, no other reply is necessary than their exposition of the first commandment: "All such as offend against this first commandment, who believe that the planets can enforce the proper will of man," &c.—See the rest of the passage given by Perrin in Vol. I. pp. 525, 526. of this Work. It is continued to the end of what is said on the first commandment.

No. II.—[See pp. 175—187—196.]

THE following CONFESSION was presented to ULADISLAUS or LANCELAUS, King of Bohemia, in 1503, and was afterwards enlarged, addressed to Ferdinand, and published as it here follows:—

CONFESSION OF FAITH AND RELIGION of the Barons and Nobles of the Kingdom of Bohemia, presented to the Most Serene and Most Invincible FERDINAND, King of the Romans and Bohemia, at Vienna and Austria, in the year of the Lord 1535. ‡

ALTHOUGH our ecclesiastics in former ages have frequently given an account of that faith, religion, and doctrine, which we now hold and profess; to kings and princes, and, in a word, to all who by virtue of their ecclesiastical or secular power have demanded it; yet, notwithstanding, the thing seems to us to be very proper, for many considerable reasons, to present to your royal majesty in as brief and compendious a method as the nature of the affair will admit, an account of that doctrine which we have received from these ancestors, in these following articles, which we view and esteem, especially at the present conjuncture of time, to be of the more general concernment and of the greatest consequence. And this we do, to the end that all men may know how unjustly we have been hitherto persecuted by the adversaries of this doctrine, and are now wrongfully accused before your royal Majesty, by this means to render us and ours obnoxious to further violence.

ART. I.—ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

IN the first place, all those of our profession do teach with unanimous consent, that the Holy Scriptures which are contained in the Bible, and which have been received by the Fathers, and established by Canonical authority, are, without

* Book of the Vaudois on Tribulations, p. 274.

† I am not clear that this calumny was mentioned in the Apology laid before the King of Bohemia, though Perrin very properly vindicates the people against it.

‡ The present Translation of this Confession I have made from the Latin Edition at Dort, 1617. In pp. 185—187 of this volume, I have given some Extracts from Luther's Preface, recommending this Document. Legger, part i. pp. 96—104, and Morland, pp. 43—57, give Abridgements of this Confession.

controversy, to be accounted true and most certain ; and in all things, and upon all accounts, ought to be preferred before any other writings whatever, as far as holy things are to be preferred to profane, and divine to human. They are likewise to be entirely and absolutely believed, and the doctrines of truth by which men may be instructed and formed by faith to salvation and righteousness, are to be there sought and to be derived from that quarter. And, further, that they were delivered and inspired by God himself, as Peter, Paul, and others affirm. They are publicly read and recited, especially the epistles and gospels, in all our churches in our mother and vulgar tongue, after the manner and custom of the primitive churches, to the end, chiefly, that they may be understood by all. And lastly, doctrines and exhortations arise from thence answerable to all affairs and occasions ; and sermons are frequently made in public to the people.

And the writings of the Doctors of the Church, especially of the ancient ones, are likewise held for true and worthy of belief, and they declare them useful for instructing the people, yet only in things in which they do not differ from the divine Scriptures. For thus, also, those of our profession wish their own writings to be held, that faith is to be had in them, and therefore is lawful to them, so far as they agree with the divine writings. On this subject, Augustine, in the Preface to his Third Book on the Trinity, says, “ Be unwilling to obey my letters as the Canonical Scriptures, but in these Scriptures, what thou also didest not believe when thou foundest them, believe without hesitation ; and, in those writings of mine, what thou findest not certain, be unwilling firmly to hold, unless thou shalt have understood it certain.” And, elsewhere, “ Be willing to believe neither my words nor those of Ambrose, as equal to the Canonical Scripture.”

ART. II.—ON THE CATECHISM.

THENCE they teach the Catechism ; that is, this Catholic and orthodox doctrine of the Fathers, which is the decalogue of God's Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed, digested into twelve articles, and which doctrine is delivered in the Creed of the Council of Nice, and in this manner also expounded and confirmed by others ; lastly, the Lord's Prayer. Now, all these things they constantly affirm to be most holy, to be the good and well pleasing will of God. Moreover, that all these precepts ought to be observed in work and in heart, seeing the law is spiritual : As also that the articles of faith ought undoubtedly to be believed, to be confessed with the mouth, and to be manifested by works. And these articles they likewise enforce and corroborate by the Scriptures with all their might. They endeavour to teach the genuine sense of them ; and where any thing hidden or abstruse occurs, to unfold the true scope and meaning of it fully and plainly from the same Scriptures. They likewise teach, that God alone is to be prayed to, and invoked only through the name of Christ the Mediator. They also teach men to pray not only for themselves, but also for all Christians, in whatever part of the earth they may be. As also, that prayers and supplications ought to be made for all governors of the church, and for all others who are constituted in places of eminency and authority for the government of others. But especially, and, first, for the ever august Cæsar, and for the rank and success of your royal majesty, and for all counsellors ; imploring God, with many prayers, that, from the concern of the whole church, he may prosper and succeed all things to your royal majesty, and the ever august

Charles Cæsar, ever august and unconquered, and may very widely extend the empire. And that he may grant to all who are obedient subjects to your royal majesty, and are the true worshippers of God and of his Christ, a clement and propitious mind to thee. In short, according to the command of Christ and the apostles, and the example of the primitive church, they teach that prayer is to be made without distinction for all friends as well as enemies.

By this salutary and Christian Catechism, they not only instruct men of a more advanced age, but also even children, that from their very first years, they may be accustomed to this, and learn true religion and piety. And therefore they frequent also private meetings with them apart, admonishing their parents and guardians diligently to instruct them in this sacred doctrine. And they offer to God pious prayers for these, and for all other infants consecrated to Christ the Lord. But they reject whatever is contrary to this pious and Christian Catechism; and, by certain arguments of Scripture, as the Lord of all supplies them with strength, they disprove and confute what is contrary, and admonish the people to beware of it.

ART. III.—ON THE FAITH OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

FURTHERMORE they teach, that God is known by faith in the Scriptures. One in the Substance of the Divinity, but Three in the Persons, namely, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. A distinction exists in regard to the Persons; but in regard to Essence and Substance, co-equality and indistinction. But the Catholic faith, and the consent, decrees, and sanction of the Council of Nice, and of other councils with this one, and the Confession or Creed of Athanasius, do clearly testify that thing. Hence they also teach the Most High Power, wisdom and goodness of this one only God, as likewise those his three most excellent works, applicable to him alone, and to none but him, namely, the work of creation, redemption, conservation, or sanctification. Moreover they teach, that this only true God in one Essence of Divinity, and a blessed Trinity of Persons, is always to be adored, venerated, and worshipped with the greatest reverence, honour and praise, as the Most High Lord and King of all, who reigneth for ever. And to suspend, expect, and ask all things from him alone. That to him alone the greatest subjection, obedience, fear and faith are to be exhibited, and that to him all the worship of religion is to be sincerely observed, and that he indeed who does not do that, procures for himself damnation. In the sixth of Deuteronomy, the command is, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and him shalt thou serve." Again, thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." And in short, "with all thy strength," as well internal as external.

ART. IV.—ON SIN, ON ITS FRUIT, AND ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE.

HERE they teach, that we may not be ignorant of our sins which are committed, and acted both against God and our neighbour; first, that men ought to acknowledge themselves to be both conceived and born in sin, and to be sinners forthwith from nature and the womb, and thus, from their childhood, prevaricating against the law of God in heart and deed, and to be pressed and burdened with the weight of sin, as it is written:—"The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek

God. They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy : there is none that doeth good, no, not one." Again, "God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." And again, "the Lord said in his heart, the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." And likewise Paul, "we were," saith he, "by nature, the children of wrath, even as others."

In the next place, they teach from the Scriptures, that men ought to acknowledge, that for this their deprivation and corruption, and for the sins arising and springing up from this root of bitterness, the fearful vengeance of God, and utter perdition, deservedly hang over their heads ; and that according to these their deeds, the pains of hell are most justly laid before them ; for as Paul saith, "the wages of sin is death." And the Lord in the Gospel, they that have done evil shall go "into everlasting punishment," where "shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." They teach further, that all should of necessity consider and know their infirmity with their extreme want, and the mischiefs into which they are fallen on account of their sins, and that they can in no way save, or justify themselves by any works, or endeavours of their own, nor have they any thing to trust unto, but Christ alone, in whom they are fiducially to trust to redeem and free themselves from sin, Satan, the wrath of God, and eternal death. And also that nothing is in man by which one may be able to help another before God, seeing all are equally liable to sin, and void of the righteousness of God, and obnoxious to his wrath, as he says by the Prophet, "put me in remembrance," namely, thou man, whosoever thou art, "let us plead together : declare thou that thou mayest be justified. Thy first father hath sinned, and thy teachers have transgressed against me." Likewise, "thou hast not brought me the small cattle of thy burnt offerings, neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices. I have not wearied thee with incense. Neither hast thou filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices." Also Paul to the Hebrews, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not. In burnt offerings and sacrifices for sin, thou hast had no pleasure," or requiredst not.

They likewise teach, that all the inconveniencies and afflictions with which we are shaken and troubled, as heat, cold, famine, thirst, all labours, cares, misfortunes, sorrows, wearisomeness, all langours, finally, death itself, are by the most deserved right inflicted, or determined by God ; as it is written, "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." And, "cursed is the ground for thy sake ; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life ; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee."

Yet they teach, that all their inconveniencies are to be patiently borne by us, considering that ye have deserved still more grievous things. Not, however, that by this kind of endurance of any evils whatever, any one can merit for himself eternal life ; since the Apostle declares, that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." But that all may know the greatness of their own wickedness, and their own weakness and misery, and may understand how "evil and bitter a thing it is," as says the Prophet, "to depart from" their God ; and that being burdened and pressed by these evils, they may awake and be excited to seek the grace and help of God, who is merciful, and pities and abundantly pardons !

ART. V.—ON REPENTANCE.

IN this place, they teach repentance to be that which cometh from the acknowledgment of sin, and of God's anger, which, through the law of God, first strikes the conscience with sorrow and terror, namely, when by the word of God they are inwardly convinced of sin, and the mind becomes affected with an evil conscience, unquiet, exceedingly sorrowful and despairing; the heart anxious, broken, and trembling, that a man by himself can by no means be raised up, nor get comfort, but is altogether afflicted and shaken with a spirit dejected, and trembling with exceeding great horror through the sight of God's wrath, as David sings of himself, "there is no health in my flesh because of thine indignation, neither is there any rest in my bones by reason of my sin." I am become miserable, "and am bowed, and go mourning all the day long." But notwithstanding they teach, that being thus affrighted, men ought nevertheless not to despair, but rather to return to God with the whole heart, and by faith in Christ, which is also a part of repentance,* they take hold of mercy, grieving that they have sinned: for although they be void of righteousness, yet they should implore Divine grace and clemency, that he would have mercy on them, and that he would pardon their sins for the sake of Christ and his merit, "who was made sin for us," and "a curse," that he might satisfy the justice of God for our sins. And the divine promises are to be frequently repeated to such as are thus afflicted. "In the day of thy trouble call on me, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." And they teach, that this form of repentance is to be held during all the time of life when it is necessary. They also teach those who thus repent, what is written in Isaiah, that they "cease to do evil," and "learn to do well." John, the forerunner of the Lord, says also the same thing, "Bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." But repentance consists chiefly in this, that the old man may be mortified and put off with his acts and lusts; and the new man may be put on, who is created according to God. Col. iii.

They likewise teach, that the penitent approach the priest, and in his presence, confess their sins to God himself. Although we do not command neither exact an enumeration of sins, yet let him seek from him counsel, and the mode of avoiding sins, and absolution by the keys of the church, that he may obtain remission of sins by the ministry of this kind instituted by Christ.

Likewise, let men be taught, that they reckon absolution of great importance, and that they undoubtedly believe that to be done which is promised by the keys, since the voice of Christ is also expressed in his commandment, John xx. "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whosoever sins ye remit," &c. And let them know, that by the use and ministry of the keys, and by the authority of the words of Christ, all their sins are forgiven them.

They also teach the absolved, that is, they to whom sins are remitted through Christ, that they be grateful for the grace of God received in Christ, lest they receive it in vain, or also relapse into sins, according to that, "Go and sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee." Likewise, "if we sin wilfully, after having received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation."

They also teach, that the foundation and all the virtue of repentance consists

* Instead of saying that Faith is a part of Repentance, the sentiment would be more strictly correct, if expressed thus:—"Faith in Christ is followed by Repentance, and is closely connected with it," as in the next words, by Faith, "they take hold of mercy, grieving that they have sinned."

in the merit of the death of Christ, Luke xxiv. "Thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins be preached to all nations." And again, "Repent and believe the gospel."

They likewise teach, that he, who while he is alive, neglects to practise repentance in the name of God, that he shall be destroyed by an evil destruction according to the words of Christ, "I say unto you, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."

ART. VI.—ON THE LORD CHRIST AND FAITH IN HIM.

FIRST of all they teach, that we ought to have a certain and firm faith in the Lord Christ, namely, that by nature he is true God, and also true man, by whom all things were made, visible and invisible, in heaven and earth; whom John calling the Eternal Word, interpretes to be "God, Light, the only begotten, abiding in the bosom of the Father, full of grace and truth." The same in his first epistle, and fifth chapter declares, "This is the true God, and eternal life."

Concerning his works shown forth for our salvation, they also declare his incarnation, nativity, passion, death, burial, resurrection, ascension into heaven, sitting at the right hand of God, and his returning to judge the quick and the dead. They have also learned, that by the word and sacraments, good fruits are derived, and flow to us, through which we may be saved, as the hidden Scriptures express the matter.

They teach besides, that Christ is not now in the world, nor until the world be ended, will he ever appear in the same sensible and corporal manner in which he heretofore as man, conversed upon the earth, and was willing to be betrayed, tormented, crucified, and put to death; and afterwards rising again in a glorious manner, made his way through the hard rock, and the sealed door of the sepulchre. But that now he is in such a manner in heaven, that every tongue ought to confess, and all the godly to worship him, together with the Father. This article of faith is also clearly testified:—"He ascended into heaven, he sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." And Paul in the fourth chapter to the Thessalonians, "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the voice of the Archangel, and the trump of God." Peter also in the Acts, "whom the heavens must receive, until the times of the restitution of all things;" and in the last of Mark, "So then after the Lord had spoken to them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God." And the angels who "stood by them" said to them, "this same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come, as ye have seen him go into heaven."

And here they also teach, that Christ very true God, and true man, is likewise with us on earth. Yet in a way and mode of existence diverse from the former, namely, in an invisible, insensible, but yet real way; and in a way necessary for our salvation, for by this way he works in us, as we are in them, and he is in us, and that by the Holy Spirit and his gifts, whom he has received, whom he is to send to his church, in the stead of his visible essence, through whom he remains in her at all times, even to the end of the world, by his power, grace, goodness, and truth, by which he renders his own obedient to himself. In the sixteenth of John, "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you: but if I depart, I will send

him unto you." Again, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter," to-wit, than I, "that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you orphans, I will come to you," namely, by this Spirit of truth.

But this sense of the Scripture is by no means forged and new, for it was also commonly taught, and was constantly held in the ancient church, as it is had in the decrees in the second distinction, chapter first, and these are words of Augustine, "Until the world be ended, the Lord is above, but yet the truth of the Lord is here with us, for the body in which he arose, must be in one place, but his truth is diffused in every place."

Wherefore they teach, that the Lord Christ in his other manner of being, which we call invisible, is present in the ministers of his church, the word and sacraments, and through these means, all men hereafter ought thus to receive him into themselves by faith, that by that faith he may dwell in them, and abide in them by the spirit of truth, concerning whom he has said, "he shall be in you," and again, "I will come unto you," &c. Moreover also they teach, that through Christ, men are through mercy freely justified by faith in Christ, and attain salvation and remission of sins by Christ, without any human work and merit.

They likewise teach, that his death and blood are sufficient to abolish and expiate all the sins of all men. For Peter thus preaches in the Acts, "Neither is there salvation in any other," than in the Lord Jesus alone: "For there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved." Again, "To him bear all the prophets witness, that whoso believeth on him shall in his name receive remission of sins." And Paul to the Hebrews, "when he had by himself purged our sins." And, again, "by whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." And John, "we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Again, Paul, "we are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." And a little below, "for by one offering, he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified."

To these things, they teach, that all men may approach through every period of their life to Christ alone for pardon and remission of their sins for salvation, and obtaining any thing else, as in the fourth to the Hebrews, "Seeing then that we have a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus Christ the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession," namely, of that faith concerning Christ, and the writer infers below, "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." And Christ himself exclaims, "If any man thirst, let him come and drink." "He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst."

They teach likewise, that all confidence and hope are to be fixed in him alone, and that all our care ought to be cast upon him. And to these, they further add, that for his sake only, and for his merits alone, God is pacified and propitious, loves and preserves us, and holds us to be his children; and that life eternal is in him, and as many as believe in him, shall through him enjoy it, John vi. "He that believeth on me hath eternal life, &c." Again, "and this is the will of him that sent me, that every one who seeth the Son, and be-

believeth on him may have eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day." They teach also, that no man can have this faith by any power, will, and pleasure of his own. It is indeed the gift of God, who, when and where he pleases, works it in man by his Spirit, to the end he may receive whatsoever shall be rightly administered to him by the outward word, and the sacraments instituted by Christ in order to salvation. Of this, John the Baptist speaks, "A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven." And Christ himself, "No man can come unto me, unless the Father who hath sent me draw him." And a little after, "unless it be given him of my Father," that is to say, by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore they teach, that men are justified before God by faith alone, or confidence in Jesus Christ, without their arts, merits, and works, according to that saying of Paul: Moreover "to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." Again, "But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets." And this righteousness is through the faith of Jesus Christ, &c. Again, "by him all that believe are justified."

ART. VII.—ON GOOD WORKS.

To these they add, that those men who are justified only by the grace of God, and through faith in Christ, do perform those good works which God has commanded, and every man of them walks in them as becomes him according to his calling, in any kind of life, condition, and age whatsoever: for thus says the Lord in Matthew, "Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." But seeing many things are in several places of Scripture concerning this matter, we forbear to enlarge. Yea, and they teach also, upon what account especially and for what purpose, good works are to be performed: not to such an end as that men should conceive they can obtain justification, salvation, or remission of sins by them, for even the Lord himself says, "When ye shall have done all things which are commanded you, say ye, we are unprofitable servants." Again, Paul says, "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight." So also David speaks, Lord, "enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." But they teach that good works are therefore to be done, that faith may be justified by them: for good works are sure testimonies, seals, and evidences of a living and lively faith lying hid within, and fruits of the same, by which the tree is known to be good or bad, Matth. vii. Also, that men may by them make their calling sure and certain, and be saved in it without sin, according to what Peter says in the second epistle, chapter first, "Brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure." And, again, use all endeavour in this, that ye may fly from "the corruption which is in the world through lust; and add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge," &c. It follows, "For if these things be in you and abound, they make you that ye shall neither be barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." They teach that good works are to be done for this cause also, that "an entrance be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom;" and thence more copious grace and riches may be brought from God, first chapter of the second epistle of Peter. "For if ye do these things, ye shall never fall," namely, in this manner, &c.

But, especially, they teach that that is done by the alms of mercy and charity to our neighbour, the care of the sick, the instruction of others, and other things of that kind, which have the promise of grace and reward. In the sixth

of Luke, "Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful. Give and it shall be given unto you. Forgive and ye shall be forgiven." Elsewhere, "Sell that ye have, and give alms: provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not." Again, "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, &c. and thou shalt be blessed, for they cannot recompense thee: for thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just." And, in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, &c. Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me." Therefore, the works done in faith please God, and they have their reward in this life, and in that which is to come.

They also teach that all good works are to be done only "in the name of Christ," the Saviour, "to the glory of God," as Paul writes in the tenth of the first epistle to the Corinthians, and in the third to the Colossians, "Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus." And the Lord himself says, "Without me ye can do nothing," namely, which is pleasing to God, and profitable to your salvation.

But they teach that we may know a difference existing between works ordained by men, and works which are commanded by God, and by what means both may be done and observed, for as much as the works commanded by God are in nowise to be neglected for the sake of human traditions; for the Lord severely reproveth them that do the contrary: "Wherefore do ye transgress the commandment of God by your traditions?" And "in vain do they worship me teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Therefore, they diligently warn, that works instituted by men are not to be done as of so much importance as those which God has instituted and commanded.

They likewise teach, that faith and charity, which is love both of God and our neighbour, are the fountains of all virtues and good works. In the former epistle to Timothy, chap. i. "The end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." "For without faith," as the epistle to the Hebrews reads, "it is impossible to please God." But without charity nothing is profitable, 1 Corinth. xiii.

They teach, moreover, that no man can indeed perform the works commanded by God. Also, no man exists who "sinneth not," although he carefully exercises himself in good works and in the law of God; as the writing is, "There is none upon earth who does good and sinneth not." For every one, therefore, the perfection of the law, life, righteousness, salvation by merit, and his grace, are to be sought in Christ Jesus by faith. For whosoever shall apprehend Christ, and shall hide and turn himself unto him who has fulfilled the law for every one that believeth, all their sins are washed away by his blood, so that transgressions of the law are not able to damn believers, whence the apostle in the eighth to the Romans, "There is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit." Christ is a satisfaction to all believers, and, as Paul asserts, "Wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption."

ART. VIII.—ON THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THEY teach, first, that the Lord Christ, by his own merit, grace, and truth, is the Head and foundation of the church, in whom she is built up through the

Holy Spirit by the word and sacraments, as Christ says to Peter, "and upon this Rock," that is myself, "will I build my church." And Paul, 1 Cor. iii. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." So speaks the same apostle in another place, "he is the head of the body the church, who filleth all in all." They teach likewise, that we must believe and confess, that the Catholic church, as she is at present collected, consists of all Christian men in the world, in whatsoever nation they live, or in whatsoever places they are dispersed, who by the sacred word of the gospel, are gathered together out of all nations, peoples, tribes, and languages, of whatsoever degree, age, or condition they be, unto the same faith of Christ, and the Holy Trinity; as John writes in the Revelation: "After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number," &c. And the Lord says, "where two or three are gathered together in my name," in any nation or people, "there am I in the midst of them." For in whatever place Christ is preached and received, in whatever place his word and sacraments exist, and are dispensed and received according to his appointment and will, there is a holy church, a Christian society, and the people of God, whatever be their number. But where Christ is absent, and his word is rejected, there can be neither a true church, nor a people pleasing to God.

Further, they teach, that whosoever in this church holds the unity of the Spirit of Christ, and embraces all his members in love, and devotes and consecrates himself wholly to her interest; who does not bring in sects, nor excite seditions, but is exercised in her in the bond of peace, and in the same consent and mind, is a true member of the church. Concerning this matter, Paul writes thus to the Ephesians, "I beseech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," &c. Again, "Let every one of us please his neighbour for good to edification," and "let nothing be done through strife or vain glory." Likewise, "Beware of the concision."

But in regard to their own congregation, they thus conceive and teach, that that congregation, as other congregations, be they great or small, is not the holy universal church, but only a part and member thereof, as the Corinthians were, of whom the apostle says, 1 Corinthians xii. "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular." They teach also, that in the church, order ought to be observed, that no man study only his own convenience, neither also think arrogantly of himself, but let each seek the things which are another's, not his own things, and let each be subject one to another, for the sake of Christ, and for the sake of their own salvation. And this mode of subjection, Peter, and likewise others, also the laws themselves, and the ancient ecclesiastical canons deliver, therefore our people observe it with the greatest endeavour.

Besides, they teach, that those who are manifestly impious, impenitent, and contumacious, that is to say, who do not give ear to the admonitions of the church, may be restrained by her censure and punishment, which, in the usual acceptation, is called anathema or excommunication. And that this ought to be done without respect of persons, against all those whose impiety is known, and who are addicted to more notorious sins, who having been often admonished do still persist in their sins. These being clear and evident who refuse to repent, of whatever state or condition they may have been, ecclesiastical or secular, let them be excluded from the fellowship of the church, not by human force, but

by the word and interdict of the Lord who commands it thus to be done, Matth. xviii. "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone—if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more—and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican." Likewise, Paul, "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received from us." And, in another place, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person."

To these things they teach, that hypocrites and impious persons perpetrating iniquity in secret, have always been and will be in the church, and will be, even to the last day, who are neither able to be convicted nor to be easily excommunicated. Concerning these, the Lord thus speaks, that in the last day, the angels shall at length separate them from the midst of the just, and they shall be sent to a furnace of fire, where "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."

But they teach that Antichrist, that man of sin, sits in the temple of God, that is, in the church; of whom the prophet, and Christ, and the apostles foretold, admonishing all the godly to beware of him and his errors, nor to suffer themselves to be seduced from the truth. They place in Antichrist a twofold wickedness and fraud, the one of false doctrine against the sense and mind of Christ and the whole Scripture, of which thing, the apostle speaks, "For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables." They place the other kind of wickedness in every kind of sins of his foul and abominable life, of which also Paul in the second epistle of Timothy, iii. "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful," &c. In the twenty-fourth of Matthew, Christ says, "And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved." In another place, "Wo to the world, because of offences," &c. And "blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me."

ART. IX.—ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORDER, OR THE OVERSEERS OR MINISTERS. *

THEY teach that the ministers of the church, to whom the administration of the word and sacraments is committed, ought to be rightly ordained according to the rule prescribed by the Lord and his apostles. And for undertaking this office, that, from among the godly and faithful people, men may be called, full of faith and without blame, having gifts necessary for this ministry, besides an honest conversation of life; and that these be first of all tried, then, after prayer made by the elders, that they be by imposition of hands for this office confirmed in the

* The original Latin is, *De Ordine Ecclesiastico, seu prefectis vel ministris*. Leger renders *Ordo*, by orders, and *prefecti* by surveillans, and Acland, pp. 234, 235, argues that these prefects, or overseers, were Bishops; but only one order of men is mentioned.

congregation. In the fifth to the Hebrews, "Every high priest is taken from among men." And Paul writing to Titus, and Timothy also delivers the mode and rule of his ordination; "Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also."

Wherefore, indeed, no man among us is permitted to perform the office of a priest unless he shall, as is meet, be called and ordained according to this kind of rule. They teach at the same time, that the duty of those who are thus chosen to the ministry of the church, is to have a diligent care of the souls committed to their charge, and faithfully to administer to them the word of the gospel and the sacraments, according to Christ's institution, and to show forth themselves a good example for all men's imitation, and to pray for them to God, that they may be delivered from their errors and offences. And they are to search by the Scriptures what is his will in all things. In the first epistle of Peter, in the fifth chapter, "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind." And Paul, "But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry." Again, "Be thou an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," with the authority of the priesthood; "meditate upon these things; give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all. Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee."

They otherwise teach, that such as discharge the office of ecclesiastical administration, hold that doctrine in the church which departs nothing from the sacred canons, and that they all by the same spirit unanimously profess the same doctrine. In the first chapter of Second Timothy, "Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus," &c. And again, "That thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine."

They further teach, that none who are put in authority in the churches, force any one to the faith by punishment, compulsion, or threatenings through himself, or through others, nor domineer over the church, or exercise dominion over faith. In the twentieth of Matthew, "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority. But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you," &c. And Peter, "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock." And again, Paul, "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy" in the Lord.

And they ought to be moved to the ministry of the church according to what Paul prescribes to Timothy and Titus, patiently to bear the evil and those that oppose themselves to the truth, and to endeavour, that by the testimonies of the Scriptures, they may convince them and may make them gain to Christ.

They teach, also, that priests may not be occupied in secular affairs, and especially that they be free from the state of marriage, that they may be the more fit and the more ready for serving the convenience of their neighbour and of the church. Because marriage brings with it many hinderances, which pre-

vent many men, that they may answer the less promptly to their vocation. Therefore, our people reckon the unmarried more fit and more habile for the ministry of the church, if, however, they are persons to whom God has given this peculiar gift.

Not that they think that priests sin if they contract matrimony, if necessity advise, or other just reasons for this exist. For Paul also clearly teaches for using ecclesiastical offices, that the husbands of one wife are to be chosen.

Nor do they judge it so wickedly, but they in many respects prefer honourable and legitimate marriage to the most impure celibacy of some, who live in manifest turpitude, given to gluttony and whoredoms, for that of Paul is avowed, "It is better to marry than to burn;" for on account of wickednesses of this kind, of so base and wicked lust, which many exercise, not only priests, but also any other man, without respect of persons, ought deservedly to be cut off from the communion of the church.

They likewise teach, that the whole commonality and people ought voluntarily to be subjected and to yield obedience to those who are over the church, and to be directed by them, and to give them power in those things which have respect to salvation. In the tenth of Luke, "He that heareth you heareth me, and he who receiveth you receiveth me." And the apostle, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls." Again, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine."

Hence, they also teach, with regard to things pertaining to sustenance, that these things are to be provided and supplied to them, as Paul says, "Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel."

They likewise teach, that they who are able and not overburdened with much labour, are occupied in the affairs of the people, nor are hindered in any other way, may provide for themselves sustenance with their own hands, lest they be burdensome to others; nor also may be idle and want, for idleness is also of itself a vice, and lest they be for a burden to the church, following in this the example of Paul, Acts xx. "Ye ought to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive."

But if it happen among us that any one of the order of priests fall into any crime or error, or that he is negligent of his duty, he is at first admonished in a paternal manner, then he is corrected by brotherly chastisement, who, if he contends to be pertinacious, and to despise the admonitions of the brethren and of the whole church, he is first deprived of all ecclesiastical ministry and office, he is also afterwards excluded from the communion of the church itself as a useless servant, a rotten member, a withered branch, an unsavoury salt, of which the Lord says, He is fit for nothing, unless to be "cast forth;" and Paul to Timothy, "Them that sin," (namely, priests), "rebuke before all, that others also may fear."

They likewise teach, that the people thus conduct themselves towards erroneous, sectarian, wicked, and impenitent priests of this kind, priests who are excommunicated by the authority of the church, as the Scripture commands, "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheeps' clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, by their fruits ye shall know them." And Paul, Rom. xvi. "Now, I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them: for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

ART. X.—ON THE WORD OF GOD.

FURTHERMORE they teach, that the preaching of the word of God, or the gospel, is a ministration appointed and commanded by Christ in the last of Mark : “ Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.” In Acts x. Peter also says, “ The Lord commanded us that we should preach.” And this administration of the word is reckoned among us of principal importance, and is esteemed most of all means, as that which conduces more to salvation, and is more necessary than the sacraments themselves, as Paul says, “ Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel,” namely, chiefly and first, for by the gospel itself, and its preaching, faith is acquired, the Spirit of God inserting it within. From thence, the sense and will of him and of Christ, is discerned about the sacraments, and other things which tend to salvation.

They also teach, that we ought to hold a difference betwixt the efficacy of the law, and of the gospel, that the former is indeed the administration of death, but the latter, the administration of life and glory by Christ, 2 Cor. iii. “ The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.” And John vi. “ The words which I speak unto you, are spirit, and they are life.” They concede moreover, that no man can attain true faith, unless he hear the word of God, according to that of Paul, “ Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.” And again, “ But how shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard.” Therefore ours use all their endeavour to teach and preach in the church the word of the gospel without any mixture of human traditions. For that cause, they in their churches do read the gospels themselves, and the other Scriptures also in the vulgar tongue, and thus interpret them only to the people ; and they reckon holidays and set days according to ancient custom, on which they assemble to hear.

ART. XI.—ON THE SACRAMENTS.

FIRST they teach, that the sacraments ordained by Christ are necessary to salvation, by the benefit of which believers are made partakers and fellows of the merits of Christ. But in case any man shall wilfully contemn, or not worthily esteem them, or use them in any other manner whatsoever than Christ has willed and commanded, they declare he grievously sins against Christ, the author of them. But if by use any man come truly to desire to communicate by the sacraments, according to the mind and command of Christ ; but yet being hindered by imprisonment, by sickness, by being carried away captive into foreign parts, or by being oppressed by the adversaries and enemies of the faith, and the like ; he not being able to satisfy his own so pious desire, then in such cases, without doubt, if he sincerely believe the gospel, he shall be saved by the faith of Christ alone. They next teach, that the sacraments of themselves, or as some say, *ex opere operato*, from the work wrought, do not confer grace upon those who are not first endowed with good inclinations, and inwardly quickened by the Holy Spirit, nor bestow that justifying faith which renders the mind of man obedient, trusting and compliant to God in all things, for faith is necessary to precede, we speak of adults, which may vivify man by the Holy Spirit, and may inject good motions into the heart, for without faith, neither salvation nor righteousness exists, nor do sacraments do good to any one.

Of this thing indeed, clear testimonies appear to us in the sacred writings, and especially in Judas Iscariot, who had received the sacrament from Christ him-

self, and discharged the office of the priesthood, and of a preacher. Likewise in Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, tinged with the washing of baptism by the apostles, and, as it is lawful to believe, having also used the Lord's Supper. Who, however, remained in the conjunction of malice and wickedness, and in lying against the Holy Spirit, nor did the sacrament remove from them this evil, nor bestowed on them living faith, which renders conscience secure and tranquil, and the heart obedient and subject to God. In like manner, circumcision and the sacrifices of the law did not confer that faith, which both justifies and vivifies.

In this sentiment is Paul writing to the Romans, chapter fourth, adducing Abraham for an example, whom he asserts to have had even then the righteousness of faith, when he was yet in uncircumcision. And he elsewhere says of the Israelitish people, that they had been in like manner baptized, did equally eat the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink. Yet many of them God did not approve, but were rejected by him, and fell in the wilderness.

On the other hand, if any one may have unworthily approached to the sacraments, he is not by these rendered worthy or clean, but he thence increases to himself sin and damnation the more. This Paul clearly shows. "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." And, again, "he eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."

Here our friends also teach, that the sacraments perpetually retain their efficacy, namely, of testifying and confirming from the institution of Christ, "testifying and confirming" indeed to the worthy, present grace and salvation; but to the unworthy, sin and condemnation, whether these "sacraments" should be administered by good men, or by unworthy and wicked hypocrites, and secretly wicked men. But until hypocrites of this kind are declared by their flagitiousness and wickedness, that they may be able to be convicted according to the practice and custom of the church; and, lastly, till they shall have been contumacious, and are expelled from her fellowship; the sacraments administered by them, if they are only administered according to the mind and institution of Christ, are to be received, for sacraments are efficacious, not on account of him who offers them, what kind soever of a man he may be; nor on account of him who receives them, but on account of the appointment and command of Christ.

ART. XII.—ON BAPTISM.

THEY teach also, that baptism is a saving administration, instituted by Christ, and added to the gospel, by which he purifies, cleanses, and sanctifies the church, in his own death and blood, as Paul asserts, "Christ loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word." And this faith concerning baptism, our ecclesiastics alone in the kingdom of Bohemia, and marquise of Moravia, have by writings vindicated from those who believe, confess and write, that baptism wipes off only the defilement of the body, but does no good for the salvation of the soul.

Likewise they teach, that children are to be baptised unto salvation, and to be consecrated to Christ according to his word, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." Our friends therefore depending upon these words of the Lord, baptise children in the name of the Holy Trinity. Because the place is universal, "Teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the

Holy Ghost." Nor do they henceforth re-baptise them, nor have they ever re-baptised.

Although long ago they may have re-baptised those who, from other churches, had begged to be added to ours; yet neither have they brought in this custom of re-baptising. But when in the cause of faith and religion, the Romans contended with arms against the Bohemians, and the overseers of both contended in the churches by the Scriptures, and by these both assailed the others as guilty of error, after many reproaches mutually cast on one another, the matter was at last brought to this, that they shook themselves off both from the priesthood, and from the sacraments, and therefore entirely from the whole of Christianity. Then through the places, some again asked the baptism of others, while these continued in the greatest hatred, not only of our greater profession, but also now having separated from them, they held their own particular congregation and administered the sacraments apart, and re-baptised all that wished to be reckoned to their churches. They reckoned for this many remarkable causes and occasions, afforded not only from those present at that time, but also from most of the ancients of the highest authority, piety and erudition. But especially from the divine Cyprian, the martyr of Christ, and from others also, not a few who defended the bishops of that cause, who re-baptised all in Africa, proving by the Scriptures (as appeared to them) that those baptised by heretics are to be re-baptised.

But that mode of re-baptism hitherto remained in our churches as long as a more certain understanding of that thing was not added. But after that by the benignity of God, in the progress of time, the light of truth more clearly illuminated our friends, and they had more diligently examined the Scripture, having been also aided by the help of certain learned men, they found out that this re-baptism is of no necessity to the church. And therefore by the votes of all, they took care that it be continually removed, therefore that repetition of baptism was abrogated by the unanimous consent of all those of our party, nor is baptism ever revoked now among us. Although certain priests, whom they call both of the Bohemian and Roman side, as long ago, so now also re-baptise ours, while the parents for the most part are unwilling and reclaiming.

Besides, certain ones tear asunder the marriages of those of our side, and again conjoin them, and to that extent also oblige the men by force. But whether these things are justly raised to try us or not, we leave to be judged by God himself, and all good men, being unwilling to requite evil for evil.

Those on our side also teach, that whoever has received baptism, and has been by it buried with Christ unto his death, that he henceforth walk in newness of life, &c. But if from the preaching of the gospel, he neither obtain certain fiducial trust towards God, nor charity towards all those who are planted in Christ by the washing of regeneration, nor walk worthily of his vocation, taking care studiously and diligently to please God, nor also places in him alone the hope of eternal life; he indeed testifies, that he has received in vain the grace of baptism, and the name of the most Holy Trinity, which has been invoked over him. Which the Scripture testifies, that God will at last grievously punish.

ART. XIII.—ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

THEY teach that the Lord's Supper, or Sacrament of the Eucharist, is a ministration appointed by Christ, afterwards by his apostles, and through them by his

grace and goodness, delivered to the whole church, for the common use and salvation of all, as the evangelists bear witness, and the apostle, whose words are repeated by the church, "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, how that the Lord Jesus, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread," &c. And a little after, "Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat" the Lord's Supper, "tarry one for another." Yea, and they teach here also, that men must believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth, that the bread in the Lord's Supper is the real body of Christ, which was delivered for us, and that the cup is the true blood which was shed for us for the remission of sins, as the Lord Jesus expressly says, "This is my body—this is my blood."*

They also teach, that to these words of Christ, in which he himself pronounces particularly the bread to be his body, and the wine to be his blood, no man may affix, admix, or take away any thing of his own, but simply believe these words of Christ, by declining neither to the right hand nor to the left.

While the simple and genuine sense of these words was opposed by some in the kingdom of Bohemia and marquise of Moravia, those were silent whose interest it was to defend and vindicate that by the authority of the Scriptures. Those on our side went out and conquered only by the Scriptures, that faith may be had simply in these words of Christ, and on account of that thing, they sustained calumnies, scoffings, backbitings, and open reproaches.

And there are two kinds of adversaries, who always oppose to those on our side the name of heretics. For some not believing their confession, which, however, they candidly and sincerely declare, nor likewise the doctrine, to which, although they are not at all agreed, yet nothing in it differs from the Scriptures, report that those on our side speak out in words, and they think internally many things otherwise, besides that they are blasphemers against the Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. And this is an old calumny of the priests, by which they endeavour with the common people to spoil those on our side of the Christian name. But this 'calumny,' those on our side long ago refuted, and have always been prepared to refute, and have shown by the undoubted faith of many, and by the most firm arguments, that they never have been, are, nor, God willing, will ever be, such as adversaries make them.

But what good man believes adversaries on any thing? And we, since we have all things well known in the doctrine and religion of the brethren, find nothing of those things of which they are accused, except the frauds and deceits of the wicked. Nay, but this also appears to all, that they have often written against many who opposed themselves to the truth and to the sacraments.

Again, certain fanatical spirits not remaining in the words of Christ, prosecute with the greatest hatred this confession and defence of the Holy Supper, namely, the bread and the cup of the Supper, which here, with Paul, we call the Lord's. They deny it to be the real body and blood of Christ, and these unceasingly cover ours with the reproaches with which they begun on account of this faith and confession of the Lord's Supper, calling them the dregs of popery, marked with the character of the beast, idolaters, antichrists, sometimes that harlot of which John prophesies in the Revelation, and, if they are able, by some more grievous name. And they do not cease to criminate them by maledictions and blasphemies of this kind. But all these things those on our side

* See some Criticisms of Calvin on this dark part of the Confession of the Bohemian Brethren, in pp. 203, 204, of this volume.

patiently suffer for the sake of the gospel, which commands also to pray for enemies.

They further teach, that in the administration of this sacrament, nothing else is to be done but what is set forth and commanded by these express words of Christ, who, when giving the bread to his disciples, said, "Take, eat, this is my body;" and, taking the cup, "He gave thanks, and said, Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins." And so, according to this command of the Lord, they teach, that this, his body and blood, ought to be taken by all promiscuously, under both kinds, even as they were apart and by themselves by him instituted and ordained, and the primitive church also used this whole sacrament. But if any man out of presumption attempt any thing contrary to this institution of Christ, he sinneth against Christ the author of it, and against his will expressed in the words of Scripture.

Further, they teach, that this sacrament is to be perceived with purity of mind, with reverence and faith, and likewise especially with self-searching, which as it is here most necessary and most useful to men, so also most pleasing to Christ, as Paul taught in the ancient church. "But," says he, "let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." And in another place, "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith, prove your own selves, know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates." But he who has not first descended into himself, nor formerly revolved with himself with what faith, or with what mind, he may approach to this sacrament, he treats the sacrament itself with contempt, and despises this whole appointment of Christ. Therefore, they who are over the churches among us, admit no one to this sacrament, except as far as in him is, he formerly try and examine him, and he reverently conduct himself in regard to the sacrament.

But where the communion of this Holy Supper ought to be made, a sermon is preached according to the custom of the ancient church, concerning Christ and his death, concerning the grace and salvation by faith offered to all by the intervention of his blood, concerning the immense good things, which, by fiducial trust of his death and blood, he himself works in believers. And afterwards, prayers are made together with the whole assembly of the people, and the ministers repeating the words of the Lord's Supper, they exhort the common people themselves to this faith, that they may believe the presence of the body of Christ to be there; and, meantime, they distribute it to them kneeling on 'their' knees. And the common people themselves take it with the giving of thanks, remembering the benefits of God in hymns and spiritual songs, may employ and exercise themselves wholly in this, that they may "do this in remembrance of" him according to the words of Christ, which, indeed, Paul thus interprets, "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

ART. XIV.—ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER; OR, ON THE KEYS.

AND here they teach how men ought to believe that the keys were delivered by Christ to the church, concerning which he said to Peter, instead of all, "I give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." And an administration was delivered

to the church of Christ and her ministers, which continues in her to the present day, and is not to terminate before the dissolution of the world. The duty and authority of this administration according to the command and injunction of Christ, is, as the Scriptures do express, to correct and bind such as are wicked and impenitent in the church, and to shut the kingdom of heaven against them, that is, to exclude them from Christ, and from the use and communion of the church. And on the contrary, to absolve such as are truly penitent, to restore them to peace of conscience, place them in a sure hope and belief of salvation, and thus to open to them the kingdom of heaven, and to instruct and strengthen them against all the temptations, assaults, terrors, and devices of that enemy. And this they ought to do, not by their own power and pleasure, but as dispensers of the mysteries of God, ministers and servants of Christ, and by his authority in the word and sacraments. For the Lord, committing their duty and office to them, speaks thus, in the twentieth chapter of John, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, receive ye the Holy Ghost : whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them : and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." And this use and authority of the keys was declared in that rod at Corinth. Because Paul himself by the Lord's interdict, together with the church in that place, excommunicated and delivered to Satan, "him," who had committed this wickedness. Again, when by the benefit of the Lord he had repented, he absolved and received him to the communion of the church and of the sacraments. Therefore in this way he opened to him the kingdom of heaven.

They likewise teach, that the Lord's keys, or this administration and power of the keys, were first granted and delivered to the prefects and ministers of the church, and then also to every Christian assembly, although very few shall be in it, as the words of the Lord clearly testify, "Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

After these things, they teach, that as often as any one shall have need of these keys, let them be used by the minister of the church to whom they are ascribed ; let him as certainly believe, that by virtue of the keys, sins are remitted to him, as if he had received absolution from the Lord, being present, since the minister bears the Lord's office, and holds this authority delivered from him, as he himself says in John, "Whosoever sins ye remit," &c. And again, "Whoso heareth you, heareth me." Again, "Whoso receiveth you, receiveth me," and "whoso despiseth you, despiseth me."

They also admonish you, that they who are in the ministry of the church, use these keys only according to the appointment and will of Christ revealed in his word, but not as it shall please themselves according to the propensity of their own mind, lest that prophecy be fulfilled in them. "And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you. If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings ; yea, I have cursed them already," &c.

ART. XV.—ON HUMAN TRADITIONS.

They teach that human traditions, rites, and customs, which are not against piety, are to be observed in public congregations, as the apostle teaches, "Let

all things," in the church, "be done decently and in order." In another place, "Stand fast and hold the traditions as ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle." But they teach that such traditions, rites, ceremonies, which obscure the glory of Christ, and thus obscure his grace, lead people away, and draw them back from the truth and faith, and are made equal or preferred to divine institutions, or if any man transgress these institutions without reverence for the word of God, are to be avoided and rejected. For the Lord determinedly accuses the scribes and Pharisees observing these traditions, Mark vii. "Well hath Esaias prophesied of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honour-eth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men."

And Paul also wishes traditions of this kind to be guarded against, Col. ii. "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." This indeed the canons also deliver, Discourse viii. but especially in the eleventh chapter of the customs, where we read it thus written. "We praise the custom, yet that one which is discerned to use nothing against the Catholic faith." Wherefore those on our side institute only those rites and traditions which promote faith, the worship of God, and other good things among the faithful, and nourish, conciliate, and retain concord and peace, and a certain government and harmony in the people, whomsoever they may have as authors, whether the synod, pontiff, bishop, or any other; forasmuch as none ought to be offended in the authors of those "customs," that they may not observe these, if they have nothing of inconveniency.

Yet above all, we are to be cautious, lest we draw away from the more weighty and the more principal things, because through all things, divine things are to be preferred to human. For to these things, the soul is chiefly to be referred, traditions in the meantime being disregarded, if they serve any thing to impiety. For the leaders of the triflers, who by their traditions, set aside the divine precepts, Christ thus reproves in the gospel; "Ye neglect the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith, these ye ought to do, and not to leave the other undone." And indeed many ancient ecclesiastical customs are among us at this day still retained, as certain fasts, appointed and prescribed holidays, in which the people convene, that they may be present in the holy things; morning and evening prayers, the Lord's day, the feast days of Christ's nativity, passion, resurrection, &c.; besides, the memorials of the saints are celebrated, as of the most Blessed Virgin, of the apostles, and also of others, but especially of those whom the Scripture mentions.

But all these things are done among us for the sake of the divine word and worship. Although also those on our side do not observe the rites and customs of all, which neither can be done, neither in every place whatever in all churches is it necessary that the same rites and ceremonies be observed; yet they do not oppose, nor does the purpose oppose any good and pious custom, although some customs of this kind do not appear equally necessary, yet provided they oppose nothing to piety, nor take away any thing of faith, which alone both justifies, and renders us happy, they think that they are not to be rejected.

They likewise teach, that the church is not to be burdened by many traditions as long ago under Moses. For the apostles also forbade that to be done, as Peter says in the Acts, to some urging the observation of legal things, "Why

tempt ye God to lay a yoke on the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers, nor we were able to bear." And elsewhere, Paul, "See," says he, "that ye be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."

Christ also severely threatened those who loaded the people with the weight of traditions, "Woe to you, lawyers, because ye load men with burdens which they are not able to bear."

To these things, they teach, that human traditions ought not to be held for inviolable and eternal laws. But as they are produced from certain and just causes, so also other causes and things having arisen, and teaching a diverse thing, it is lawful to violate them without sin, because the apostles transgressed the traditions of the elders, when they ate bread with unwashed hands, nor again did they fast with others, but yet on both sides, since they are excused by Christ, they were without sin. And again in the primitive church, the apostles being unanimously gathered together, decreed by the Holy Ghost, that the faithful should abstain from things offered to idols, from blood, and from things strangled. But afterwards, when those things ceased, on account of which they at that time sanctioned it, the precept also ceased.

They teach next, that because of the differences of ceremonies, customs, and rites, which are to be seen in several churches among Christians, and are not prejudicial and hurtful to piety, they ought not to be offended one with another, or to contemn, hate, and persecute one another. Nor also exciting sects or seditions, may alienate and separate themselves from the unity of the church, since 'the customs' never have been the same in the church, nor also now are the same. Which indeed also, the decrees of the Fathers publicly show, she ordains in a chapter in the twelfth distinction. The holy Roman church ordains, that customs diverse on account of place and time, oppose nothing to the salvation of believers, if the canonical authority does not oppose. But it is sufficient to the peace of the conscience of every one in the church, if all Christ's faithful ones are endowed with one spirit, that is, if they agree in doctrine and faith. For as the apostle says, "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Lastly, whatsoever kind of rites, ceremonies, or traditions, any one observes, they who are Christ's, as members of one body, ought to cherish, and help and support one another by charity, without which, as Paul says, nothing can be done which may "accompany salvation."

ART. XVI.—ON THE SECULAR POWER.

ACCORDING to the Scriptures, they here teach, that the higher power, or secular magistracy, is an ordinance of God, to the end, the people may be governed in those things which are political or temporary. Concerning this, is that excellent place of Paul, "For there is no power but of God, the powers which be are ordained of God." They moreover teach, that those who are in power, or bear public office and magistracy of what degree soever they are, should understand that they do not their own, but the work of God, and that he is Lord, and the highest King over them and others; to whom also they ought to remember, that they are to give account of their stewardship at the last day. And this sentiment is treated in many words in Philo, and also in other places; and they teach, as the places of the magistracy of the Psalmist, are afterwards recorded. "Be wise, now, therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be

angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him."

They further teach, that they who bear the magistracy, ought to be benefactors to men. As the Lord himself says, "They who have authority over others, are called benefactors." But the parts and duty of magistrates, are to declare right equally to all, for the common use of all, without the acceptance of persons, to defend and to procure public peace and tranquillity. To inflict punishment on the evil and wicked who disturb this 'peace,' and to vindicate all others from the violence and injury of these. For it is certain, that magistrates serve God, and treat his works, since they are called Gods; therefore they ought to endeavour that they may do his will, for Paul also calls magistrates the ministers of God, and to be placed "for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

They teach also, that the word of God commands, that all men should, in all things, be subject to the higher powers, provided they be such as are not contrary to God and his word. First, indeed, to your Royal Majesty, and then also to any others constituted in eminence, and in the magistracy, as well to the good, as to the wicked and evil. And that all may honour and reverence them in their places and authorities, and each, in other respects, according to his degree and office, may pay them every due, that every one may thus pay taxes and tribute as he is bound. But as touching these things which concern souls, faith, and salvation, they teach, that we ought to give ear unto God's word only, and his ministers, as Christ himself says, "Render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's, and to God, the things that are God's." But if any one wishes to compel them to those things which are against God, and repugnant and opposite to his word, which endures for ever; they teach, that we ought to follow the example of the apostles, who gave this answer to the magistrates at Jerusalem, "We ought to obey God, rather than men." Concerning this also, the institutions of the fathers likewise appear, and the distinction is had, cap. 11. 9. 3. "If the lord," says the blessed Jerom, "if the lord command those things which are not contrary, or adverse to the Holy Scriptures, let the servant be in subjection to the lord; but if he command contrary things, let him more obey the Lord of the spirit, than of the body." And below, "If that is good which the emperor commands, to execute the will of him that commands, but if evil, answer, we must obey God rather than men."

ART. XVII.—ON THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS.

THEY teach first, that since the creation of mankind, no one ever appeared, nor is at present, or ever will be hereafter, who is holy, or righteous by his own strength, merits, or endeavours, and works. As Moses writes, "No man of himself is innocent with thee." Even as holy Job speaks, "What is man that he should be clean? And he which is born of a woman that he should be righteous? Behold he putteth not trust in his saints; yea the heavens are not clean in his sight. How much more abominable and filthy is man, which drinketh iniquity like water." And all we are convinced by the Scriptures, that we are sinners by nature, and immediately from the first origin, Psal. xiii. "They have all gone out of the way, they have together become unprofitable." But what good things soever are in the saints, they ought to be acknowledged as received from the bounty and goodness of God. For in that the saints are holy and acceptable to God, this matter happens to them without all merit, by

the appointment of his divine will only. Because God from mere and unutterable grace, and from the riches of his goodness, has from eternity chosen whom he willed, to enjoy glory with Christ, who through the blood of Christ have redemption, righteousness, and remission of sins, and a propitious God. By whose grace they are adopted by faith to be the sons of God, being made holy, cleansed from every stain, being endowed with good works and virtues, as children of light, being sealed by the Spirit of God, who after they have to the very end of life held firm the faith, which is the hinge of salvation, they are at last received into heaven, where God crowns his gifts in them.

They also teach, that for the common proficiency of the whole church, some saints are endowed before others with special graces, gifts, and virtues by God, who divides all things to all as he sees to be better. The same, to-wit, "gave some apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the body of Christ," which is the church. But by the remembrance of these things in the Scriptures, the works and fruits remain in the church even to this day. But particularly concerning the most Blessed Virgin, mother of the Lord, they teach, that we ought to believe, and confess, as the Scriptures hold, that she was produced from the royal race, from the house and family of David, chosen by God before all ages, "blessed among women," as the Angel said to her, full of the grace and spirit of God, and sanctified by him, that she might be the mother of the Saviour, who since he is the Son of God, yet in her womb, he put on our flesh.

She was a virgin before his birth, and a virgin after his birth, who named herself the handmaid of the Lord. Yet no less than others, was she redeemed by the blood, and gratuitous merit of her Son, and was made an heir of eternal blessedness, a temple, or habitation of the Holy Ghost, and adorned with his remarkable gifts, virtues, and graces; because God did to her great things before others, and therefore our churches honourably celebrate her feast days to the praise and glory of God. They likewise compose pious songs concerning her, and sing them both privately, and, what is more, publicly in the temple, and in her, they praise God, and exhort all to the imitation of her faith and other virtues, of her life and works; they also piously remember the labours which she underwent for the sake of the Lord. Then they all endeavour to imitate her as an exemplar of a most excellent life, according to their strength, and they are by no means unmindful of her work, for they declare her most blessed with the whole church of the saints, nor in these, do they depart from the Scriptures in any thing that appears.

They teach, moreover, that the honour and worship due to God, is not to be transferred to the saints, nor to their images, as Isaiah writes, "I am the Lord, that is my name, and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to graven images." And they teach, that the saints in this way are to be honoured, that in stated and prescribed feasts and times, all meeting in the same place to hear the word of God, and perform the worship of God, may celebrate their memory, and may commemorate the benefits and gifts which God bestowed on them, and through them on the church, and the benefits of their faith, life, and conversation, may be recorded, that men may be excited to imitate these things, that, in every good work, they may bring forth fruit by the word of God.

To these things, that, recalling to mind these things concerning the saints, they may give glory with praise and thanksgiving to God for such gifts, which he bestows according to his inexhaustible goodness, may sing pious songs concerning

them, and may exhort one another to live like them ; and that in this, and the future life, they may be able to be rendered their companions, may earnestly pray God, that in all these things, they may not depart any thing from the Scriptures, Heb. xiii. "Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God ; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation."

They likewise teach, what may be known and believed, not only concerning those saints who have been before us in former ages, and being set free from these miseries, have been received into a blessed life, but also concerning those who are now in the world. For all believers in Christ, in whatsoever nation they live, are holy. And all these, being washed with the washing of regeneration, have been numbered among the sons and heirs of God ; being graciously endowed with faith in Christ, being justified, burning with charity to all, are washed from sins by faith, and the ministry of the church. They communicate in the body and blood of Christ, they all endeavour to build up good works, to which they are built up, that they may walk in them.

Indeed, the divine writings call all those saints, who still act here in life, and are clothed with mortal flesh, in the second of 1 Peter, "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people." And elsewhere, "Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the saints," that is, the faithful, or Christians. For this thing, they teach, that although they embrace in charity all Christians before others, and we ought to afford helping hands to them both at other times, and especially in necessity, yet we ought to be useful, especially to those who are bound with us in the same doctrine and faith, and who express that charity in deeds, in whatever things we have in our power. And they teach, that these, since they follow the Christian verity and doctrine, are to be held in holy and fraternal fellowship ; and we are always to think well of them, and with honour, from whom it is lawful to ask by the right of piety, that they pray for us, on account of Christ, and the bond of Christian charity, and we are to consult that they be built up in their conveniencies and advantages. Likewise, they often exhort, that all commend them in their prayers.

But they teach, that those who profess the name of Christ, but live wickedly and impiously, or being entangled by false doctrine, acknowledge that they err, are, as much as is in the power of every one, to be humanely corrected, and to be suffered through charity, and God is to be prayed, that he may recall them to the way of salvation, that they may in all things ornament the gospel to the glory of Christ.

ART. XVIII.—ON FASTING.

THE men of our persuasion teach, that fasts are a kind of outward worship among the godly, worship given only to God himself, and these fasts are to be observed according to the circumstances of persons, nations, places, and affairs, by all, and every one also, without superstition and hypocrisy. Nor for this article of theirs, are places of Scripture wanting, but let these only be selected out of many, 2 Cor. vi. "But in all things, approving ourselves as ministers of God, &c. in fastings." And Christ the Lord, "then," says he, "shall they fast in those days." Again, Paul in another place, "that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer." They teach next, that fasting does not consist in a difference of meats, but in a sparing use of them, in sobriety and temperance, and afflicting of his body, and humiliation before God. But the matter of concern-

ment, with what mind or purpose any man doth fast, and that fasting is salutary, agreeable, and acceptable to God, is taught, Matt. vi. and Isaiah lviii. But whether any choice is to be had in different kinds of food, they teach, that every one is to be directed by the words of Christ, who having called the multitudes to him, said, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man." And the apostle, "I know, and am persuaded by the Lord, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean. But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Considering that Christian liberty is extended that far, that yet it ought not to be for an offence to weak brethren, as in that very place, the same apostle writes, "All things indeed are pure: but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence." Likewise, in another place, "But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither if we eat are we the better; neither if we eat not are we the worse."

ART. XIX.—ON CELIBACY.

THEY teach, that no man ought to be constrained unto a single life, or withdrawn from it, because God has commanded, or forbidden it to no man, but has left every man to live unmarried, or to marry according to his will and pleasure. But he who has addicted himself to celibacy, "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," they say, that he acts more rightly and more safely, than if he involve and encumber himself with marriage, according to what the apostle says in the seventh chapter to the first Corinthians: "Now concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, yet I give my judgment, that is good for a man so to be." And at the end of the chapter, "But she is happier if she so abide after my judgment, and I think also that I have the Spirit of God." They teach, moreover, that no man ought to choose a single life with this intent of thinking thereby to merit remission of sins, and eternal life for himself, or others. For neither single life, nor any work of ours, procureth these things for us, but only the death and grace of Christ alone. But he ought to bind himself to celibacy on this account, who is fit for it, that he may be able more conveniently and more readily to serve the church herself, and the society of the brethren in the matters of salvation. He having found out that many inconveniencies accompany the married, if he may be able thus to remain, he does well. Concerning this, Paul also says, "I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried, careth for those things that belong to the Lord." And, again, I suppose therefore, that this is good for the present distress." And the Lord himself commends those who "have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of God." But they teach, that those who have chosen a life of celibacy, ought to contend and endeavour with all their might, after that which the apostle has, that especially they be first in good works, that they be holy in body and spirit.

They teach, besides, that he who has designedly dedicated himself to celibacy, having in the meantime diligently and long tried all things, by which chastity of life may be able to be preserved, with this design, that he may discharge in the church of God some salutary ministry, and has pledged fidelity to

God and his church, that he will chastely preserve celibacy, therefore that he may be more ready and habile to this ministry of Christ, and the church (to which he has most freely consecrated himself) that he is not such now for contracting matrimony, according to his own power, as formerly, unless he burn, to use the words of the apostle, if he shall remain in that celibacy; that he so burns, that he is able not by any counsel, doctrine, castigation, or advice, to subdue or restrain the burning. For as he who has given over himself to marriage, is not as formerly in his own power, so he who has devoted himself to Christ, and to the ministry of his church, he ought to prefer this ministry to pleasures of every kind, for the sake of which he is bound to deny all things, and his own life. This chastity of life, and abstinence from pleasures, has certain promises of this, and the future life, in the tenth of Mark. Again, they who do not fight with the lusts and affections of the flesh, so that they desire to overcome these, cast away the gift bestowed on them by God, they lose the Holy Spirit, and are for an offence to the church, whom their inconstancy injures and tears.

Besides, they teach, that the gifts of graces are diligently to be preserved by all with the greatest endeavour. So they impose an intolerable yoke on no man with the offence of conscience, but because as Paul also says, "all things" ought to be done in the church for the sake of good "order," for the sake of the good scheme.

They judge, that it is for the advantage of the church, and tends to the public tranquillity, that he who cannot contain, lay that affair before the overseers in the church, whose authority and counsel let him use. For it becomes the minister of the church, and of the brethren, that he may be for a good example to others, and there may not be sin, by resisting the counsel of those who have the spirit of Christ.

ART. XX.—ON THE SEASON OF GRACE IN WHICH THE FAVOUR OF GOD OUGHT TO BE SOUGHT AND CAN BE FOUND.

LASTLY, They teach in this place, that men are to understand, that so long as they live in this world, a time is granted them by God, which is a season of grace to the end, that they may seek him, and his grace, goodness, mercy, and gentleness, and so through his promise, may find, and by that means, attain a blessed salvation. Concerning this, Paul thus preaches in the Acts, God "hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him." And the Lord says by the prophet, "In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of salvation have I helped thee." "Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation."

Therefore those on our side diligently teach, that no one abuse this time of grace, but that in the meantime, while he is in prosperous health, he may repent of his life past. While he is in prosperous health, let him repent of his past life, be reconciled to God, and quiet, pacify, and render secure his own conscience through faith in Christ, and by his administration in the church. Hence, firmly believing that his sins are pardoned, and that God is reconciled for the sake of Christ, in whose grace being established, walking and persevering in good works, he ought assuredly to expect, that his soul being loosed from the prison of the body, it shall pass, not into any punishment, but be carried like

poor Lazarus into eternal happiness, and there remain for ever with the Lord Christ, with whom is present, whatever is good, and can be desired. Nor indeed may he fear the judgment of death at the last day, for he shall be carried away to celestial life. At this the apostle wishes us to aim, writing to the Hebrews, "Exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin," "for we which have believed do enter into rest," that is, who obey the voice of God in time.

They teach further, that it ought to be most certain to every one, that if he shall die in his sins without repentance and faith of the gospel, that his soul after death, like the soul of that wicked rich man to whom no grace was left, becomes arraigned to eternal judgment. They who pass this life impenitent, shall hear in their ears the awful voice of God in the last day of the conclusion of all things, "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." Again, John v. "And shall come forth to the resurrection of damnation."

In addition to these things, they teach that no one should put off till age or sickness conversion to the Lord, and the deprecation of the fault of their deeds, or the performance of repentance, who in the meantime being secure of time, and sleeping in regard to both ears, indulges the flesh and the allurements of the world, obeys his own will, for it is written, "Be not without fear to add sin to sin, and say not his mercy is great; he will be pacified for the multitude of my sins: for mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation resteth upon sinners. Make no tarrying to turn to the Lord, and put not off from day to day, for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord come forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed and perish in the day of vengeance." * But he, most of all, who after having obtained a testimony of the divine favour towards him, shall of his own accord, and voluntarily immerse himself in sins, and shall despise and neglect so many salutary admonitions to repent in time; but foolishly and haughtily abusing the mercy of God, and sitting secure in it, shall persist in sins to the last, and now imminent article of death; and then first fearing instant death, begins from a horror and fear of hell, or late, to be wise, there is danger lest he experience the wrath of God, (as his word clearly testifies), in his extreme evil, and not mercy. "Then shall they cry" (saith the Lord in Micah iii.) "unto the Lord, but he will not hear them, he will even hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings." "I have spread out my hands all the day to a rebellious people." It is truly to be feared lest he bring rewards worthy of their deeds, who in the time which God granted him for repentance so stupidly and corruptly abused it.

But, however, lest any one despair, they teach, that if even in the last trial of death a sign of true repentance shall appear, which, however, very seldom happens to such, for Paul properly says, "This will we do if the Lord permit," that he be not dismissed without the consolation of absolution. For the time of grace endures as long as this life endures. Therefore, how long it endures, let them remember this which Paul with the prophet says, "To-day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts as in the provocation, in the day of temptation in the wilderness," &c. That all being admonished by these things, may also acquiesce in time, even before the sun become dark, and the mountain be covered with darkness, let them repent, and age having been sent, let them re-

* Ecclesiasticus, v. 5—7.

turn to God and do all things, lest they fall short of glory. These things, those on our side exhort with the greatest study and care.

Hitherto, most invincible king, since the very truth is sufficiently strong of itself from these things, in a few words the reason has been expounded, and in a manner delineated to your royal majesty, of our faith, religion, and so of the doctrine which all our seniors with unanimous consent profess in these regions. But also every one for himself according to the gift of God, not by human force, but by the Scriptures, defends and vindicates the doctrine from those who with all liberty, by as many names as they can criminate it as erroneous and impious, attach to it things that are contrary to it, false, and impious. Neither, however, do they thus obstinately adhere, nor ever have adhered to their own things; but they adhere if any thing is shown clearly from the word of God, which ought to be the rule of all things. And by which word, in a becoming spirit of lenity, being grateful to those by whom the truth was declared to the light, let them be always prepared to lay aside their own things for better, and to follow more correct things, as they have all along been.

But having read these things, condescend, most famous king, to decide something of peace, and to consider with thyself whether any one is able by right to condemn these heads of our doctrine or these creeds, as things which are contrary to mystical letters, and impious. But because they are not plausible to the world, this ought to please your royal majesty and all good men. But yet, if any one is driven to that extent of madness, that he contemns these things, he also, which every man will clearly see, as of necessity, contemns the ancient orthodox, and at the same time the divine Scriptures, from which these things are taken, and the church which from the beginning has embraced this very sentiment.

Hence, also, it can be gathered with what right or with what injury we and those on our side are accused to your majesty by the haters of this doctrine. Wherefore, with all possible earnestness, we beseech your majesty not to believe sycophants of that kind, who on purpose, as far as they can, charge on us the crime of heresy, and say that we hold some other doctrine and principles diverse from those which we have here expounded. For it is clear, that in doctrine and religion, we hold nothing which strives against the sacred letters or political ordinances, and especially of this kingdom of Bohemia.

Your royal majesty, most noble king, knows that we have never shifted his commands and government, but that we are always studious of peace, and most ready in all things to obey. That neither has any thing been left undone by us which was able to be done for the advantage of your majesty and of the common society of men, nor in time coming, God willing, shall we suffer to be wanting in us, the things which have a view to the parts of our duty or to a mind loving public utility. For not only do we reckon it just to obey and be subject to your royal majesty for the sake of honesty, concord, peace, and of civil constitutions; but because we know that is commanded by God, as we are taught, also by those on our side, with the very common people, that all hear magistrates in authority, reverence, and revere them. Therefore, they are calumnies, artifices, deceits, and frauds, by which we are traduced by adversaries with your royal majesty, that we may be prosecuted at law.

Wherefore, most illustrious king, we commend us all to thy benignity, grace, and defence, and we pray that an answer worthy of the clemency and goodness of your royal majesty, be given us to these things. May God keep your royal majesty safe, and may he always advance thee for the use of the church;

Prov. xx. "Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy."

No. III.—[See p. 265.]

A BRIEF CONFESSION OF FAITH made by the Pastors and Heads of Families of the Valleys of Piemont, assembled at Angrogna on the 12th of December, 1532, and which is preserved with the other pieces in the Library of Cambridge.

THE following articles have been subscribed by all the pastors and heads of families then present, who have sworn that they believe and wish to hold them, as acknowledging them conformed to the Holy Scriptures, and containing the summary of doctrine which has been taught from father to son, according to the word of God, as the faithful have done in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra chap. x. and Nehemiah ix. and x.

1st, We believe that divine service ought to be performed in spirit and in truth, because God is a spirit, and wills that they who worship him, worship him in spirit and in truth. 2d, That all those who have been, and who shall be saved, have been chosen by God before the foundation of the world. 3d, That it is impossible that those who have been ordained to salvation may not be saved. 4th, That whoever maintains free will, absolutely denies predestination, and the grace of God. 5th, That no other work is good, except that which God has commanded, nor evil, except that which he has forbidden. 6th, That a Christian can swear by the name of God, without contradicting that which is written in the fifth chapter of St Matthew, provided that he who swears does not take the name of God in vain. But it is not taken in vain, when the oath tends to the glory of God, and the salvation of our neighbour. Moreover one can swear before a magistrate, because he who exercises the office, whether he be faithful, or an infidel, holds the power of God. 7th, That auricular confession is not commanded of God, nor determined by the Holy Scripture, but that the true confession of the Christian, is to confess to God alone, to whom the honour and glory belong. That another kind of confession exists, when any one reconciles himself to his neighbour, of which mention is made in the fifth of Matthew, and in St John, chap. v. That a third confession is, when any one has committed some public fault, and that he confess also publicly his faults. 8th, That on the Lord's day, we ought to cease from all our manual labour, as desiring the honour and glory of God, and charity towards our servants, and to apply ourselves to hear the word of God. 9th, That a Christian is not permitted to revenge himself in any manner whatever. 10th, That a Christian can very well exercise the magistracy over other Christians. 11th, That in Scripture, is no determination concerning the fasts of Christians, and the word does not show that the Lord has commanded or appointed certain days.* 12th, That marriage is not forbidden to any man of whatever condition or quality he may be. 13th, That whoever forbids marriage, teaches the doctrines of the devil. 14th, That whoever has not the gift of continence, ought to marry. 15th, That the ministers of the word of God ought not to be transferred from one place to another, except for some great benefit of the church. 16th, That the matter is

* The latter half of this article is omitted by Leger, but is found in Perrin.

not incompatible with the communion of the apostolic church; that the ministers possess some particular means (*bien*) for the subsistence of their families. 17th, That touching the matter of the sacraments, the Holy Scriptures determines, that Jesus Christ has left us only two sacraments, baptism, and the eucharist, which we receive, to show that we wish to persevere in the holy communion, in which we are entered by holy baptism, being little infants, * and for the commemoration of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, who died for our redemption, who has washed us from our sins by his precious blood. †

No. IV.—[See p. 227.]

CONFESSION OF FAITH BY THE WALDENSES OF MERINDOL, presented to the Parliament of Aix, to the King and Cardinal James Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, in 1541, and 1542.

IN the preface, they refer to the duty of confessing Christ before men, and mention that they follow the example of their forefathers, who presented a confession of their belief to Uladislaus, king of Bohemia.

I.—ON THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

WE all believe, and confess, that the Holy Scriptures included in the Old and New Testament, was infused entirely by divine inspiration, and inward motion from heaven: nor planted by any human will into this earth, but proceeding from the mouth of the most holy men by the benefit and impulse of the Holy Ghost. And that God having spoken by the mouth of his prophets from all the remembrance of antiquity; but in these last times, has truly spoken by his own Son, to whom he has commanded attention in every way to be given: that he shall perish, who shall not have shown docility and attention to him. Therefore he who is of God, cheerfully hears and listens to his word, which word is a kind of formula alone, certain, and perfect, of the truth itself, and of the rightly ordering of life; useful for all learning, for all animadversion, for reprehension, for instruction of righteousness, as he who is of God is prepared for integrity of works. Hence it follows, that the volumes of the Holy Scriptures are sufficiently copious and ample for restoring salvation to men; to illustrate the true worship of God; to repel the error of those who oppose the truth; to answer and correct heresies and vices, and the depraved manners of men. For these reasons, that the knowledge of the Holy Scripture is far more to be sought than gold and gems; and that the whole human race are to be taught by its science; that they ought to be accustomed to its reading. That neither truly is any thing to be attempted beyond the bounds of the word God, to which any thing is neither to be joined, nor at all to be taken away, lest there follow some animadversion of God on us, or following annoyance to the very great inconvenience of men.

* The phrase "being little infants," is inserted in Perrin and Morland, though left out by Leger.

† This Confession is recorded by Perrin, b. ii. chap. iv. Leger, part i. pp. 95, 96, and Morland, pp. 39—41.

II.—ON GOD THE FATHER, AND HOLY TRINITY.

FROM the knowledge of the same Scripture, we confess and believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, distinct in three persons, but endowed with the same one essence, spiritual, equal, perpetual, having neither beginning nor end of divinity: who, by his very great power, and infinite goodness, created all things, and enlivens, protects, and defends them. And although his majesty is altogether such, that we may be able in no way to reach it by thought in this light of human life; (for whosoever will endeavour to investigate it above the lot of human condition, and to break through to it, his glory shall be abolished), yet it is not left without testimonies and marks of the most excellent things. For the invisible actions of God, and his virtue and immortal divinity, are easily subjected to the ages of reason, when they are seen from the constitution of the whole world, from the harmony, and as it were, concert; finally, from the conservation of all things, which he created by his admirable and incomprehensible counsel and wisdom. The same power of God is also illustrated by his just and equal judgments, by punishments of wicked men, by the protection and liberation of all those who embrace him by fear and veneration. Which very thing is certainly declared in his own word, where the punishment and reproof of sinning men at the time of the deluge, but the preservation of Noah and his whole family, are described. It is likewise declared by the subversion of Sodom and the deliverance of Lot; lastly, by the destruction and submersion of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, and, on the contrary, by the deliverance of the Israelites, and by many other monuments and examples of history, by which men having been taught, ought to acknowledge and confess the eternal Lord God, the King and Prince of kings. And, indeed, all these testimonies, since they are excellent and most plentiful, in order to cut off occasion of excuse from men, if they have not sought after God, nor placed him also in the glory which is fit; and acting still more liberally and familiarly with us, he has wished to express himself to mortal sin the person of the Son; even as we, in these things which follow, piously and truly confess.

III.—ON JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD.

WE hold it certain that the Son of God came into this world, and chose to be covered with the hiding of human flesh: in which thing alone, the mystery of the Christian religion is constituted, and by that name, that our whole hope and faith is in Jesus Christ the Son of God, our Lord, the wonderful God, the author of eternal life, the alone Saviour, justifier, sanctifier, the only Interpreter and patron of the human race, the alone sacrificer, who has no need of a successor; and that he exists really God and really man.

IV.—ON THE CONCEPTION.

WE believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit, a virile work having been wholly taken away and removed, even as the angel himself announced before conception, and that chiefly with that design, that he might be born holy and upright, whose procreation should be necessarily void of all stain and deformity,

V.—ON THE INCARNATION.

WE believe and confess that Jesus Christ was born in the city of Bethlehem, of the Virgin Mary, (according to Micah the prophet), all corruption having been taken away, and that he took a body entirely according to the similitude of ours, sin being excepted, to which he was not able at all to be liable: but that he willed not to take the nature of angels, but of the seed of Abraham, which was predicted by the testimony of all the prophets, that he might be offered for the expiation and sacrifice of human sins.

VI.—ON THE PASSION.

WE believe and confess, that under Pontius Pilate, Jesus Christ suffered, was crucified, dead, buried for our sins: for that he alone is truly the paschal lamb offered for a victim, that he might free us from the jaws of the devil, even as that was administrated by the brazen serpent lifted up in the wilderness; because he who would have directed the sight of the eyes to Christ crucified, would be eased from every disease, should be freed from the curse and death, and by his suffering should restore salvation and life to those who should believe on him.

VII.—ON THE DESCENT INTO HELL.

WE believe and confess that he descended into hell: for Christ, who died not only by bodily death, but with the forces of the infernals, and with the horror of eternal death, ought also to struggle as it were with interwoven hands.

VIII.—ON THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

WE believe and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, on the third day after, arose from the dead, for our justification, and for a most true testimony, for the salvation and attainment of eternal life for those who willingly and faithfully die in Christ.

IX.—ON THE ASCENSION.

WE believe and confess that the Lord Jesus Christ, forty days after his resurrection, ascended into heaven, and removed his corporeal presence out of these lower places, John xvi. as the angels also testified.

X.—ON THE SESSION AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE FATHER.

WE believe and confess that he sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, having the government over all things which are in earth and in heaven, constituted Lord to all authorities and dominions: that he led his own and our captive enemies in triumph; and all these things having been finished that he stored his people with all riches and wealth: that there is an entrance into the sanctuary by no means made and constituted by human artifice, where the advocate and mediator of the human race perpetually stands and appears.

XI.—ON THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

WE believe that Jesus Christ shall come once to judge the living and the dead, at a certain period, in the very last day of judgment, which day, indeed, is seen and explored by God alone: that he is about to come, I say, at that time, in his kingly Majesty, surrounded with a retinue of angels, to establish and pronounce the judgment of the whole world.

XII.—ON THE HOLY SPIRIT.

WE believe in the Holy Spirit, the third person of the same divine essence with the Father and Son, flowing from the same Father and Son, equal to each of these, the repeller of all troubles, the only comforter of the human race, by whose inspiration, the holy patriarchs, all the prophets, and the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ spoke, by whom the holy church in every age has been constituted and governed. This is the sincere teacher, by whose breathing, all Christians have knowledge of the truth: this spirit dwells in them, regenerating them into a new life, vivifying the same for every good work, consoling in afflictions, confirming in griefs, who is present with his own in adversity testifying that these are the sons of God by adoption, partakers of the heavenly inheritance with Jesus Christ.

XIII.—ON THE CHURCH AND COMMUNION OF SAINTS.*

WE believe and confess the Holy Catholic church, which is the congregation and assembly of all true believers, faithful, and the elect of God, who have been from the beginning of the world, and shall be all along to the end, of which church indeed, Jesus Christ is head, conciliating her to himself by his spirit, and ruling her by the sceptre of his word, conjoining her by one and the same will and spirit in bond of faith and charity. Therefore all the members of the church are conjoined, they acknowledge one God, and one head, and mediator, Jesus Christ; they have one faith and law, there is to them one baptism, and the same spiritual table, on which the same spiritual food and drink are proposed. For this church Christ gave himself, that he might sanctify her, cleansing her by the washing of water in the word: that he might present her to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing: but that she might be holy and irreprovable. Only the members of his body, flesh and bones are reckoned in the holy church. Proud Pharaohs, pertinacious Pharisees, and Simon Maguses, are banished from hence. No member is putrid, corrupt, or otherwise infected, neither have those, like Judas, Cain, or the wicked rich man place in her: only sheep and lambs are received into her, but unsound and fetid goats are removed and excluded. And this is the difference between the church, which otherwise is taken for the congregation of good and evil, and the church which we believe, which is called holy, being cleansed and sanctified by the blood of that immaculate Lamb, without which church, there is no salvation. Therefore they who truly are Christians ought to come together into her, for the same church is the communion of saints, who are all members of her head, Jesus Christ, so co-united to him, that they are at the same time about to see God, the face of God. This is the eminent fraternity,

* The second clause is from Leger.

into which are chosen and enrolled whosoever are truly faithful, called by God to the communion of his Son Jesus Christ.

XIV.—REMISSION OF SINS.

WE believe, and confess, the gracious remission of sins, proceeding from the mercy and mere goodness of our Lord Christ, who once died for our sins, that just One for the unjust, who bore our sins in his own body to the cross, who is the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. He is Jesus Christ, that just One, who is advocate with God, he himself is the price of our reconciliation, the faithful and just, that he may forgive us all iniquity. His blood blots out the hand-writing by which we were bound, and cleanses our consciences from dead works that we may serve the living God, who alone forgives sins, and abolishes the iniquities of men, that we may be converted from an evil life, and may lay down the iniquity which is in their hands, that they may have the sorrow which is according to God, which produces certain repentance to salvation, of which thing we have the examples, David, holy Peter, the prodigal son, that female adulterer, and many other Jews. As one is not among men born of a woman, who is without stain, and is able to show himself just, so, neither is there any one of himself innocent before God. Since the stars are not clean in his sight, how much less man in his corruption, and the Son of Man, who is nothing but a worm? We are all made as unclean, and our righteousness as an unclean thing.* Therefore they have need for the singular grace of God offered through Christ, who alone satisfied for the faithful, to whom sins are not imputed, as to unbelievers and reprobates.

XV.—RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH.

WE believe the resurrection of the flesh of the blessed of God, in order to possess the celestial kingdom for ever; but of the accursed of God, to fire and eternal torment, where shall be weeping, &c. Likewise, we believe, that souls are immortal; but that the souls of the faithful and sons of God, as soon as they pass out of this body, pass into celestial glory, in which our Lord Jesus Christ resides, for we are certain, when this house of our dwelling on earth shall have been destroyed, that there remains a divine habitation, and a house eternal in the heavens, which is not made with hands. But the souls of infidels and reprobates, when they depart out of the bodies, betake themselves to the torments of the infernals all along to the day of judgment, and the resurrection of the flesh, that there, in body and in soul they may be tormented in the Gehenna of unquenchable fire.

XVI.—ON ETERNAL LIFE.

WE believe eternal life offered to us by the grace of God through Christ, who truly is life, who dispatched death, that the faithful may become heirs of eternal life, for as many as believe on him, and keep his commandments, shall never die: nor is there any condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit: these do not continue under guilt, but pass from death to life. For he who believeth in Jesus Christ shall not be con-

* Pannus mulieris menstrualis.

demned, but he who believeth not, is condemned already. These are two ways (which the Scripture places before our eyes) nor do we know any third : of which ways, the one is indeed ample and spacious, and it leads to destruction, which the great multitude and company of men frequent : but the other is narrow, which leads to life, and very few enter by it.

XVII.—ON BAPTISM.

WE believe, and confess, that our Lord Jesus Christ, circumcision having been abolished, instituted baptism, by which we are received into the church of the people of God, that we may be consecrated to the Lord, and may be separated from all others who follow various and divers religions, which is a mark and visible sign. But exterior baptism exhibits to us also another which is interior, namely, the grace of God, which cannot be discerned by these eyes, and the benevolence with which he treats us, on account of Jesus Christ, who baptises us by his Spirit, washing, purging, and cleansing our souls from all pollutions and iniquities. He renews our hearts, and fills these with consolation, with the faith of his paternal goodness, making from the old a new creature, changing the vessels of wrath into vessels of mercy, and that by the invisible virtue of God thus working in us ; for the blood of Christ is the washing-place of our souls, but the element is not. But the form of baptism is prescribed by Jesus Christ : “ Go, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” John the Baptist, the apostles, and other ministers of the church baptize, the word of God having been spoken at the sacrament, and bestow only the visible sign. But the Lord Jesus Christ, the chief shepherd alone, gives the increase, and causes us to perceive the things signified, with the graces and gifts which do not fall under the sight, he adorns his own. The things which the priests have added to baptism, besides the authority of the Holy Scripture, as are the conjuration of the water, salt, and spittle, are mere inventions of men. They also err grievously, who remove the children of Christians from baptism,

XVIII.—ON THE HOLY SUPPER.

WE believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ then ordained the sacrament of the Supper, which is a giving of thanks, and a memorial of the death and suffering of Jesus Christ, rightly celebrated in the assembly of the people of God, in which, indeed, the bread and wine are distributed and taken as visible signs and memorials of sacred things, namely, of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, suspended and offered on the cross for the remission of our sins and the reconciliation of the human race with God. Whosoever believes that Jesus Christ delivered his body, and poured out his blood, in order to the remission of sins, he eats the flesh and drinks the blood of the Lord, and is made a partaker of both : considering the agreement of those things which are subjected to the eyes, and the agreement of the food by which that body is sustained, with those things which are not seen, and with spiritual food. Because, as in this life, the body is strengthened by bread, and wine recreates the heart of man ; so also, the body of Jesus Christ delivered to death, and his blood shed for us, nourish, confirm, and refresh, the sad and afflicted soul. But let not any one think that the visible sign is so conjoined or cemented with the thing signified by it, which is invisible, that they cannot be disjoined as dissolved, but that

the one may be able to be without the other. For Judas, indeed, received the sign, but did not perceive the thing signified and the fruit, nor was ever made partaker of the body and blood of Jesus Christ; but by his infidelity obtained for himself the lot of Satan, and became a member of the devil. Let a man therefore prove himself, whether by sincere faith and repentance conjoined with Christian charity, he approaches to this holy table; for otherwise he is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, while he reckons the death of Jesus Christ and the counsel of God for nothing, who did not rashly institute that holy sacrament, but in this way wished to excite and draw us to the ardent love of himself and of our brethren, that we may really be made the temples of God, who deigns to dwell in us, even as the Lord testifies in John, "If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and will make our abode with him." And this is not to be taken in that manner in which some have thought, that the real and natural body, the flesh and bones of Christ are, and lie hid in that bread of the Supper, or are converted into it, for this opinion is at variance with the word of God, and is contrary to the articles of our faith, in which we clearly hold, "That Christ ascended to the heavens, sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, whence also he is to come to judge the quick and the dead;" but the Lord Jesus Christ is present by power, virtue, and the presence of his Spirit, in the hearts of his own elect and faithful. Therefore, let no Christian imagine some certain carnal fellowship and unity between Christ and his elect, although in reality they are co-united to his body and blood, considering them as members of his flesh and of his bones, for the faithful know that the mystery of the conjunction and communion of Jesus Christ is great, and this way of the bond, since it is spiritual, cannot be perceived, nor understood by the ingenuity of man. But Christians have not need for the bodily presence of the Lord. His incarnation and passion were absolutely necessary for the salvation of mortals: that which he himself testifies, saying, "I have gone out from the Father, and have come into the world: again, I leave the world and go to the Father." Wherefore, it is certain, that they are impostors, who teach that the bread of the Supper is the proper and real (as they speak) body of Christ. They also err who affirm, that in the Supper, the body of Christ is eaten corporally, for eating flesh is of no avail; it is the Spirit who quickens. Therefore, the faithful truly eat the flesh, and spiritually drink the blood of Jesus Christ in their hearts. Wherefore, they are deservedly reckoned sacriligious who despise that sacrament; but all the pious believe and confess with one mouth, that the Lord's Supper is a public convention, to testify that Jesus Christ is the bread of life which descended from heaven. In the Supper is the fulfilment and reality of that Lamb and solemnity of the Passover, namely, a participation of the body and blood of Christ; a memorial of his death and suffering; a confession of faith under the symbols and ensigns of the true King; a separation and disjunction from all sects; a co-union into one body; a mutual obligation to charity among Christians, a cord and bond of that brotherly conjunction, and example and monument to posterity, an earnest of the mercy of God, a figure of the eternal Supper.

XIX.—ON THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

WE believe and confess, that the sincere worship of God consists in this, that we obey his will, and bestow all our diligence, labour and study in this, that we

may follow that will as far as shall be in us. But the rule of the obedience which is to be performed to God, is prescribed to us in the precepts of the Divine Law, in which we are taught, first what we owe to God, then what to our neighbours. Moreover, the end of the precept is, to obey God in true charity, out of a pure and upright heart, a good conscience and faith unfeigned. Lastly, This is the way of ascribing his own honour to God, who wishes to be worshipped, neither from our own understanding nor the tradition of men, nor wishes that to be done which every one shall think good and equal, but only what he himself commands, for all the good works which God has prepared, that we may walk in them, we have his commandments.

XX, XXI.—ON THE LAW AND FAITH.*

WE confess, that the knowledge of sin proceeds from the very understanding of the law, which as with the finger, shows in our weakness, since there is no mortal man who is able to fulfil it. For all men are sinners; by no means observers of the law; by nature sons of wrath; obnoxious to the just judgment of God, and worthy of any guiltiness and eternal death. Whence it follows, that no other remedy remains than that we come to the grace and mercy of God, which is offered to us in Christ alone; as it is written, "the word is nigh even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, this is the word of faith which we preach." Because, "if thou wilt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved, for with the heart men believed to righteousness, with the mouth confession is made to salvation, and every one who believeth on him shall not be ashamed." For the promises of God are apprehended by faith, which faith is a certain knowledge of the love of God towards us, founded in the gratuitous promise of God, which we have in Jesus Christ, afterwards confirmed and sealed by the Holy Spirit in our hearts, by which faith we are saved by grace: nor is that from us, but from the gift of God, and not from works, lest any one may be able to glory. Therefore Paul reckoned all things to be loss to him, nor did he esteem them more than dung that he might win Christ to himself, and that he might be found in Christ, clothed not with the righteousness of the law, but of faith, which indeed is righteousness from God. Besides, he elsewhere infers the same thing: "We therefore knowing that a man is justified not by works, but by faith: we believe also in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by faith in him, not by the works of the law." The same is the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, to his disciples, inquiring, who therefore should be saved? answers, with man indeed that is impossible, but that with God all things are possible. Where therefore stands gloriatio? it is entirely excluded. Lastly, by what law? Of works? Nay, but by the law of faith, which is reckoned for righteousness.

XXII.—ON GOOD WORKS.

WE confess, that the good works which God has prepared, that we should walk in them, and which are proposed in his word, ought to be done, and studiously fulfilled, not indeed from the hope of meriting any thing with God, or from fear of eternal destruction, but from duty and love, by which it becomes us to

* Leger gives these as distinct Articles, XX, and XXI.

embrace the common father of us all, that our obedience may have a view to his glory, and the edification of our neighbour : and that true and living faith, as a tree, may be distinguished by good fruits. To this point tend the words of Peter, when he says, " Wherefore, brethren, give diligence, that by good works, your election may be rendered sure, having your conversation good among the Gentiles, that in what they detract concerning you, as evil doers, esteeming you from good works, they may glorify God in the day of visitation." But because the impious, cold and slothful to every good work, excuse themselves in this, that the law is impossible to the flesh, and so being led by a false joy, please themselves in sin : it is certain, that they who have true faith, will also produce the fruits and works of it : but the incredulous will perpetrate evil works, who publish only a dead faith, whom the divine Paul says, do indeed confess with the mouth that they know God, but in works deny him, seeing they are abominable, unbelieving, and to every good work, useless.

XXIII.—ON FASTING.

WE believe, and confess, that from the divine precepts, sobriety, and continence are to be kept by us in all things. Fasting also is enjoined on us in the Scripture, which consists in the affliction and humiliation of the body, that not indeed that only the flesh may be afflicted, but that we may be rendered more ready and fit for prayer. Whence it clearly appears, that in these times, the true use of fasting is neglected, nay, is entirely abolished, which indeed Isaiah reprehends and shows in the Jews, some of whom abuse fasting. " Ye shall not fast," says he, " as ye do this day," &c.

XXIV.—ABSTINENCE FROM CERTAIN FOOD.

WE confess also, that indeed in the Old Testament, certain meats were prohibited, the use of which, however, has remained free among Christians by Jesus Christ, who has made us exempt and free from the ceremony and servitude of a law of that kind. Concerning which things, all things are clean to the clean, and on the contrary, to the impure and unbelievers, nothing can be pure, whose mind and conscience are impure. But meat does not render us more acceptable to God, for that which enters by the mouth by no means defiles the man : every creature of God is good : therefore not to be despised, provided we use it with the giving of thanks, for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. But we are diligently to see that we do not convert this liberty to the pleasures of the flesh, and especially caution is to be used, lest our hearts be entangled with gluttony and drunkenness, or the solitudes and cares of this life, and be altogether overwhelmed.

XXV.—ON MAGISTRATES.

WE confess that kings, princes, and magistrates, are persons constituted by God, that they may bear the sword for the defence of the good and the punishment of the wicked. And, therefore, obedience is due to them, not only on account of wrath, but also on account of conscience. For we reckon that we are to render to every one his own, tribute, custom, honour, and other things, to be paid to every one according to his right. To the king, especially, obedience belongs, considering him as he who excells others in dignity, but to captain-

generals, because they are sent by him. Finally, obedience is to be given to all governors and magistrates, because God has ordained them to this end, that they may influence the good with reward, and the wicked with punishment.

XXVI.—ON PASTORS AND MINISTERS.

WE confess that ministers and pastors of the church ought to be an example to the flock and to the faithful, to outshine others in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith and chastity, by preaching the word of God, and persevering in sincere doctrine. But on the contrary, covetous pastors, who, for the sake of filthy lucre, under pretext nevertheless of the worship of God, invent false doctrines, merchants of that kind, retailers, who set to sale the aspect of their own affairs, and which is a thousand times worse, who profane the temple of God, that they may make it a den of robbers: who affirm, that for money they can redeem souls from purgatory, as they say, and for a price received, promise pardon and remission of sins, who boast of evil works: such, to-wit, are impostors, sacrilegious, and idolaters, to be removed from the degree by the authority of kings and magistrates, and others should be substituted in their room; although at this time, most of them have not only withdrawn themselves from the obedience of princes, and have entirely put off their yoke, but also by diabolical ambition and tyranny, have attributed to themselves the dominion, almost of the whole world. They usurp the power and authority of princes, having deserted their proper office, which was to feed the flock of God, to oversee it not unwillingly, but with a ready and prompt mind on account of God: but not to occupy empire over the clergy, even as that threefold crown of antichrist sufficiently declares, the kingdom also of bishops and abbots, who at last shall receive the reward of their iniquity. But when the chief shepherd of the sheep himself shall come, they who shall have been found faithful servants, shall receive an incorruptible crown of glory.*

No. V.—[See p. 229.]

ANOTHER CONFESSION OF FAITH,

Presented by the Waldenses of Piemont, Dauphiny, and Provence in 1544, to Francis I. of France, while he held Piemont, and kept his Parliament at Turin.

1st, WE believe that there is only one God, who is a Spirit, the Creator of all things, the Father of all, who is above all, among us all, and in us all, who ought to be adored in spirit and truth, on whom only we wait, who alone is able to give life, nourishment, clothing, health, sickness, prosperity, adversity. We love him as the author of all goodness, we fear him as knowing our hearts. 2d, We believe that Jesus Christ is the Son and image of his Father; in whom dwells the fulness of the divinity; by whom we know the Father; who is our mediator and advocate, and no other name under heaven is given among men

* Gerdes's History of the Reformation, vol. iv. Document XV. The numbers are from Leger part i. p. 107, 108, who gives some sentences of this Confession.

by which we can be saved ; by whose name only we call upon the Father, and use no other prayers to God but those that are contained in the Holy Scriptures, or at least agreeable to them in substance. *3d*, We believe that the Holy Ghost is our Comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Son, by whose inspiration we make our prayers, and by whose energy we are renewed, who performs all good works in us, and by him we are conducted unto all truth. *4th*, We believe that only one holy church exists, which is the assembly of all the elect of God, whom he has chosen from the beginning even to the end of the world, of which our Lord Jesus Christ is the head. Which church is governed by the word of God, and guided by his Holy Spirit. In her all good Christians ought to remain : for she prays without ceasing for all, she is agreeable to God, by whom she has relief, and without her no man can be saved. *5th*, We hold that the ministers of the church as bishops and pastors,* ought to be irreprehensible in doctrine and manners, otherwise they ought to be deposed from their office, and others established in their place who should fulfil their charge. But no person ought to ascribe to himself this honour, except he who is called of God, not aspiring to dishonest gain, as ruling over the heritages of the Lord, but having borne a free heart, gives to pious persons an example in word, in conversation, in charity, and in chastity. *6th*, We confess that kings, princes, and magistrates, are ordained of God, to whom we are to be subject. For they bear the sword for the protection of the good and the punishment of evil doers, and, therefore, we are bound to render them all the honour which is their due, and we pay them tribute. But no person is able to exempt himself from this obedience, if he wishes to be called a Christian, following the example of our Lord Jesus Christ : for he paid tribute, and did not wish to usurp any jurisdiction or temporal domination, displaying by that state of humility the sword of the word of God. *7th*, We believe that in the sacrament of baptism, the water is only the visible and external sign, representing to us that which the truth of God works in us, namely, the spiritual renovation, and the renovation of our flesh in Jesus Christ, by the which Christ also, we are made members of the holy church of God, in which we show the profession of our faith and the correction of our life. *8th*, We believe that the holy sacrament of the table of our Lord Jesus Christ, is a holy memorial and a giving of thanks for the benefits which we have received by the death of Jesus Christ, which ought to be celebrated in the assembly of the saints, in faith and charity, and by the examination that one has of himself. And thus in taking the bread and wine, we have communion in the flesh and blood of Christ, as we read in the Holy Scripture. *9th*, We believe that marriage is good, honourable, holy, and ordained of God, which ought not to be forbidden to any person unless the word of God hinder. *10th*, We believe that pious persons, and such as fear God, ought to consecrate themselves to him to attend to good works, which he has prepared, to the end that they should walk in them. But the works are charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, bounty, mildness, temperance, and other works ordained in the Scriptures. On the contrary, we confess that we are to be on our guard

* This first clause of this article is translated exactly as Acland says the original in Perrin runs, yet this will hardly support Episcopacy, for it states, that ministers act both "as bishops and pastors." He is displeased with the translator of Perrin for omitting these two terms, and reading "ministers of the church ought to be," &c.—See *Glorious Return* by Acland, p. 235. Mr Gilly in his *Excursion*, p. 74, refers to this passage, as given by Leger, who omits "ministers," and simply reads "bishops and pastors ought to be," &c. When two expressions are of similar import, Leger sometimes omits one.

against false prophets, whose end is to call the people from the religious adoration due to God the Lord alone, and to cause them adhere to creatures, and to trust in them, not to do the works which are commanded us in the Holy Scriptures, and to follow the inventions of men. *11th*, We hold the Old and New Testament for the rule of our faith. *12th*, We follow the creed of the apostles. But whoever shall say that we teach or make profession of another doctrine, we shall show that he greatly deceives himself, provided we are only permitted to show him. *

No. VI.—[See p. 299.]

A LEAGUE OR AGREEMENT made between the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont, in the year 1571, for the mutual assistance of each other in times of Trouble and Persecution.

I. WE promise by oath, to persist inviolably in that ancient union, that hath continued from father to son, amongst the faithful of the evangelical religion of the Valleys unto our times; and not to depart from it upon any account, according to the following special conditions and promises.

II. To continue all in the profession of the true Christian reformed religion, which we have to this day embraced, which religion consisteth in the believing in and worshipping one only true God, and of one only head of the church, and mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus; and in the only rule of believing and living well, contained in the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, together with the two sacraments instituted by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, promising, according to the word, to yield obedience to all exterior order and church discipline, already established, and heretofore observed among us. And detesting all heresies and false doctrines which are contrary to this word of God, contained in the books of the Old and New Testaments.

III. We promise to be faithful and obedient to his serene highness, and to those magistrates who shall by him be constituted to govern and bear rule over us, in all that either human or divine laws shall oblige us to, according to the word of God.

IV. Forasmuch as there is always some or other who, contrary to the capitulations and concessions granted them by the clemency of his highness through the intercession of Madam the Dutchess, endeavour to trouble the peace of the churches, and the members thereof, and to infringe their concessions, we all promise to use our utmost power and interest upon all occasions, as it shall be judged necessary for maintaining all the said churches in general, and each member in particular, in the enjoyment of the said concessions, as well by having constant recourse to his highness for so long a time as shall be thought requisite, as by all other lawful means justifiable by the word of God upon such occasions, and all the churches in general shall undertake all the lawful protection and defence (so far as it may concern them) of each church, and every particular person and member of the same, who shall be molested for the cause

* Perrin, b. i. chap. xiii. Leger, part i. pp. 109, 110, [where he remarks that the Confession presented to the parliament of Provence in 1551, was just an enlargement of this one.]

of religion, by contributing their counsel, goods, and persons, if occasion require.

V. That as in those requests which are made in matters of religion, and their dependencies, or may be made by the churches in general, all the said churches shall unanimously answer, and give consent, as with one mouth; so, if any church in particular chance to be molested concerning any matter of religion, or their concessions, no particular one shall undertake to give any answer, without having taken a sufficient time to communicate with all the rest of the churches and members of this union, to take counsel as concerning a common interest, to answer and act by common consent and advice, and with all modesty, candour, and sincerity, suitable to good Christians, according to the dictates of a good conscience, and edification.

VI. In case any one come to fail in any thing, which God forbid, against this declaration of union, we do all, and every one, voluntarily submit to be willing to be censured, and even corrected by ecclesiastical discipline, and even to be counted by the rest of the body of the union for schismatics, and perjured without respect of persons, if the fault so require. And thus we all promise, with our hands lifted up to Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Made and ratified on the 11th day of November, 1571. *

No. VII.—[See p. 349.]

DECLARATION of the Valley of Miana and Matteo, and of the Marquisite of Saluzzo, made in the year 1603, that the Duke of Savoy drove them from their Country.

SEEING that our predecessors in all times, and from father to son have been taught in the doctrine and religion, of which we have always made open profession from our infancy, and have instructed our families as we have learned from our fathers, and of which, even to this time, that the king no more rules the marquisite of Saluzzo, we make profession without any degree of disturbance, as our brethren of the Valleys of Lucerna, who, by an express treaty made with their sovereign prince, have obtained the continuation in which we rejoice. And because that his highness being persuaded by the counsel of evil-intended persons, rather than of his own proper inclination, has resolved to disquiet us, and to this end has made an edict against us; to the end that all the world may know that this is not for any crime which we have committed either against the person of our prince, or for rebellion against the laws, or that we are guilty of murders, of thefts, and the like, that we are troubled in this manner, spoiled of our goods, and driven from our houses: we declare that we are certain and persuaded that the doctrine and the religion practiced by the reformed churches of France, Switzerland, Germany, England, Scotland, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and other kingdoms and nations and lordships, of which, even to this present time, we have made open profession, under the obedience of our princes and sovereign, is the only doctrine and religion ordained of God, which alone can render us agreeable to God and lead us to

* Morland, pp. 252, 253. Leger, part ii. p. 46.

salvation. We are resolved to hold it in peril of our lives, goods, and honours, and to continue in it even to the last breath of our life. And if any one believe that we are in error, we beg him most humbly that he show us the errors, while we offer immediately to renounce it, and to follow all that shall be shown us to be the more excellent, not desiring any thing more than to render to God the obedience which we owe to him as poor creatures, and by this means to obtain from him a true and eternal felicity. But if by violence they wish to constrain us to abandon the way of salvation, to follow error and false doctrines invented by men, we would choose rather to suffer the loss of our houses, goods, and lives, begging most humbly his highness, whom we acknowledge for our legitimate prince and lord, that he do not suffer us to be persecuted without cause, but rather that we should be able to continue all the rest of our life, our children and our posterity after us in the same obedience, which even to this time we have inviolably rendered to him as his true and loyal subjects.

We demand nothing else of him, except that in rendering to him all that we owe him, according to the express command of God, he leave us also to render to God the service which is due to him, and which he demands from us by his word. And in the meantime, in the midst of our calamities and banishments, we pray the reformed churches to acknowledge us for her true members, being ever ready to seal with our own blood, if God calls us to it, the Confession of Faith which they have published; which we hold to be quite agreeable with the doctrine of the holy apostles, being willing to live, and to die in it. And if so doing, we are persecuted, we give thanks to God, who has done us the honour to suffer for his quarrel, leaving the issue of our affairs, and the justice of our cause entirely in the hands of the providence of God, who will deliver us, when, and by the means which he shall please. We humbly beseech him, that as he holds in his hands, the hearts of kings and princes, he may be pleased to bend the heart of his highness to have pity on us, who have never offended him, and we are resolved never to offend him, to the end, that if he know us, he may acknowledge that we are his faithful subjects, rather than those who provoke him to persecute us after this manner, and that as to us, he may please to support us amidst the temptations, and to grant us constancy and patience to persevere in the profession of the truth, even to the end of our life, and our posterity after us. Amen. *

No. VIII—[See p. 412.]

A BRIEF CONFESSION OF FAITH of the Reformed Churches of Piemont, published with their Manifesto, on occasion of the dreadful Massacres of the year 1655.

BECAUSE we being apprised that our adversaries not contented to have persecuted and spoiled us of all our goods, to render us so much the more odious, still go circulating the most false reports, which tend not only to disgrace our persons, but above all by the infamous calumnies to blacken the holy and salutary doc-

* Leger, part i. pp. 111, 112. Perrin, b. ii. chap. v. Morland, pp. 41, 42. The translation is chiefly from the French of Leger, which he wrote from the Italian in his possession.

trine of which we make profession, we are obliged, in order to undeceive the spirit of those who might be able to be pre-occupied with false impressions, to make a short declaration of our faith, as we have made in time past, and agreeably to the word of God, to the end, that all the world may see the falsity of the calumnies, and the injury which they have done to wrong us, and to persecute us for a doctrine which is so pure.

1. We believe, first, that one only God exists, who is a spiritual essence, eternal, infinite, all-wise, merciful, just, and in sum, all-perfect; and that three persons are in that one only and simple essence, to-wit, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

2. That the same God has manifested himself unto us by the works of creation and providence, as also in his word revealed unto us, first by oracles in several manners, and afterwards by those written books which are called "The Holy Scriptures."

3. That we ought to receive those holy Scriptures, as we do, for sacred and canonical, that is to say, for the constant rule of our faith and life: as also to believe, that the same is fully contained in the books of the *Old and New Testament*; and that in the *Old Testament*, we have contained only those books which God entrusted to the Jewish church, and which that church always approved and acknowledged as divine; namely, the five books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, 1st and 2d *Samuel*, 1st and 2d *Kings*, 1st and 2d *Chronicles*, 1st of *Exra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, *Job*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs of Solomon*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Songs*, the four great and the twelve minor prophets. The *New Testament* contains only the four *Evangelists*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Epistles of St Paul*, one to the *Romans*, two to the *Corinthians*, one to the *Galatians*, one to the *Ephesians*, one to the *Philippians*, one to the *Colossians*, two to the *Thessalonians*, two to *Timothy*, one to *Titus*, one to *Philemon*, and his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, one of *St James*, two of *St Peter*, three of *St John*, one of *Jude*, and, lastly, the *Revelation*.

4. We acknowledge the divinity of these books, not only from the testimony of the church, but more especially because of the eternal and undoubted truth of the doctrine contained in them; and of that excellency, sublimity, and divine majesty, which shine in them, besides, the operation of the Holy Spirit, who gives us to receive with reverence, the testimony which the church gives us, who opens the eyes of our understanding to discover the beams of that celestial light, which shines in the Scriptures, and prepares our taste to discern the divine saviour of that spiritual food.

5. That God made all things of nothing by his own most free will, and by the infinite power of his word.

6. That he governs and rules all by his providence, ordaining and appointing whatsoever happens in this world, without being author, or cause of any evil committed by the creatures, so that faults neither can, nor ought to be, any ways imputed to him.

7. That the angels were all in the beginning created pure and holy; but that some of them are fallen into irreparable corruption and perdition; and that the rest have persevered in their first purity by an effect of divine goodness, which has upheld and confirmed them.

8. That man was created clean and holy after the image of God, and that through his own fault, he deprived himself of that happy condition, by giving credit to the deceitful words of the devil.

9. That man by his transgressions lost that righteousness and holiness which he received, and incurring with the wrath of God, death and captivity, under

the jurisdiction of him who has the power of death, that is, the devil, inasmuch, that our free will is become a servant and slave to sin; and thus all men, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, are by nature the children of wrath, being all dead in trespasses and sins, and consequently incapable of the least good motion, or inclination to any thing which concerns their salvation, yea, incapable to think one good thought without grace, all their imaginations being wholly evil, and that continually.

10. That all the posterity of *Adam* is in him guilty of his disobedience and infected by his corruption, and fallen into the same calamity with him, even the very infants from their mother's womb, whence is derived the name of *original sin*.

11. That God saves from that corruption and condemnation, those whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, not for any disposition, faith, or holiness that he foresaw in them, but of his mere mercy in *Jesus Christ* his Son, passing by all the rest according to the irreprehensible reason of his free will and justice.

12. That *Jesus Christ* having been ordained by the eternal decree of God, to be the only Saviour and only head of that body, which is the church, he redeemed it with his own blood in the fulness of time, and offers and communicates unto the same all his benefits by the gospel.

13. That there are two natures in *Jesus Christ*, namely, the divine and human, truly united in one and the same person, without either confusion, separation, division, or alteration, each nature keeping its own distinct properties, and that *Jesus Christ* is both true God and true man.

14. That God so loved the world, that is to say, those whom he has chosen out of the world, that he gave his own Son to save us by his most perfect obedience, especially that obedience which he expressed in his suffering the cursed death of the cross, and also by his victory over the devil, sin, and death.

15. That *Jesus Christ* having fully expiated our sins by his most perfect sacrifice once offered on the cross, it neither can, nor ought to be reiterated upon any account whatsoever, as they pretend to do in the *mass*. *

16. That the Lord having fully and absolutely reconciled us unto God, through the blood of his cross, and by virtue of his merit only, and not of our works we are absolved and justified in his sight, neither does any other *purgatory* exist besides his blood, which cleanses us from all sin. †

17. That we are united with *Christ*, and made partakers of all his benefits by faith, supported by those promises of life which are given us in his gospel.

18. That that faith is the gracious and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit which enlightens our souls, and persuades them to lean and rest upon the mercy of God, and so to apply to themselves the merits of *Jesus Christ*.

19. That *Jesus Christ* is our true and only Mediator, not only redeeming us, but also interceding for us, and that by virtue of his merits and intercession, ‡ we have access unto the Father, for to make our supplications unto him, with a holy confidence and assurance that he will grant us our requests, it being needless to have recourse to any other intercessor besides himself.

* This last clause of Article 15, and the second clause of Article 14, I find only in Morland, but they are undoubtedly genuine, as he gives the original.

† The same remark applies to the last two clauses of Article 16 from "neither does," &c.

‡ "Intercession" is the original word given by Morland, though Leger and Boyer use "mediation."

20. That as God has promised us that we shall be regenerated in *Christ*, so those that are united unto him by a true faith, ought to apply, and do really apply themselves unto good works.

21. That good works are so necessary to the faithful, that they cannot attain the kingdom of heaven without the same, seeing that God hath prepared them,* that we should walk in them, and, therefore, we ought to avoid vice, and apply ourselves to *Christian* virtues, making use of fasting, and all other means which may conduce to so holy a thing.

22. That although our good works cannot merit any thing, yet the Lord will reward or recompence them with eternal life, through the merciful continuation of his grace, and by virtue of the unchangeable constancy of his promises made unto us.

23. That those who are already in the possession of eternal life as the consequence of their faith and good works, ought to be considered as saints and as glorified persons, and to be praised for their virtue, and imitated in all good actions of their life, but neither worshipped nor prayed unto, for God only is to be prayed unto, and that through *Jesus Christ*.

24. That God has gathered unto himself one church in the world for the salvation of mankind, and that same church to have one only head and foundation, which is *Jesus Christ*.

25. That that church is the company of the faithful, who having been elected by God before the foundation of the world, and called with an holy calling, come to unite themselves to follow the word of God, believing whatsoever he teaches them, and living in his fear.

26. That that church cannot fail, nor be annihilated, but must endure for ever,* and that all the elect are upheld, and preserved by the power of God in such sort, that they all persevere in the faith unto the end, and remain united in the holy church, as so many living members of her.

27. That all men ought to join with that church, and to continue in her communion.

28. That God does not only instruct and teach us by his word, but has also ordained certain sacraments to be joined with this word, as a means to unite us unto *Christ*, and to make us partakers of his benefits; and that only two of them exist belonging in common to all the members of the church under the *New Testament*, to-wit, baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

29. That God has ordained the sacrament of *baptism* to be a testimony of our adoption, and of our being cleansed from our sins, by the blood of *Jesus Christ*, and renewed in holiness of life.

30. That the *Holy Supper*, or Eucharist, instituted for the nourishment of our souls, to the end, that eating effectually of the flesh of *Christ*, and drinking effectually his blood, by the incomprehensible virtue and power of the Holy Spirit, and through a true and living faith; and so uniting ourselves most closely and inseparably to *Christ*, we come to enjoy in him, and by him, spiritual and eternal life. † Now to the end that all the world may clearly see what our belief is as to this point, we add here the very expressions which are couched in

* What follows of Article 26, I find only in Morland, but he gives the original, and therefore it is genuine.

† The confirmations here added to Article 30, are omitted by Boyer, but are authentic, as the original is given by Morland, and a French version is given by Leger.

our prayer before the communion in our liturgy, * or manner of celebrating the Holy Supper, and in our public Catechism, which are the pieces which are to be seen at the end of our Psalms. See here the words of the prayer.

"Seeing our Lord has not only once offered his body and blood for the remission of our sins, but is willing also to communicate the same unto us as the food of eternal life, we humbly beseech thee to give us this grace, that in true sincerity of heart, and with an ardent zeal, we may receive of him so great a benefit, that is, that we may be made partakers of his body and blood, or rather of his whole self, by a sure and certain faith," &c.

The words of the liturgy are these, "Let us then believe first the promises which *Christ*, who is the infallible truth, has pronounced with his own mouth, namely, that he will make us truly partakers of his body and blood, that so we may possess him entirely, and in such sort, that he may live in us, and we in him." The words of our Catechism are the same, Sect. 53.

31. That it is necessary the church should have ministers, known by those who are employed for that purpose, to be learned, and of good life, as well to preach the word of God, as to administer the sacraments, and wait upon the flock of *Christ* (according to the rules of a good and holy discipline) together with elders and deacons, after the manner of the primitive church.

32. That God hath established kings and magistrates to govern the people, and that people ought to be obedient and subject to them by virtue of that ordination, not only for fear, but also for conscience sake, in all things that are conformable to the word of God, who is the King of kings, and the Lord of lords.

33. Finally, that we ought to receive the symbol of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue as fundamentals of our faith, and of our devotion. †

And for a more ample declaration of our faith, we do here reiterate the same protestation, which we caused to be printed in the year 1603, that is to say, that we do agree to the sound doctrine with all the reformed churches of *France, Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary*, and others, as it is represented by them in their confessions; as also we receive the Confession of *Augsburg*, and as it was published by the author promising to persevere constantly in it, with the help of God, both in life and death, and being ready to subscribe to that eternal truth of God with our own blood, even as our ancestors have done, from the days of the apostles, and especially in these latter ages.

Therefore we humbly entreat all the evangelical and protestant churches to look upon us as true members of the mystical body of *Christ*, suffering for his holy name's sake, notwithstanding our poverty and lowness; and to continue unto us the help of their prayers to God, and all other effects of their charity, as we have heretofore abundantly found and felt; for the which we return them our most humble thanks, entreating the Lord with all our heart to be their rewarder, and to pour upon them the most precious blessings of grace and glory, both in this life, and that which is to come. *Amen.*

* See p. 551.

† Leger, part i. pp. 112—116. Morland, pp. 61—71. Boyer, pp. 22—29.

ADDITIONS to the above Confession. A short justification relating to those points which the doctors of the *Roman* church are wont to impute to us, and other reformed churches, which nevertheless are condemned by us all, as being full of impiety, and to be abominated by all *Christians*.

We are accused of believing :—1st, That God is the author of sin :—2d, That God is not Omnipotent :—3d, That *Christ* was not impeccable :—4th, That Jesus Christ being upon the cross fell into despair :—5th, That man is like a stock or a stone, and does not co-operate in the actions whereunto he is moved by the Holy Spirit for his own salvation :—6th, That upon the account of predestination, the matter is indifferent whether we live well or ill :—7th, That good works are not necessary to salvation :—8th, That repentance and confession of sins are absolutely condemned amongst us :—9th, That fastings and other mortifications of the flesh ought to be rejected, in order to live dissolutely :—10th, That it is lawful for every one to interpret Scripture according to his own mind, and the motions of a private spirit :—11th, That the church may fall absolutely, and be reduced to nothing :—12th, That baptism is not at all necessary :—13th, That in the sacrament of the eucharist, we have no real communion with Jesus Christ, but only in figure :—14th, That we are not obliged to obey magistrates, kings, princes, and the like :—15th, Because we do not invoke the Holy Virgin, and glorified men, we are accused of contempt, instead of which we declare them blessed, and worthy both of praise and imitation, and holding, above all, the Holy Virgin, “Blessed among women,” &c. *

No. IX.—[See p. 447.]

DECLARATION REPARATIVE, made in a full Congregation, on Saturday 28th, and Sabbath the 29th August 1655, at Pinachi, in the Valley of Perosa, by *Mr Peter Gros* and *Mr Francis Aghil*, formerly Ministers in the Valley of Lucerna in Piemont, to testify their extreme sorrow for their defection, through infirmity, from the true Religion, during the time of their Imprisonment at Turin : together with their abjuration of Popery.

Most Honoured Fathers and Brethren in the Lord,

WE could have wished that a less sad subject had caused our appearance in public, and a more favourable occasion had made us known to the world by some notable action, the memory of which might have been a blessing in the church. But since our names cannot be famous, but by the extreme which overwhelmed us, and by the horrible scandal which we have given to the church of God, we now come forth out of the dark dungeons of our own shame and confusion, and present ourselves before men, to testify to all the world our conversion and repentance, and to give indubitable proofs of our griefs, for that we have been so base as to forsake our former profession.

When we make reflection upon those advantages with which the Lord hath gratified us above an infinite number of other persons, such as to have been born in his church ; to have sucked in piety together with our milk ; to have re-

* Morland, ib. and Leger ib.

ceived the grace of his saving knowledge; and to have taught the way of true happiness; and, finally, to have been called to the highest employment that men can have in this world, namely, to be heralds of God's righteousness, and preachers of his truth: We cannot speak of our offence without horror, and frankly confess, that this sin is so much more odious, and, that having known our Master's will, we have yet withdrawn our shoulder from his service, to go and act quite contrary to his commandments.

In these last calamities which have overrun our country, we thus made shipwreck, after we had lost our liberty with all our goods, when the enemies of the truth having resolved wholly to extirpate the reformed religion in the Valleys of Piemont, exercised their barbarous cruelties upon our countrymen. And we being fallen into their hands, after they had showed us how far their inhumanity could reach, to give us a proof of the outmost degree of it, they caused us to be thrown into prison, where they formed a process against us, and sentenced us to death as guilty of treason, and ringleaders of rebellion, and ceased not to set before our eyes the torments and punishments to which we were condemned, to render us the more flexible to the enticements of the Jesuits and others, who did incessantly solicit us to accept of a favour which they should obtain for us, provided we could but embrace popery and abjure our religion.

At their first onset, we were confident, that being far from yielding unto them, we had strength and constancy enough to despise whatsoever superstition could present as dreadful or terrible before our eyes, and that the dark and mournful shadows of itself, wherewith they threatened us, were not powerful enough to extinguish that heavenly light which then shined in our souls. But we have learned to our extreme grief, how frail our nature is, and how deceitful the wisdom of the flesh, which, for the enjoyment of a frail and transitory life, made us forego those inexpressible good things which God hath prepared for his children, and that everlasting joy, which those who persevere to the end are made partakers. This carnal wisdom, out of a desire to preserve this house of clay and this earthly tabernacle, and to avoid a shameful death, and a punishment ignominious in the eyes of the world, induced us to a shameful revolt and to a turning our backs upon him who is the fountain of life. We have lent our ears to this deceitful Delilah, and although there were not offered to us any reasons, so strong as in the least measure to obscure the truth that we did profess, yet we freely confess that the fear of death, and the horror of torments, did shake our courage, and beat down our strength, and we have decayed and dried up like water, not resisting unto blood, as the profession not only of Christians, but (what is more) ministers of the church, did oblige us to do.

We were persuaded by deceitful reasoning, that life was better than death; that we might be further profitable to the church, to our country, and to our poor families; that we should have no glory to die as rebels; and that one day we might get out of captivity to manifest unto the world, that if the confession had been wanting in our mouths, yet the faith was not wanting in our hearts.

Thus we accepted of pardon under these miserable conditions, and have not stuck to enter into the temple of idols, and give up our mouths and tongues to utter blasphemies against the heavenly truth, in denying and abjuring of the same, and our sacriligious hands likewise to subscribe the acts of this infamous apostacy which has drawn many others into the same perdition. Our light is become darkness, and our salt hath lost its savour, we have fallen from heaven

to earth, from the spirit to the flesh, and from life unto death ! We have been made the object of the curse of the Lord, who pronounceth " Woe to those by whom scandal cometh." And having made light of the threatenings of the Son of God against those who shall deny him before men, we have deserved to be denied by him before his heavenly Father ! Finally, we have rendered ourselves unworthy of divine favours and mercy, and have drawn upon our guilty heads whatsoever is most dreadful in the wrath of God and his indignations, and deserved to be rejected of the church, as stumbling-blocks, or stones of offence, and that the faithful should even abhor our company.

But, as we have learned in the school of the prophets, that the mercies of God are infinite, and that the Eternal taketh no pleasure in the destruction of his poor creatures, but calleth sinners to repentance to give them life, we are bold to appear before his face, and to humble ourselves in his holy presence, to bewail the greatness of our sin, and make unto him a free confession of our iniquity. O ! that, by God, our head might melt into waters of bitterness, and our eyes be turned into fountains of tears, to express the grief wherewith our souls are pressed down. Our sin, which is not ordinary, requireth of us an extraordinary repentance ; and, as we acknowledge it to be one of the greatest that may be committed in the world, so do we wish that our repentance may attain to the highest degree of humiliation, that so the acts of our contrition may be known to the whole world. If David for lighter faults was willing, that his complaints and his deep sorrow and repentance should be left for a memorial in the church, well may we not be ashamed to publish amongst men the inconsolable regret which we have for having offended God, and given occasion of scandal to the assembly of the saints, and we deserve to have imprinted upon our foreheads the mark of a perpetual infamy by our miserable fall, to make the memory of it continue for ever. And if we can make it appear that the sorrow it hath begotten in us is extreme, and that we disclaim now whatever fear formerly forced us to do against the dictates of our consciences ; we hope that he who forgave Peter his denying Christ in Caiaphas's court, will grant us the same grace, since we are come to beg pardon in all humility, with tears in our eyes, confession in our mouths, and a contrition in our hearts ; and that as there is joy in heaven for one sinner that repenteth, so there may be joy in the congregation of the faithful, when they shall see our conversion to the Lord.

Great God ! Almighty Father ! dreadful in thine anger, in whose presence no sinner can subsist a moment, we prostrate ourselves at the feet of thy greatness as poor offenders, acknowledging and confessing, that we have justly provoked thee to anger by our transgressions and iniquities, and drawn down upon ourselves thy righteous judgments, in that we have forsaken this heavenly truth, and bowed the knee before the idol ! But how shall we now appear before thee, O thou Judge of the quick and the dead, since we have by so doing deserved to feel not only in this life thy most severe rod and punishments, but that thou shouldst also cut us off from the number of the living, and cast us headlong into the lake of fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth. O God ! rich in compassion, and infinite in mercies : which thou multipliest even in judgments, do thou convert us, that we may be converted ! be merciful unto us, forgive our offence ! blot out our iniquity, and impute not unto us our sin ! open unto us the door of thy grace, that we may be partakers of thy salvation ! O Lord Jesus, redeemer of our souls, who camest into the world for the sake of poor penitent sinners, look upon our affliction ! receive us into mercy, and grant that our sins being washed away by thy precious blood, we may draw

near the throne of thy grace with confidence to obtain mercy ! raise us up from our fall ! strengthen us in our weakness, and although Satan hath sought to sift us, suffer not our faith to fail ! work in us effectually both to will and to do according to thy good pleasure. It is thou hast stretched thine arm towards us ! Thy strong hand which hath helped us ! Thou hast taken us out of captivity, both of body and soul, in which we lay languishing, to afford us the liberty to call upon thee ! Thou hast heard our cries out of the deep, and hast given us new cause to rejoice in thy goodness, and to bless thy holy name, to whom be everlasting glory ascribed to all times and in all ages. Amen.

You, faithful souls, who see how we bring a contrite heart and a broken spirit before the Eternal, to humble ourselves in his presence, O commiserate our condition ! Learn by our example to know how great human frailty is, and what a precipice we fall into, whensoever God withholdeth his grace from us ! Consider, that as this hath been unto us an extreme unhappiness to have fallen into so great a sin, so have you an argument to rejoice in God, in regard of that grace which he affordeth you as yet to stand ! Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation ! Hold fast what you have, that no man take your crown ! Be faithful to the Lord Jesus even unto death, that so ye may obtain the crown of life ; and be assured, that out of the profession of his truth, which you profess exclusively from all other sorts of religion whatsoever, there is nothing but the shadow of death, horror, and astonishment. This is a thing we are able to assure you by our own experience, seeing from the very first moment that we gave our consent to this unhappy apostacy, our consciences have given us no rest at all, and through their continual combustions and agitations have they not suffered us to enjoy any other comfort whatsoever which a soul enjoyeth in tribulation, until God was pleased to draw us out of the filthy quagmire of Babylon, and caused us to return into his church. Ye Christians, who see us return into the bosom of the church, lend us your helping hand, and let your arms be opened to embrace us, seeing we beg your pardon for the scandal we have given you. Do not think us unworthy of your holy communion, although we have been an occasion of offence ! Suffer us to pour into your bosoms a torrent of tears, to deplore our condition, and to assure you in the anguish of our souls, that our grief is greater than we can express ! Help us by your holy prayers to the Lord, and publish our repentance in all places where you can conceive our sin hath been known or shall be known, that so the matter may be evident to all the world, that from the very bottom of our souls we grieve and sorrow for it, and that in the presence of God and of his holy angels, and in the sight of those who are witnesses of our conversion, that we do abjure and detest the pretended sacrifice of the mass, the authority of the pope, and in general all sorts of beliefs and worships dependant upon them. We retract whatsoever we have pronounced in prejudice of the evangelical truth, and promise for the future, through the grace of God, to persevere in the profession of the reformed religion to the last moment of our life, and rather to suffer death and torments than to renounce that holy doctrine which is taught in our church, according to the word of God, even as we swear and promise with our bended knees upon the earth, and our hands lifted up to the eternal God, our Almighty God and Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as we desire his assistance to do this, even so help us God. Amen. *

* Morland, p. 279—286. Leger, part ii. pp. 66—69.

No. X.—[See pp. 453—462.]

STATEMENT of the COLLECTION and DISTRIBUTION of money in Britain and Ireland, through the instrumentality of his Highness the Lord Protector, for the relief of the Waldenses of Piemont, after the persecution of 1655.

THE COLLECTIONS were as follow :—

Given by his highness, *L.*2000 sterling; Cities of London and Westminster, *L.*9384, 6s. 11d; Middlesex County, *L.*950, 6s. 1d.; Berkshire, *L.*555, 9s. 9d.; Bedfordshire, *L.*282, 9s. 7d.; Buckinghamshire, *L.*498, 2s. 3d.; Cambridge-shire, *L.*497, 2s.; Cheshire, *L.*224, 2s. 11d.; Cornwall, *L.*527, 3s. 10d.; Cumber-land, *L.*145, 16s. 3d.; Derbyshire, *L.*236, 7s. 10.; Devonshire, *L.*1965, 0s. 3d.; Dorsetshire, *L.*901, 0s. 7d.; Durham, *L.*291, 7s.; Essex, *L.*1512, 17s. 7d.; Gloucestershire, *L.*305, 5s. 1d.; Hampshire, *L.*740, 9s. 5d.; Herefordshire, *L.*185, 11s. 7d.; Hertfordshire, *L.*737, 3s.; Huntingdonshire, *L.*143, 17s. 10d.; Kent, *L.*1346, 18s. 3d.; Lancashire, *L.*472, 19s. 3d.; Leicestershire, *L.*383, 19s. 6d.; Lincolnshire, *L.*797, 9s. 8d.; Monmouthshire, *L.*162.; Norfolk, *L.*1014, 1s. 5d.; Northampton, *L.*676, 12s. 4d.; Nottinghamshire, *L.*311, 2s. 9d.; Northumberland, *L.*317, 11s. 6d.; Oxfordshire, *L.*923, 5s. 6d.; Rut-landshire, *L.*68, 0s. 6d.; Shropshire, *L.*234, 16s. 11d.; Somersetshire, *L.*1080, 1s. 10d.; Staffordshire, *L.*320, 8s. 3d.; Suffolk, *L.*1184, 8s.; Sussex, *L.*650, 10s. 1d.; Surrey, *L.*723, 17s. 5d.; Warwickshire, *L.*495, 11s. 3d.; Westmoreland, *L.*63, 18s. 5d.; Wiltshire, *L.*580, 19s. 6d.; Worcestershire, *L.*262, 9s.; Yorkshire, *L.*1786, 14s. 5d. WALES—Anglesey, *L.*19, 6s. 11d.; Brecknock, *L.*6, 3s. 8d.; Cardigan, *L.*10, 5s. 9d.; Carmarthenshire, *L.*25, 16s. 11d.; Carnarvanshire, *L.*22, 5s. 5d.; Denbighshire, *L.*27, 4s. 8d.; Flint-shire, *L.*58, 8s. 8d.; Glamorganshire, *L.*160, 7s. 3d.; Merionethshire, *L.*3, 0s. 1d.; Montgomerishire, *L.*27, 19s. 3d.; Pembrokeshire, *L.*57, 16s. 1d.; Rad-norshire, *L.*1, 14s. 4d. Donations of particular persons, *L.*1735, 2s. Gained by Mr Morland in the remission, *L.*142, 7s.; and by Mr Lucas Luce, *L.*1, 16s. 3d.—Total, *L.*38,241, 10s. 6d. *

In regard to the DISBURSEMENT, the money was sent by the treasurers in England, to Mr L. Calandrine, merchant, Geneva, who, along with Mr Stephen Turretine, according to the orders of Mr Morland and Mr Pell, remitted the sums to Messrs D'Izre and Bourlamachi, pastors, and four elders, as a standing committee at Grenoble, to convey it to the Valleys. Merchants travelling from Geneva to Grenoble, considered that safety required only small sums to be sent at a time. Thus between 19th of May, and the 2d of September 1655, Crom-well's donation of *L.*2000, with *L.*1, 16s. 3d. gained in the remission, were sent in thirty-five different packages, making *L.*2001, 16s. 3d. The Committee at Grenoble got the necessary receipts from the Valleys. † Through the same channel, at the beginning of the troubles, *L.*9500 were paid into the hands of the poor people, partly in cash, partly for bedding, corn, cloth, with an allowance to

* Morland. p. 538.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. v. pp. 616—621.

Mr Calendrine for expense of transportation. * After the death of Mr Calendrine, Mr Morland, on the 27th of February, 1656, contracted with Mr James Tronchin, merchant, Geneva, to remit money from London to Geneva, through whom L.2000 were sent to the Grenoble committee, who granted a receipt, and forwarded the money to the Valleys, which was delivered to eight pastors and thirteen deputies, in general assembly at Villar, in Perosa, 29th May 1656. The proper receipt was transmitted to Grenoble, subscribed by John Leger, and each church received supply as it had suffered. † About this time, some evil disposed persons on the continent had written to secretary Thurloe, impeachments of Mr Morland's honesty, and the latter sent home a minute account of all the transactions. All the items are marked in Thurloe's state papers, and attested as correct by the proper persons at Geneva and Grenoble. ‡ On the 14th of August 1656, Mr Morland received from Thurloe orders to distribute an additional sum of L.5000 to the Waldenses of the Valleys, by Mr Tronchin, and then to return home. This he did, and got a receipt from Grenoble, subscribed by the two ministers and two elders, 4th October 1656.§ Mr Morland also transmitted L.142, 7s. of interest gained during the time he had the charge of the money. The last two sums were paid in the Valleys, January 15th 1657. Morland states the last three remissions in one gross sum of sterling money, and gives the items and the gross sum in French livres of Tournois, with some necessary expenses in the transmission. ¶

The money was distributed by certain rules, to ministers, teachers, and such as had suffered losses in the war, or shown bravery. ¶ After his return to England, Mr Morland, by order of the Lord Protector, transmitted to the Valleys, April 5, 1657, L.2000; October 24, L.1000; January 1658, paid L.1500; paid to for expenses in the transmission, L.230; paid to some who had been very active in behalf of the poor people, L.200; paid to Christian Ulrick, by order, L.100; to John Benthouse, L.20; to Captain Raymond, L.150; paid for several petty charges, L.63, 17s.—Total disbursements, L.21,908, 0s. 3d. which, when subtracted from the collections, leave in the treasurer's hands, a balance of L.16,333, 10s. 3d. ** which sum Cromwell retained in possession of the British government, and laid the foundation for an annuity to the Waldensian pastors and others.

No. XI.—[See p. 464. and Vol. I. p. 473.]

LIST OF THE WALDENSIAN MANUSCRIPTS.

THESE were given by John Leger to S. Morland, who, in August 1656, presented them to the public library of the University of Cambridge, in twenty-one volumes, marked with the letters from A to W, and says, in p. 95. of his History, "The true originals, of all of which, are to be seen in the public library of the famous University of Cambridge."

* Thurloe, ib. pp. 621—623. Morland, ib.

† Thurloe, ib. pp. 627—632.

‡ Thurloe, ib. pp. 632—641.

§ Thurloe, ib. pp. 640, 641.

¶ Morland, ib.

¶ See the Rules, Thurloe, ib. pp. 641—644.

** Morland, pp. 590—596.

The volume, marked A, contains in the Waldensian language :—History of the Creation and Deluge ; Treatise on divers Animals ; Tract on Sin, Rev. xiii. ; On the Word of God, 1230 ; On Traditions and Ordinances of Men ; Exhortation to Herman to turn to God ; On Pharisaical Plantations, namely, Orders and Sects of Monks, &c. The following are in Latin :—Rhapsodies on Priests and Friars : On the Duties of Husband and Wife ; On the Apostolic Creed ; On Building Cities, the Rise and Progress of Idolatry, and its Overthrow by the Preaching of the Gospel ; On the Ways of Sinning ; On the True Purgation of Sin ; On Pleasing God alone ; On the Three Truths of Doctrine, Righteousness, and Life ; On the Controversies of Faith being defined by the Written Law of God alone.

The volume B, in parchment, contains in the Waldensian tongue :—Gloss on the Lord's Prayer ; Trecenas, or Passages of Evangelists and Epistles ; Doctor, or Testimonies of the Fathers on Repentance ; Penas, or the Punishment of Sin ; The Joys of Paradise ; Epistle to all the Faithful. The following Poems :—New Comfort ; * New Discourse ; * Noble Lesson ; * Eternal Father ; * Barca, or Shortness of Human Life, and the Attainment of Salvation ; * Explanation of the Ten Commandments,* and of the Apostles' Creed ; * On Vice and Mortal Sins ; On the Seven Gifts of the Spirit, Isaiah xi. ; On the Three Theological and Four Cardinal Virtues ; On the Good Things of Fortune, Nature, and Grace ; On the Six Honourable Things in the World ; Sermons on Idle Words, Matth. xii. ; On the New Man, Eph. iv. ; On the Little Child Jesus at Jerusalem, Luke ii. ; On Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness, Matth. iv. Luke iv. ; on Matth. viii. 25. ; On the Rich Man, Luke xvi. ; On the Sixth of John ; On the Sower, Matth. xiii.

The volume C, contains :—An Exhortation to Confess Sin ; Sermon on the Fear of the Lord ; * On Tribulations ; * On Accusing Sinners before God in judgment ; On the Martyrdom of the Maccabees and others ; On the Sufferings and Constancy of Job ; History of Tobias. The volume D, contains :—Meditations on the Miseries, Tribulations and Shortness of Life ; as likewise on Repentance, Good Works, and the like, in the language of the Valleys on parchment, but the letter is almost worn out with age. From the place and manner of preservation, Mr Morland, in 1658, judges it to have been six or seven centuries old. The volume E contains :—A Latin Grammar of the Ancient Barbes ; Solomon's Proverbs and Ecclesiastes ; A Pious Poem in the language of the Valleys ; On the Love and Fear of God, and on the Christian Life ; Latin Treatise on Morality ; A Treatise on Arithmetic. In the volume F, are contained in a distinct character on parchment ; Gospel of Matthew ; First Chapter of Luke ; Gospel of John ; Acts of the Apostles ; 1 Corinthians ; Galatians ; Ephesians ; Philippians ; Epistle to the Thessalonians ; 2 Timothy ; Titus ; Hebrews chap. xi. 1 and 2 Peter, but imperfect. The volume G, contains these manuscripts ; Process against the Waldenses by the Archbishop of Ambrun in 1497—1502 in French ; Bull of Innocent, 1487, Latin ; Origin of the Waldenses, and Processes against them, 1501, Latin ; Examinations of the Archbishop of Evreux, and other Commissioners of the Pope in Frassinieri, and other places, 1478, 1479—1483—1486, and 1501, against the Waldenses.†

These seven volumes, with those that follow, were deposited at Cambridge.

* The Articles marked with an Asterisk were preserved in other copies at Geneva in 1825 Jackson's Remarks, pp. 274—276.

† Morland's list of MSS. from A to G. Leger, part i. pp. 21—23.

Peter Allix, *Pied.* p. 297, gives the writing of an Inquisitor "from the Code of the Manuscript G (ex Codice, MS. G) in the public library of Cambridge." The expressions seem to intimate, that Allix actually copied the document from the Manuscript. Consequently that volume remained in the library in 1690. A catalogue printed that year, but copied from one made before Morland's deposit of the MSS. could not contain any of them. Another in 1753 omits the first seven volumes, but contains all from H to W. To a third catalogue of 1794, the same remark applies, and that the box X, is also missing. Mr Gilly made particular inquiry in 1823, 1830, and 1833, but no trace of the MSS. from A to G, nor of the box X, could be found. The volumes from H to W, however, are still preserved. *

The volume H contains:—Inquisitorial processes against the Waldenses of Frassinere, &c. in 1487, 1488, 1489—1492, and 1494; Three Bulls of Alexander to absolve the Waldenses, and encourage them to abjure their religion, 1501; Edict and Letters of Louis of France for the restitution of the Waldensian goods in Frassinere, 1501; Decree of Council, 1502, in favour of such as had turned Catholic in Frassinere, Dauphiny and neighbourhood. The vol. I. contains:—Agreement of Henry IV. and the Vaudois, 1592; Petition from Perosa to the King, 1630; Articles of Capitulation by the King to Perosa, 1630, and Letters Patent to the same place, 1648—1653. Vol. K, consists of Concessions by the Dukes of Savoy to the Evangelicals of Piemont in 1561—1603—1620, and on 2d and 4th of June and December, 1653. Vol. l. contains Memorials of the Churches of the Valleys, 1644; Letters of the Duke of Savoy and the Cantons before the Massacre 1655, of the Ministers of Zurich, on the Unity of the Churches, and of the Pastors of Zurich on the Massacre. Correspondence of the Cantons, Major Weis and the Duke, and Negotiation of the Four Swiss Ambassadors, all in 1655. In volume M are contained, Correspondence between the Marquis of St Thomas, Mr Morland, Major Weis, and the Four Swiss Ambassadors in July and August 1655. Attestation of Guiot, Pra and Petit Bourg, regarding the Cruelties 1655; of T. Tronchin, regarding Perrin's Manuscripts; and of Schmidt regarding the Dissent of Stockar, the Swiss. In volume N, are found copies of excellent letters of consolation from divers Protestant Churches to the Brethren of the Valleys. The volume O, contains edicts regarding the Waldenses, by Emanuel Philibert, 1561; by Charles Emanuel, 1582, and the Interination, 30th May 1585; Edicts by the same, 3d January 1584, 2 July 1608, and 4th March 1623. Edict by V. Amadeo, 26th February 1635; by the Dutchess Christina, 16th January 1642, and 17th February 1644; by Charles Emanuel, 30th June 1649; 2d February 1650; and 21st June 1653. The Court of Savoy's Factum and Reasons, in Italian, Latin, and French, 1655; and the Duke's Patent to the Evangelical Churches, 17th August 1655. In volume P, are found:—Epistle of Scipio Lentulo, on the Persecution in the Valleys, 1561; La Relation Veritable, being the Defence of a French Book on the Persecution of 1655; A Latin Refutation of a Dissertation on the right of expelling the evangelical religion from Italy and Savoy; Letters to the Duke of Savoy, by the Duke of Virtemberg and the Elector Palatine in behalf of the Waldenses, both on 14th July 1655; Grievances of the treaty of Pignerol sent to the king of France; Gratiulatory Letters on the treaty from the Valleys to the Lord-Protector, the States-General, and Others; Severe Letters from Servient and others, to the

* Gilly's Researches, pp. 151—156, and Private Letter of July 31, 1833.

people, to cause them acquiesce in the Treaty; Reasons to Servient to show the people should be allowed to employ foreign ministers, 21st April 1656. In volume Q, are contained:—Duke's order concerning the Waldensian taxes, 26th April 1656; People's Reply, 5th September 1657, to the Marquis of Pianezza; Remonstrance concerning grievances to Madam Royal, 20th August 1657; Remonstrance of the same kind to the king of France; Reply, 5th October 1657, to Madam, of 2d August; People's Supplication and Duke's Answer, 6th October 1657; Waldensian request, 26th October 1657; Letter of the Four Swiss Ambassadors to Servient, Truchi, and Greisy, 30th November 1657; Gastaldo's Summons to the people of San Giovanni, 20th December 1657; Another Order of Gastaldo; People's Letter to Servient, and Supplication to the Duke, 28th December 1657; Another petition and the Duke's answer, 25th January 1658. Volume R, contains:—A Short History of the affairs of the Waldenses in the Valleys, in Italian, Confession of 1655; Sentence of the Catholic Judges at Olten, High Dutch, and French, 30th January 1657. The volume S, contains:—French Bible of Neuf Chatel in June 1535. The volume T contains:—Original pieces mentioned in Morland, not specified in this catalogue, nor in the black box W. The volume V, contains:—In English, the Grounds of the War between the Swiss Protestant and Catholic Cantons, 14th December 1655; in French, the History of said War, by Samuel Morland, Esquire, till the Peace 7th March 1656. The volume W, contains:—Correspondence between the Protestants of Zurich, the Catholics of Switz, and the Nicodemites of Art, and other papers concerning the War, in High Dutch, signed by Schmidt; Confession of Faith by the Nicodemites of Art, in twenty-two Articles; Memorial of the Nicodemites concerning their leaving Babylon, 1655.

All the above, from H to W, are preserved. The black box, marked X, is missing, which contained several printed tickets, papers, and pictures, found in the pockets of such as had massacred the Protestants. There are forms of blessing in the name of the Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, St Francis, Didacus, Savior; also, a powder, called the Milk of the Virgin Mary; Bones of the Martyrs, whose names are marked; Pictures of the Saints and Christ; All are marked with letters. Likewise the Marquis of Pianezza's indemnity to one who had abjured his religion, and Tarano's certificate to Pianezza, that the above person had abjured.

On the 19th of November 1656, M. Tho. Tronchin gave an attestation to Mr Morland, that in 1619, he had compared the copies of the Waldensian papers in Perrin's history with the manuscript originals shown him by Perrin, and had found the correspondence exact.* But as he does not say that these manuscripts were deposited in the library of Geneva, we feel no necessity to give a catalogue of them here; but this gives us confidence in the accuracy of Perrin's documents, many of which are inserted in Leger and Morland.

Besides the manuscripts given to Morland by Leger, he also, in Pragela recovered a thick octavo volume of MSS. in the Waldensian language, in parchment, which he deposited in the library of Geneva, along with a bundle of other papers on Waldensian affairs in French and Italian, and got a receipt from the librarian, 10th November, 1662. In the octavo volume was contained:—The Noble Lesson; The Purgatory Dream; Traditions; The Invocation of Saints;

* Morland, pp. 9, 10.

New Comfort, with Explications of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and the Ten Commandments; as also some sermons. *

Some of these treatises are mentioned among the MSS. seen by Mr Jackson at Geneva in 1825. In the corrected Catalogue of M. Jean Senebier, the following MSS. are marked:—No 88, *Memoirs of the affairs of Piemont*, from 1551, to 1560, in French; and, on an affixed leaf, "*Memoirs of the Noble Family of Saluzzo*." These he did not see. *Liturgy in the Vaudois Dialect*, small octavo, on vellum, and bound in crimson velvet. This he saw, and thought it complete. No. 207 is called *La Nobla Leicon*, because it contains the Noble Lesson. But it also contains:—An Exposition of Solomon's Song; *La Borea*; *Le Nouvel Sermon*; *Lo Paire Eternel*; *Le Nouvel Consort*; *Le Dispersi del Mondo et della Morte*; *et de li quatre semens de Penitenza*; An Abridgement of the History of the Church till the coming of Jesus Christ; and, An Antidote to the Perversions of the Church of Rome. These are all in the ancient Waldensian tongue, and are very clean. No. 208 is entitled, *Controversies Vandoises avec l'Eglise Romaine*, or Waldensian Controversies with the Roman Church, in octavo, on paper, containing Treatises on the Articles of Belief; The Seven Sacraments; The Commandments; Purgatory; The Invocation of Saints; False Penitence; and, The Apostacy. M. Senebier thinks this MS. of the 14th century, but treatises with the same titles at least existed in the 12th century. No. 209 is *Les Conseils des Barbets*; the Councils of the Barbes, in octavo, on paper. M. Senebier is of opinion that this MS. was written in the 15th century, and remarks "this incomplete MS. contains divers pieces of Theology and Morality in the Waldensian country style." Mr Jackson saw all the treatises of Nos. 207, 208, and 209; and also the Waldensian Liturgy. †

No. XII.—[See pp. 542—560.]

THE REV. T. SIMS in his *Historical Defence of the Waldenses*, pp. 446—466, records a copy of THE CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE WALDENSIAN PASTORS, RESIDING IN PIEDMONT, dated 29th February, 1819, as found among the papers of the late Moderator, Peyrani, and subscribed by him. Mr Sims, however, does not seem to be aware, that the whole of this Confession is contained in the one of 1655; which forms No. viii. of this Appendix, and therefore need not be repeated here. At page 560 of this vol. mention is made of Mr Bert, as publishing the Confession of 1655, with a Catechism, which Catechism is probably the same from which extracts have been given, pp. 552, 553. This appears to have been just following up what was begun under Peyrani. In page 560, I expressed a hope, that the grounds of Mr Gay's secession would soon be removed. This seems to be realised in regard to Arianism, but I suspect that a leaven of Arminianism remains with some of the present clergy. This suspicion arises not from any thing asserted in the Confession of 1819, but from the parts that are dropped out, and which parts are found in the same Confession as published in 1655. Mr Sims therefore appears to give too favourable a decision, when he says, in his Preface to the one of 1819, that "the following document will fur-

* Leger, part i. pp. 23, 24.

† Jackson's Remarks, pp. 274—276.

nish new proof, that the descendants of the ancient Vaudois still maintain those truths for which their forefathers endured so many calamitous persecutions." Now, the Confession of 1655 was published in the very midst of persecution; and when we compare it with the copy of 1819, we find that the following parts which oppose the Arminian doctrines are omitted. In Article iv. these words inserted in 1655, are dropped in 1819, regarding the Holy Spirit, "who gives us to receive with reverence the testimony which the church gives, who opens the eyes of our understanding to discover the beams of that celestial light which shines in the Scriptures, and prepares our taste to discern the Divine savour of that spiritual food." In Article ix. a great part of these words are wanting: "our free will is become a servant, and slave of sin; and then all men, both Jews and Gentiles, are by nature the children of wrath, being all dead in trespasses and sins, and consequently incapable of the least good motion, or inclination to any thing which concerns their salvation; yea, incapable to think one good thought without grace, all their imaginations being wholly evil, and that continually." Yet this part is not so completely struck out as some others, for the Confession of 1819 asserts, "that our free will is in a fallen condition, and we are become the children of wrath, dead in sins; and are not able of ourselves, and without grace, to cherish a good thought." In Article x. the descendants of Adam have fallen, "even in the very infants from their mother's womb." In Article xi. 1819, "God delivers men whom he has chosen, through his mercy in his Son Jesus Christ." But in 1655, the whole words were, "men whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, not from any disposition, faith, or holiness, that he foresaw in them, but of his own mere mercy in Jesus Christ his Son, passing by all the rest, according to the irreprehensible reason of his free will and justice." In 1655, Article xiv. runs:—God so loved the world, "that is to say, those whom he has chosen out of the world," that he gave his Son, &c. But in 1819, the words noted with quotation marks are left out. The latter part of Article xix. regarding Christ as the only intercessor, is also passed over, "it being needless to have recourse to any other intercessor besides himself."

In some notes on this Confession of 1819, at Article xxix. on Baptism, Mr Sims discusses the question, Whether the Waldenses baptised infants? He maintains, that the Waldenses of Piedmont have to a certainty always approved and practised the baptism of infants. Documents to substantiate this, may be seen in the present work, Vol. I. pp. 406, 430, 541, 542; and Vol. II. Appendix, Nos. I. II. III. and IV. in the Articles on Baptism. Mr Sims thinks, however, the probability is, "that *some* of the Albigenes of France objected to the baptism of infants," though this was by no means general among them. The reader may turn to what is said on this subject in this history, Vol. I. pp. 224, 225, 303, 508; Vol. II. pp. 145, 146. And, to the Berengairians, p. 193. of Vol. I. Some who rejected the Romish superstitions in baptism seem to have run to the opposite extreme of being indifferent regarding the outward baptism of both young and old. This remark will apply to the Paulicians, Vol. I. pp. 174, 175, and to one of the classes of the dissenters in Germany, who were probably Paulicians, pp. 239, 240; but Dr Ypeij, and J. J. Dermont, quoted in Ward's Letters, pp. 258—260, give us only assertion, when they say the Menonites or Dutch Baptists, are descended from the Waldenses of the twelfth century, though they may somewhat resemble the Paulicians of Germany. And the statement of the Reverend Robert Gan, Mennonite minister of Ryswick, in Ward, p. 260, that the Dutch Baptists are sprung from the Waldenses of Piedmont, is contrary to the sentiments of these Valley-men,

as expressed in the public confessions above referred to. In short, the documents expressing the Waldensian doctrines on this subject are all produced, and the reader can judge whether my remarks in the course of the work be well founded or not.

The prayers in Art. xxx. of the Confession of 1655 are omitted in 1819. In Art. xxx. of 1655, the need of learned and holy pastors is mentioned, but, in 1819, a clause is added, dividing these into "bishops, priests, and deacons, as was usual in the primitive church," which shows that the Waldenses are now more inclined to episcopal government than in 1655. Our view of the primitive church order has been expressed in various parts of the former volume.

Irenæus, as mentioned, p. 31 of the former volume, does not mean that the simple Confession of the Trinity is a sufficient ground for the church of Christ receiving any one into her communion, for he evidently speaks of the three persons of the Godhead in their economical character as connected with the plan of redemption. After showing the sin of groundless divisions, his words are:—"But he," God "will judge also all those who are without the truth, that is, who are without the church; but he himself shall be judged by no one. For all things consist in this, namely, both an entire faith in one God Almighty, from whom are all things, and in the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, by whom are all things, and a firm judgment of that arrangement by which the Son of God was made man, which judgment is in the Spirit of God, who exhibits the knowledge of the truth, who has declared the arrangements of the Father and the Son, according to which he was present with the human race by the will of the Father." Compare this with the sketch of the church's doctrine, by Irenæus pp. 27, 28 of said volume. He evidently means faith in the Father, as taking the lead in the plan of mercy in the Son as incarnate, and in the Spirit as exhibiting the whole system of truth. "The doctrine of baptisms" in the name of the Trinity, included the whole truth, even though all fundamental articles were not formally expressed. This profession of faith in the Trinity was sufficient at first to distinguish Christians from Pagans, Jews, and Heretics. But when Arians and Pelagians could accede to the Apostle's Creed, without renouncing their peculiarities, more extended creeds were necessary to guard the public doctrine, such as the Nicene, the Athanasian, those of the Council of Chalcedon, and of the first Council of Constantinople. As Antichrist advanced, the Confessions of the Waldenses and Bohemians became more extensive, and from the continued multiplication of errors, the confessions of the reformed churches are still more varied.

However short any of the primitive confessions were, the early fathers never intended that any part of revealed truth should be overlooked. This appears by the following testimonies handed me by a literary friend. Among others, AUGUSTINE thus addresses the Catechumens:—"Receive this rule of faith called the creed. These words of the creed which you have heard, are scattered through the divine Scriptures. Thence are they collected and reduced to one, lest the memory of the duller, or more slothful, should permit them to escape." And in his questions on Matthew:—"These are good Catholics who follow the entire faith and a good practice." JEROM on the creed of Ruffinus, writes:—"That is the holy church which preserves the faith of Christ entire." BASIL on the true faith, teaches:—"If the Lord be faithful, and all his commands faithful, established for ever, and formed in truth and equity, doubtless the clearest proof of unfaithfulness, and the surest token of pride, are to reject any of those

things which are written, or to introduce any of those things that are not written."

No. XIII.—[See p. 560.]

LIST OF WALDENSIAN CHURCHES AND PASTORS, 1833.

Parishes.	Protestants.	Romanists.	Names of Pastors.
San Giovanni,	1700	40	J. J. Bonjour.
Angrogna,	2000	150	F. Peyrot.
La Torre,	1800	200	Peter Bert.
Villaro,	2000	200	Francis Gay.
Bobbio, -	1700	220	George Muston, <i>Moderator-Adjoint</i> .
Rora, -	700	30	J. Monastier.
Prarustino,	1800	60	M. Rostaing, jun.
Roccapiatta,			
San Bartelemeo & Inversa Porta,			
San Germano,			
Pramolo,	1200	30	M. Vineon, aged 38.
Pomaretto,	1100	100	J. Jalla, aged 68.
Envers, -			
Pinachi, -			
Prali, -	800	35	James Peyrani.
Rodoretto, -	400	45	Amadee Bert.
Villa Secca, -	1200	450	M. Alexander Rostaing, <i>Moderator</i> , aged 68.
Riclarotto, -			
Faetto, -			
Bovilla, -			
San Martino,			
Traversa, -			
Cheneviere, -			
Maneglia, -	700	160	Timoleon Peyrani.
Salsa, -			
Chabrant, -			
Maceglia or Macel,			
College of La Torre, -	500	40	M. J. J. Bonjour.
			M. J. Revel, <i>Principal</i> .*
	18,600	1910	

Mr Gay is minister of the new congregation of San Giovanni. Though division is to be deplored, yet, when that course is adopted as the last resort in support of gospel doctrine, we must approve of it. The people would not have separated, provided the Table had allowed them to attend evangelical ministers out of their own parish, in connection with the Waldensian Synod. This being refused, they had no freedom to attend M. Mondon. Though he is dead and succeeded by an evangelical preacher, yet, if Mr Gay and his adherents perceive a tinge of legality and Arminianism in any of the ministers, they may probably see their duty calls them to continue separate.

M. Bonjour's church of San Giovanni has a screen before it to conceal it that it may not offend the Romanists. It is oval in the interior, and is neatly fitted up with wooden benches, for women on the left side of the house, and men on

* Gilly's Excursion, and private letter, with Morgan and Jackson.

the right. Before the pulpit, opposite the south wall, is the communion-table, around which, are seats for the elders. They have the Lord's Supper four times a-year. The people of San Giovanni have excellent wheat and wine, but their principal wealth consists in silk worms, for which they cultivate the mulberry-tree. In Angrogna Presbytery is the portrait of Arnaud. Rye, buck-wheat, and chesnuts abound, as they do in most of the Valleys. Only oiled paper is seen in that church instead of glass. Men and women sit in distinct parts of the church, a practice common in the Valleys. A Protestant manufactory at La Torre employs 80 persons. There are mulberrys, vines, and wheat, which grow in part of the Valleys. Men fire at the tirata for sport. In Villaro, are vineyards, high on the mountains. The children of the minister breakfast on polento, with goats' milk and water. The parents have coffee. Here, as in many other places, the regent convenes the people on Thursday, and reads Ostervald's Bible, with Prayers, and Psalms. Also, Public Prayers, morning and evening, except in June. Nearly each family has Ostervald's Testament. In Bobbio, as generally in the Valleys, the minister's family are very hospitable. The Piemontese soldiers attend the Protestant church, which has paper windows. The shepherds and families go to the mountains on summer. The houses are covered with turf. Ostervald's Nourishment of the Soul is very common in the Valleys. In the above Table of churches and pastors, the number of Protestants and Catholics in each district, are chiefly from Gilly's Excursion. The first six churches are in Lucerna; the next in Prarustino: the following three are in Perosa, and the rest in San Martino, where the people and the cattle in winter often live under the same roof. *

I intended to notice several customs that obtain in the Valleys, such as that of the shepherds having their sheep trained to follow them, by calling to them, like the ancients, John x. 3—5, but my limits forbid.

* Jackson, pp. 30—200.

FINIS.

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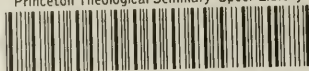
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